

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA**

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY
BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC., et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Case No. 2022 CA 666

CORD BYRD, in his official capacity as Florida
Secretary of State, et al.,

Defendants.

APPENDIX TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT

INDEX TO APPENDIX

PAGE NO.	DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION	DATE
4-11	Veto Correspondence	03/29/2022
12-19	Newman Transmittal Correspondence	04/13/2022
20-27	Enacted Map (P000C0109) and Statistics	04/13/2022
28-56	EOG Committee Presentation	04/19/2022
57-231	Transcript - Senate Committee on Reapportionment	04/19/2022
232-421	Transcript - House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee	04/19/2022
422-1124	Deposition Transcript Excerpts of J. Alex Kelly	06/07-08/2023
1125-1304	Deposition Transcript Excerpts of Stephen Ansolabehere	06/14/2023
1305-1321	House Message Summary – CS/SB 102	03/07/2022

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I HEREBY CERTIFY that on June 23, 2023, this document was filed through the Florida Courts E-Filing portal and was served via electronic mail on the following counsel of record:

Frederick S. Wermuth
Thomas A. Zehnder
King, Blackwell, Zehnder &
Wermuth, P.A.
P.O. Box 1631
Orlando, Florida 32802
fweremuth@kbzwlaw.com
tzezhnder@kbzwlaw.com

Attorneys for Plaintiffs

Christina A. Ford
Joseph N. Posimato
Graham W. White
Harleen K. Gambhir
Elias Law Group LLP
10 G Street N.E., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20002
cford@elias.law
jposimato@elias.law
gwhite@elias.law
hgambhir@elias.law

Attorneys for Plaintiffs

Abha Khanna
Jonathan P. Hawley
Elias Law Group LLP
1700 Seventh Avenue, Suite 2100
Seattle, Washington 98101
akhanna@elias.law
jhawley@elias.law

Attorneys for Plaintiffs

Bradley R. McVay
Ashley Davis
Florida Department of State
R.A. Gray Building
500 South Bronough Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399
brad.mcvay@dos.myflorida.com
ashley.davis@dos.myflorida.com
stephanie.buse@dos.myflorida.com

Attorneys for Defendant, Secretary of State

/s/ Daniel Nordby



RON DeSANTIS
GOVERNOR

March 29, 2022

Secretary Laurel Lee
Secretary of State
R.A. Gray Building
500 South Bronough Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

RECEIVED
2022 MAR 29 AM 11:58
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
TALLAHASSEE, FL

Dear Secretary Lee:

By the authority vested in me as Governor of the State of Florida, under the provisions of Article III, Section 8 of the Constitution of Florida, I do hereby veto and transmit my objection to **CS/SB 102**, enacted during the 124th Session of the Legislature of Florida, during Regular Session 2022 and entitled:

An act relating to establishing the congressional districts of the state

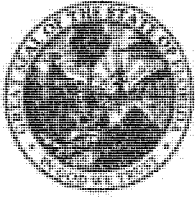
As presented in both the primary and secondary maps enacted by the Legislature, Congressional District 5 violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution for the reasons set forth in the attached memorandum. Although I understand the Legislature's desire to comply with the Florida Constitution, the Legislature is not absolved of its duty to comply with the U.S. Constitution. Where the U.S. and Florida Constitutions conflict, the U.S. Constitution must prevail.

Accordingly, I withhold my approval of **CS/SB 102** and do hereby veto the same.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Ron DeSantis in black ink.

Ron DeSantis
Governor



RON DESANTIS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA
Office of the Governor

THE CAPITOL
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32399-0001

www.flgov.com
850-717-9418

MEMORANDUM

2022 MAR 29 AM 11:00
STATE
LEGISLATIVE
COUNSEL

To: Ron DeSantis, Governor of Florida

From: Ryan Newman, General Counsel, Executive Office of the Governor **RDN**

Date: March 29, 2022

Re: Constitutionality of CS/SB 102, An Act Relating to Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State

Congressional District 5 in both the primary and secondary maps enacted by the Legislature violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution because it assigns voters primarily on the basis of race but is not narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling state interest.

"Just as the State may not, absent extraordinary justification, segregate citizens on the basis of race in its public parks, buses, golf courses, beaches, and schools," the U.S. Supreme Court has made clear that the State also "may not separate its citizens into different voting districts on the basis of race." *Miller v. Johnson*, 515 U.S. 900, 911 (1995) (internal citations omitted). "When the State assigns voters on the basis of race," the Court explained, "it engages in the offensive and demeaning assumption that voters of a particular race, because of their race, 'think alike, share the same political interests, and will prefer the same candidates at the polls.'" *Id.* at 911-12 (quoting *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630, 647 (1993)).

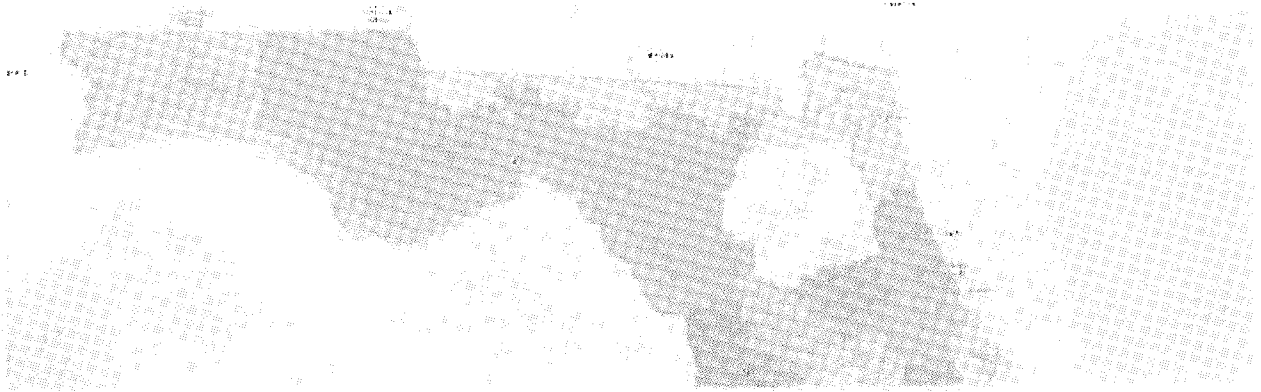
For these reasons, the Court has interpreted the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to prohibit state legislatures from using race as the "predominant factor motivating [their] decision to place a significant number of voters within or without a particular district," *id.* at 916, unless they can prove that their "race-based sorting of voters serves a 'compelling interest' and is 'narrowly tailored' to that end," *Cooper v. Harris*, 137 S. Ct. 1455, 1464 (2017) (citation omitted). That race was the predominant factor motivating a legislature's line-drawing decision can be shown "either through circumstantial evidence of a district's shape and demographics or more direct evidence going to legislative purpose." *Miller*, 515 U.S. at 916.

Although non-adherence to traditional districting principles, which results in a non-compact, unusually shaped district, is relevant evidence that race was the predominant motivation of a legislature, such evidence is not required to establish a constitutional violation. “Race may predominate even when a reapportionment plan respects traditional principles, . . . if ‘[r]ace was the criterion that, in the State’s view, could not be compromised,’ and race-neutral considerations ‘came into play only after the race-based decision had been made.’” *Bethune-Hill v. Va. State Bd. of Elections*, 137 S. Ct. 788, 798 (2017) (quoting *Shaw v. Hunt*, 517 U.S. 899, 907 (1996) (alteration in original)). “The racial predominance inquiry concerns the actual considerations that provided the essential basis for the lines drawn, not *post hoc* justifications the legislature in theory could have used but in reality did not.” *Id.* at 799. A legislature “could construct a plethora of potential maps that look consistent with traditional, race-neutral principles,” but “if race for its own sake is the overriding reason for choosing one map over others, race still may predominate.” *Id.* It is the “racial purpose of state action, not its stark manifestation,” that offends the Equal Protection Clause. *Miller*, 515 U.S. at 913.

In light of these well-established constitutional principles, the congressional redistricting bill enacted by the Legislature violates the U.S. Constitution. The bill contains a primary map and secondary map that include a racially gerrymandered district—Congressional District 5—that is not narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling state interest. *See generally* Fla. H.R. Comm. on Redist., recording of proceedings, at 0:00-2:55:19 (Feb. 25, 2022), <https://thefloridachannel.org/videos/2-25-22-house-redistricting-committee/> (committee presentation and discussion of the maps later passed by the Legislature).

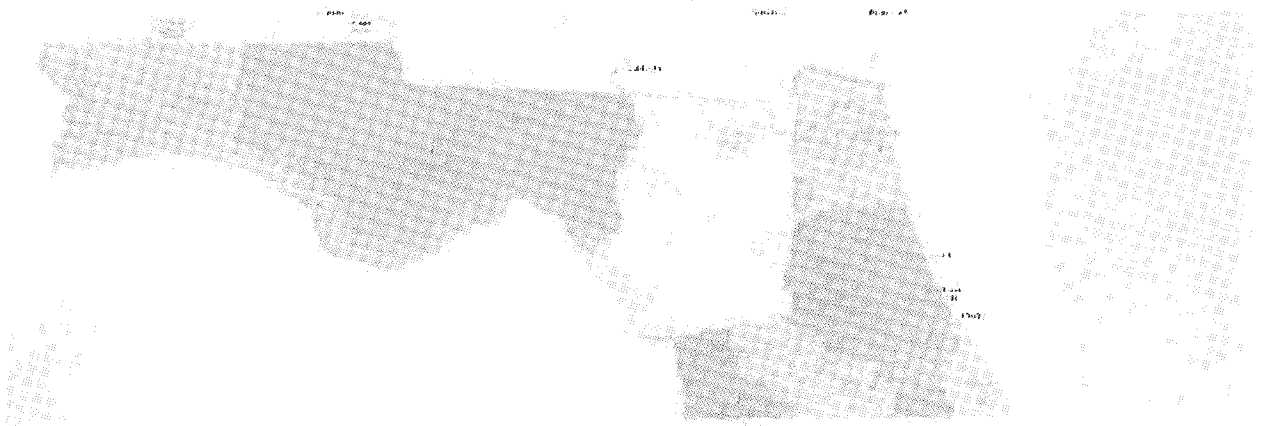
In the secondary map, which was the original map reported out of the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee, District 5 is a sprawling district that stretches approximately 200 miles from East to West and cuts across eight counties to connect a minority population in Jacksonville with a separate and distinct minority population in Leon and Gadsden Counties. The district is not compact, does not conform to usual political or geographic boundaries, and is bizarrely shaped to include minority populations in western Leon County and Gadsden County while excluding non-minority populations in eastern Leon County. Because this version of District 5 plainly subordinates traditional districting criteria to avoid diminishment of minority voting age population, there is no question that race was “the predominant factor motivating the legislature’s decision” to draw this district. *Miller*, 515 U.S. at 916.

District 5 in the Secondary Map (Purple)



In response to federal constitutional concerns about the unusual shape of District 5 as it was originally drawn, and which is now reflected in the secondary map, the House Redistricting Committee drew a new version of District 5, which is reflected in the primary map. This configuration of the district is more compact but has caused the adjacent district—District 4—to take on a bizarre doughnut shape that almost completely surrounds District 5. The reason for this unusual configuration is the Legislature’s desire to maximize the black voting age population in District 5. The Chair of the House Redistricting Committee confirmed this motivation when he explained that the new District 5 was drawn to “protect[] a black minority seat in north Florida.” Fla. H.R. Comm. on Redist., recording of proceedings, at 19:15-19:26 (Feb. 25, 2022).

District 5 in the Primary Map (Purple)



Despite the Legislature’s attempt to address the federal constitutional concerns by drawing a more compact district, the constitutional defect nevertheless persists. Where “race was the criterion that, in the State’s view, could not be compromised, and race-neutral considerations came into play only after the race-based decision had been made,” it follows that race was the predominant factor, even though the district

otherwise respects traditional districting principles. *Bethune-Hill*, 137 S. Ct. at 798 (cleaned up).

Such was the case here. Even for the more compact district, the Legislature believed (albeit incorrectly) that the Florida Constitution required it to ensure “a black minority seat in north Florida.” Fla. H.R. Comm. on Redist., recording of proceedings, at 19:15-19:26 (Feb. 25, 2022). Specifically, according to the House Redistricting Chair, the primary map’s version of District 5 is the House’s “attempt at continuing to protect the minority group’s ability to elect a candidate of their choice.” *Id.* at 19:45-19:54. The Legislature thus used “an express racial target” for District 5 of a black voting age population sufficiently large to elect a candidate of its choice. *Bethune-Hill*, 137 S. Ct. at 800.

Because racial considerations predominated even in drawing the new District 5, the Legislature must satisfy strict scrutiny, the U.S. Supreme Court’s “most rigorous and exacting standard of constitutional review.” *Miller*, 515 U.S. at 920. And to satisfy strict scrutiny, the Legislature “must demonstrate that its districting legislation is narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling interest.” *Id.* That, the Legislature cannot do.

There is no good reason to believe that District 5 needed to be drawn as a minority-performing district to comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA), because the relevant minority group is not sufficiently large to constitute a majority in a geographically compact area. In the primary map, the black voting age population of District 5 is 35.32%, and even in the secondary map, with the racially gerrymandered, non-compact version of District 5, the black voting age population increases only to 43.48%. Compare Fla. Redist. 2022, H000C8019, <https://bit.ly/3uczOXb> (available at floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans) (last visited Mar. 28, 2022), with Fla. Redist. 2022, H000C8015, <https://bit.ly/36hFRBB> (available at floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans) (last visited Mar. 28, 2022). “When a minority group is not sufficiently large to make up a majority in a reasonably shaped district, § 2 simply does not apply.” *Cooper*, 137 S. Ct. at 1472 (citing *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 18-20 (2009) (plurality opinion)); see also *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 50 (1986) (explaining that one of the threshold conditions for proving vote dilution under Section 2 is that the minority group is “sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority”).

Nor is there good reason to believe that District 5 is required to be drawn to comply with Section 5 of the VRA. Section 5 is no longer operative now that the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the VRA’s formula for determining which jurisdictions are subject to Section 5. See *Shelby Cnty. v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529, 553-57 (2013); see also *Ala. Legis. Black Caucus v. Alabama*, 575 U.S. 254, 279 (2015) (suggesting that continued compliance with Section 5 may not remain a compelling interest in light of *Shelby County*). In any event, even before the coverage formula was invalidated, the State of

Florida was not a covered jurisdiction subject to Section 5. *See In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment 1176 (Apportionment I)*, 83 So. 3d 597, 624 (Fla. 2012). Only five counties in Florida were covered – Collier, Hardee, Hendry, Hillsborough, and Monroe – and none of them are in northern Florida where District 5 is located. *See id.*

The only justification left for drawing a race-based district is compliance with Article III, Section 20(a) of the Florida Constitution. But District 5 does not comply with this provision. Article III, Section 20(a) provides that “districts shall not be drawn with the intent or result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial or language minorities to participate in the political process or to diminish their ability to elect representatives of their choice.” The Florida Supreme Court has noted that these “dual constitutional imperatives follow almost verbatim the requirements embodied in the Federal Voting Rights Act.” *Id.* at 619 (cleaned up). The first imperative, which prohibits districts that deny or abridge the equal opportunity of minority groups to participate in the political process, is modeled after Section 2 of the VRA, and the second imperative, which prohibits districts that diminish the ability of minority groups to elect representatives of their choice, is modeled after Section 5. *Id.* at 619-20.

Like the VRA, these provisions of the Florida Constitution “aim[] at safeguarding the voting strength of minority groups against both impermissible dilution and retrogression.” *Id.* at 620. Although judicial interpretation of the VRA is relevant to understanding the Florida Constitution’s non-dilution and non-diminishment provisions, the Florida Supreme Court nonetheless recognizes its “independent constitutional obligation” to interpret these provisions. *Id.* at 621.

Relevant here is the Florida Constitution’s non-diminishment requirement. Unlike Section 5 of the VRA, this requirement “applies to the entire state.” *Id.* at 620. Under this standard, the Legislature “cannot eliminate majority-minority districts or weaken other historically performing minority districts where doing so would actually diminish a minority group’s ability to elect its preferred candidates.” *Id.* at 625. The existing districts “serve[] as the ‘benchmark’ against which the ‘effect’ of voting changes is measured.” *Id.* at 624 (cleaned up). Where a voting change leaves a minority group “less able to elect a preferred candidate of choice” than the benchmark, that change violates the non-diminishment standard. *Id.* at 625 (internal quotation marks omitted); *see also id.* at 702 (Canady, C.J., concurring in part and dissenting in part) (noting that the dictionary definition of “diminish” means “to make less or cause to appear less” (citation omitted)).

The Florida Supreme Court has acknowledged that “a slight change in percentage of the minority group’s population in a given district does not necessarily have a cognizable effect on a minority group’s ability to elect its preferred candidate of choice.” *Id.* at 625. The minority population percentage in each district need not be

“fixed” in perpetuity. *Id.* at 627. But where the reduction in minority population in a given district is more than “slight,” such that the ability of the minority population to elect a candidate of choice has been reduced (even if not eliminated), the Legislature has violated the Florida Constitution’s non-diminishment requirement as interpreted by the Florida Supreme Court.

Given these principles, there is no good reason to believe that District 5, as presented in the primary map, complies with the Florida Constitution’s non-diminishment requirement. The benchmark district contains a black voting age population of 46.20%, whereas the black voting age population of District 5 in the primary map is only 35.32%.¹ Compare Fla. Redist. 2022, FLCD2016, <https://bit.ly/3lv6FeW> (available at floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans) (last visited Mar. 28, 2022), with Fla. Redist. 2022, H000C8019, <https://bit.ly/3uczOXb> (available at floridaredistricting.gov/pages/submitted-plans) (last visited Mar. 28, 2022). This nearly eleven percentage point drop is more than slight, and while the House Redistricting Chair represented that the black population of the district could still elect a candidate of choice, *see* Fla. H.R. Comm. on Redist., recording of proceedings, at 59:44-1:00:17 (Feb. 25, 2022), there appears to be little dispute that the ability of the black population to elect such a candidate had nevertheless been reduced, *see id.* at 1:00:18-1:00:58 (noting that the benchmark district performed for the minority candidate of choice in 14 of 14 previous elections and that the new district would not perform for the minority candidate of choice in one-third of the same elections).

Moreover, the House Redistricting Chair claimed that the only criterion that mattered was whether the new district still performed at all. *See id.* at 1:06:09-1:06:30 (“It is not a diminishment unless the district does not perform.”); *see also id.* at 1:05:05-1:05:13 (“Is it less likely to perform? Honestly, I don’t know.”). But that view is plainly inconsistent with the Florida Supreme Court precedent described above, which prohibits any voting change that leaves a minority group “less able to elect a preferred candidate of choice.” *Apportionment I*, 83 So. 3d at 625 (internal quotation marks omitted). In sum, because the reduction of black voting age population is more than slight and because such reduction appears to have diminished the ability of black voters to elect a candidate of their choice, District 5 does not comply with the non-diminishment requirement of Article III, Section 20(a) of the Florida Constitution. Therefore, compliance with the Florida Constitution cannot supply the compelling reason to justify the Legislature’s use of race in drawing District 5 in the primary map.

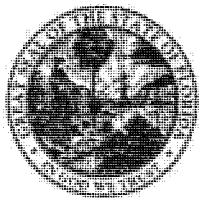
¹ The benchmark district itself is a sprawling, non-compact racial gerrymander that connects minority communities from two distinct regions of the State; however, for purposes of this point, I assume that the district can be used as a valid benchmark against which to judge the new maps.

In the secondary map, by contrast, District 5 complies with the Florida Constitution's non-diminishment requirement, but in doing so, it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court has warned that a "reapportionment plan that includes in one district individuals who belong to the same race, but who are otherwise widely separated by geographical and political boundaries, and who may have little in common with one another but the color of their skin, bears an uncomfortable resemblance to political apartheid." *Shaw*, 509 U.S. at 647. As described earlier, District 5 in the secondary map does precisely this.

That the district is believed to be necessary to comply with the Florida Constitution's non-diminishment requirement does not alone suffice to justify the use of race in drawing bizarre, non-compact district boundaries for the sole purpose of cobbling together disparate minority populations from across northern Florida to form a minority-performing district. Mere compliance with a state constitutional requirement to engage in race-based districting is not, without more, a compelling interest sufficient to satisfy strict scrutiny. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and the VRA, which enforces the Fifteenth Amendment, exist to *prevent* states from engaging in racially discriminatory electoral practices. Indeed, one such weapon that states long used, and that the VRA was designed to combat, "was the racial gerrymander – the deliberate and arbitrary distortion of district boundaries for racial purposes." *Id.* at 640 (cleaned up).

Here, the Florida Constitution's non-diminishment standard would be satisfied only by a sprawling, non-compact district that spans 200 miles and repeatedly violates traditional political boundaries to join minority communities from disparate geographic areas. Such a district is not narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling interest of protecting the voting rights of a minority community in a reasonably cohesive geographic area. As applied to District 5 in the secondary map, therefore, the Florida Constitution's non-diminishment standard cannot survive strict scrutiny and clearly violates the U.S. Constitution.

For the foregoing reasons, Congressional District 5 in both maps is unlawful.



RON DESANTIS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA

Office of the Governor

THE CAPITOL
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32399-0001

www.flgov.com
850-717-9418

April 13, 2022

Honorable Ray Rodrigues
Chairman, Committee on Reapportionment
Florida Senate
400 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

Dear Chairman Rodrigues:

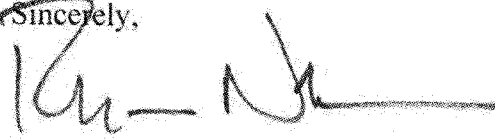
Today, the Executive Office of the Governor submitted a new proposed reapportionment plan for Florida's congressional districts. This compromise plan is the product of collaboration and consultation with the House and Senate leadership and draws from the maps that were recently passed by the Legislature (SB 102), as well as maps previously proposed by the Executive Office of the Governor (Plans P000C0079 and P000C0094) and the map referred out of the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee (Plan H000C8011).

For the reasons set forth in the memorandum accompanying the Governor's veto message, the proposal eliminates the racially gerrymandered versions of Congressional District 5, which were included in both the primary (Plan H000C8019) and secondary (Plan H000C8015) maps passed by the Legislature, and instead creates two new districts in the Jacksonville region consistent with the maps proposed by the Executive Office of the Governor (Plans P000C0079 and P000C0094). The proposal retains the exact configuration of congressional districts in the Florida panhandle (Districts 1-2) and the southeast region of the state (Districts 20-25 and 27-28) as reflected in the Legislature's enacted maps (SB 102). But the proposal adjusts the congressional districts in and around the Tampa region to align more closely with the maps proposed by the Executive Office of the Governor (Plans P000C0079 and P000C0094). And in the Orlando region, the proposal aligns more closely with the map referred out of the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee (Plan H000C8011).

Because of these adjustments, the new proposed apportionment plan eliminates the federal constitutional infirmities identified by the Governor and improves on several metrics relative to the maps passed by the Legislature. With respect to compactness, the mean compactness score of the new plan is equivalent to that of the enacted maps, but the new plan improves the compactness score of the least compact district, reduces the number of county splits from 18 to 17, and lessens the reliance on non-geographic and non-political boundaries from 12.50% to 11.50%. With respect to traditional districting metrics, the proposed plan is a significant improvement on the benchmark map. Please see the attached charts for a comparison of the various plans.

law. We look forward to working with you to enact this compromise apportionment plan into

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ryan Newman", written over a horizontal line.

Ryan Newman
General Counsel

cc: Honorable Wilton Simpson
President, Florida Senate
400 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

Honorable Chris Sprowls
Speaker, Florida House of Representatives
400 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

Honorable Thomas J. Leek
Chairman, Redistricting Committee
Florida House of Representatives
400 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399

COMPACTNESS													
District	014-A Relative to Plan 8019	Benchmark As Court Adopted in 2016			SB 102 Primary Plan 8019			SB 102 Secondary Plan 8015			EOG Proposed Plan on 4/13/22		
		REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER	REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER	REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER	REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER
D1	Unchanged	0.40	0.82	0.40	0.54	0.87	0.48	0.54	0.87	0.48	0.54	0.87	0.48
D2	Unchanged	0.31	0.68	0.21	0.46	0.82	0.48	0.31	0.72	0.25	0.46	0.82	0.48
D3		0.71	0.89	0.53	0.63	0.91	0.53	0.71	0.89	0.54	0.57	0.90	0.50
D4		0.37	0.72	0.17	0.40	0.68	0.17	0.33	0.64	0.18	0.38	0.76	0.32
D5		0.12	0.71	0.10	0.52	0.90	0.45	0.11	0.66	0.11	0.56	0.89	0.32
D6		0.44	0.77	0.34	0.71	0.92	0.50	0.48	0.77	0.34	0.74	0.92	0.48
D7		0.57	0.81	0.37	0.50	0.82	0.40	0.50	0.82	0.40	0.47	0.83	0.40
D8		0.34	0.76	0.29	0.29	0.81	0.38	0.29	0.81	0.38	0.32	0.78	0.45
D9		0.63	0.87	0.46	0.48	0.86	0.34	0.48	0.86	0.34	0.49	0.86	0.47
D10		0.49	0.89	0.49	0.50	0.77	0.39	0.50	0.77	0.39	0.41	0.75	0.37
D11		0.42	0.74	0.29	0.36	0.79	0.32	0.32	0.81	0.31	0.52	0.82	0.36
D12		0.38	0.82	0.46	0.40	0.61	0.27	0.40	0.61	0.27	0.45	0.75	0.38
D13		0.66	0.93	0.68	0.68	0.91	0.63	0.68	0.91	0.63	0.51	0.93	0.58
D14		0.48	0.82	0.45	0.45	0.87	0.53	0.45	0.87	0.53	0.48	0.83	0.47
D15		0.33	0.76	0.26	0.47	0.84	0.49	0.47	0.84	0.49	0.58	0.88	0.58
D16		0.58	0.90	0.53	0.52	0.92	0.42	0.52	0.92	0.42	0.45	0.73	0.45
D17		0.51	0.77	0.44	0.60	0.92	0.57	0.60	0.92	0.57	0.28	0.77	0.39
D18		0.50	0.82	0.45	0.48	0.82	0.45	0.48	0.82	0.45	0.42	0.82	0.42
D19		0.34	0.79	0.40	0.33	0.78	0.38	0.33	0.78	0.38	0.33	0.78	0.39
D20	Unchanged	0.48	0.75	0.20	0.50	0.77	0.28	0.50	0.77	0.28	0.50	0.77	0.28
D21	Unchanged	0.37	0.64	0.29	0.50	0.82	0.49	0.50	0.82	0.49	0.50	0.82	0.49
D22	Unchanged	0.46	0.73	0.22	0.44	0.74	0.42	0.44	0.74	0.42	0.44	0.74	0.42
D23	Unchanged	0.35	0.65	0.25	0.50	0.79	0.29	0.50	0.79	0.29	0.50	0.79	0.29
D24	Unchanged	0.47	0.77	0.30	0.48	0.90	0.48	0.48	0.90	0.48	0.48	0.90	0.48
D25	Unchanged	0.41	0.68	0.36	0.42	0.81	0.38	0.42	0.81	0.38	0.42	0.81	0.38
D26		0.22	0.55	0.24	0.40	0.67	0.35	0.40	0.67	0.35	0.29	0.77	0.33
D27	Unchanged	0.50	0.88	0.48	0.71	0.95	0.73	0.71	0.95	0.73	0.71	0.95	0.73
D28	Unchanged				0.22	0.55	0.24	0.22	0.55	0.24	0.22	0.55	0.24
Mean:		0.44	0.77	0.36	0.48	0.82	0.42	0.45	0.80	0.40	0.47	0.81	0.43
Max:		0.71	0.93	0.68	0.71	0.95	0.73	0.71	0.95	0.73	0.74	0.95	0.73
Min:		0.12	0.55	0.10	0.22	0.55	0.17	0.11	0.55	0.11	0.22	0.55	0.24

District	014-A Relative to Plan 8019	BOUNDARIES												EOG Proposed											
		As Court Adopted in 2016						SB 102 Primary Plan 8019						SB 102 Secondary Plan 8015						Plan on 4/13/22					
		City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non Geo/ Pol (%)	City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non Geo/ Pol (%)	City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non Geo/ Pol (%)	City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non Geo/ Pol (%)
D1	Unchanged	3.00	94.00	0.00	60.00	0.00	6.00	8.00	78.00	10.00	53.00	0.00	3.00	8.00	78.00	10.00	53.00	0.00	3.00	8.00	78.00	10.00	53.00	0.00	3.00
D2	Unchanged	7.00	75.00	11.00	48.00	1.00	10.00	5.00	84.00	7.00	49.00	0.00	3.00	6.00	78.00	15.00	46.00	0.00	2.00	5.00	84.00	7.00	49.00	0.00	3.00
D3		19.00	75.00	14.00	25.00	0.00	7.00	5.00	87.00	3.00	31.00	0.00	13.00	18.00	78.00	5.00	25.00	0.00	15.00	6.00	85.00	7.00	32.00	0.00	5.00
D4		9.00	58.00	18.00	51.00	1.00	15.00	25.00	80.00	5.00	46.00	0.00	10.00	23.00	76.00	17.00	55.00	2.00	2.00	8.00	86.00	2.00	55.00	0.00	2.00
D5		7.00	59.00	17.00	10.00	2.00	16.00	65.00	65.00	10.00	23.00	1.00	21.00	12.00	73.00	23.00	13.00	0.00	2.00	16.00	48.00	7.00	79.00	0.00	13.00
D6		8.00	82.00	4.00	62.00	0.00	4.00	14.00	49.00	14.00	37.00	0.00	18.00	17.00	45.00	14.00	38.00	3.00	22.00	16.00	42.00	12.00	32.00	2.00	15.00
D7		16.00	65.00	10.00	51.00	0.00	19.00	26.00	47.00	19.00	31.00	0.00	15.00	26.00	47.00	19.00	31.00	0.00	15.00	22.00	68.00	9.00	40.00	2.00	8.00
D8		0.00	89.00	2.00	41.00	0.00	10.00	3.00	92.00	1.00	54.00	0.00	2.00	3.00	97.00	1.00	54.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	89.00	7.00	44.00	0.00	4.00
D9		17.00	49.00	14.00	5.00	6.00	17.00	2.00	86.00	10.00	36.00	0.00	4.00	2.00	86.00	10.00	36.00	0.00	4.00	2.00	89.00	25.00	27.00	0.00	11.00
D10		19.00	70.00	15.00	21.00	0.00	11.00	20.00	55.00	23.00	20.00	0.00	18.00	20.00	55.00	23.00	20.00	0.00	18.00	13.00	26.00	35.00	2.00	37.00	37.00
D11		14.00	66.00	14.00	40.00	0.00	12.00	12.00	48.00	15.00	37.00	1.00	29.00	12.00	50.00	15.00	37.00	1.00	31.00	14.00	49.00	27.00	26.00	2.00	13.00
D12		11.00	77.00	11.00	36.00	0.00	9.00	10.00	72.00	6.00	52.00	0.00	13.00	10.00	72.00	6.00	52.00	0.00	13.00	7.00	84.00	13.00	63.00	0.00	8.00
D13		38.00	74.00	2.00	89.00	0.00	4.00	44.00	70.00	0.00	88.00	0.00	1.00	44.00	70.00	0.00	88.00	0.00	1.00	15.00	75.00	12.00	67.00	0.00	3.00
D14		43.00	38.00	10.00	32.00	1.00	28.00	23.00	15.00	28.00	31.00	1.00	36.00	23.00	19.00	28.00	32.00	1.00	36.00	12.00	19.00	46.00	21.00	1.00	13.00
D15		25.00	28.00	13.00	17.00	0.00	24.00	7.00	51.00	39.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	51.00	39.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	3.00	1.00	61.00	4.00	0.00	31.00
D16		12.00	61.00	10.00	56.00	0.00	6.00	2.00	84.00	2.00	26.00	0.00	14.00	22.00	84.00	2.00	26.00	0.00	14.00	1.00	73.00	21.00	32.00	1.00	2.00
D17		4.00	69.00	9.00	28.00	3.00	9.00	22.00	57.00	5.00	51.00	0.00	4.00	13.00	57.00	5.00	51.00	0.00	4.00	6.00	84.00	5.00	39.00	0.00	6.00
D18		10.00	65.00	3.00	45.00	0.00	20.00	13.00	74.00	6.00	29.00	0.00	4.00	13.00	74.00	6.00	29.00	0.00	4.00	6.00	77.00	8.00	21.00	0.00	9.00
D19		4.00	66.00	9.00	60.00	0.00	15.00	13.00	62.00	14.00	61.00	0.00	8.00	13.00	62.00	14.00	61.00	0.00	8.00	11.00	65.00	12.00	59.00	0.00	10.00
D20	Unchanged	30.00	35.00	10.00	11.00	1.00	33.00	28.00	37.00	15.00	13.00	3.00	22.00	28.00	37.00	15.00	13.00	3.00	22.00	28.00	37.00	15.00	13.00	3.00	22.00
D21	Unchanged	29.00	24.00	12.00	30.00	1.00	37.00	9.00	68.00	7.00	48.00	0.00	16.00	9.00	68.00	7.00	48.00	0.00	16.00	9.00	68.00	7.00	48.00	0.00	10.00
D22	Unchanged	25.00	28.00	12.00	32.00	2.00	32.00	36.00	24.00	18.00	36.00	0.00	24.00	36.00	24.00	18.00	36.00	0.00	24.00	36.00	24.00	18.00	36.00	0.00	15.00
D23	Unchanged	58.00	15.00	13.00	29.00	3.00	17.00	19.00	28.00	15.00	38.00	0.00	20.00	29.00	28.00	15.00	38.00	0.00	20.00	29.00	28.00	15.00	38.00	0.00	20.00
D24	Unchanged	64.00	13.00	15.00	29.00	7.00	19.00	36.00	36.00	32.00	32.00	0.00	10.00	36.00	36.00	32.00	32.00	0.00	10.00	36.00	36.00	32.00	32.00	0.00	20.00
D25	Unchanged	8.00	70.00	12.00	72.00	0.00	7.00	64.00	29.00	12.00	20.00	0.00	15.00	64.00	29.00	12.00	20.00	0.00	15.00	64.00	29.00	12.00	20.00	0.00	10.00
D26	Unchanged	1.00	88.00	6.00	87.00	0.00	1.00	9.00	69.00	20.00	19.00	0.00	4.00	9.00	69.00	20.00	19.00	0.00	4.00	11.00	54.00	28.00	13.00	0.00	9.00
D27	Unchanged	21.00	26.00	25.00	61.00	0.00	8.00	10.00	18.00	34.00	59.00	0.00	7.00	10.00	18.00	34.00	59.00	0.00	7.00	10.00	18.00	34.00	59.00	0.00	7.00
D28	Unchanged							1.00	88.00	8.00	86.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	88.00	8.00	86.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	88.00	8.00	86.00	0.00	1.00
Mean:		38.59	57.74	10.78	39.93	1.04	13.67	19.32	59.00	13.54	39.75	0.89	12.50	17.96	58.71	14.79	39.07	1.04	11.75	14.21	56.29	17.89	39.43	0.75	

Geography	014-A Relative to Plan 8019	COUNTY		CITY		COUNTY		CITY		COUNTY		CITY		COUNTY		CITY		COUNTY		CITY	
		Must Split In 2022		Benchmark As Court Adopted in 2016		SB 102 Primary Plan 8019		SB 102 Secondary Plan 8015		EOG Proposed Plan on 4/13/22											
Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5	Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10	Column 11	Column 12	Column 13	Column 14	Column 15	Column 16	Column 17	Column 18	Column 19	Column 20	Column 21	Column 22
Auburndale (Polk)					1.0																
Boca Raton (Palm Beach)					0.0																
Broward	Unchanged	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Cape Coral (Lee)							1.0	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Citrus							1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0
Clearwater (Pinellas)					1.0																
Clermont (Lake)					1.0																
Coconut Creek (Broward)																					
Cotton					1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0
Columbia					1.0																
Dania Beach (Broward)					0.0																
Deerfield Beach (Broward)	Unchanged							1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Duval		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Eatonville (Orange)					1.0																
Evans (Lake)					0.0																
Fort Lauderdale (Broward)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Greveland (Lake)					1.0																
Hallandale Beach (Broward)																					
Hillsborough		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Hollywood (Broward)					1.0																
Homestead					1.0																
Jacksonville (Duval)			1.0	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Jefferson					1.0																
Jessamine	Unchanged	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Lake					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Lake City (Columbia)					1.0																
Lakeland (Polk)																					
Lee					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Leon					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Longboat Key (Manatee/Sarasota)																					
Manatee (Orange)					1.0																
Markette (Broward)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Marion					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Massachusetts (Lake)					0.0																
Miami (Miami-Gade)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Miami-Dade	Unchanged	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Minneapolis					1.0																
Missouri (Broward)	Unchanged				0.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Mount Dora (Lake)					0.0																
Oakland Park (Broward)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Ocala (Marion)					1.0																
Oldsmar					0.0			0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
Orange		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Orange City (Volusia)								0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
Orlando (Orange)					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Palm Beach	Unchanged	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Palm Beach (Palm Beach)					0.0																
Palm Beach Gardens (Palm Beach)					0.0																
Parkland (Broward)																					
Pasco							1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0
Pendlebrook (Broward)																					
Pinellas		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Plant City (Hillsborough)								1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Plantation (Broward)	Unchanged				0.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Polk					1.0																
Polk City (Polk)					1.0																
Pompano Beach (Broward)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Port Orange (Volusia)								1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Privara Beach (Palm Beach)	Unchanged				0.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Royal Palm Beach (Palm Beach)					1.0																
Safety Harbor (Pinellas)					0.0																
Sarasota					1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
St. Johns	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
St. Petersburg (Pinellas)																					
Sturgis (Broward)					1.0																
Tallahassee (Leon)					1.0																
Tampa (Hillsborough)					0.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Temple Terrace (Hillsborough)					1.0																
Texas (Lake)					1.0																
Volusia							1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0
Walton	Unchanged	1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Wellington (Palm Beach)					1.0																
West Palm Beach (Palm Beach)	Unchanged				1.0			1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0		1.0	
Weston (Broward)					0.0																
Wilton Manors (Broward)					0.0																
Winter Haven (Polk)					0.0																
Winter Park (Orange)					1.0																
		9.0	1.0	18.0	25.0	18.0	14.0	20.0	17.0	27.0	14.0										

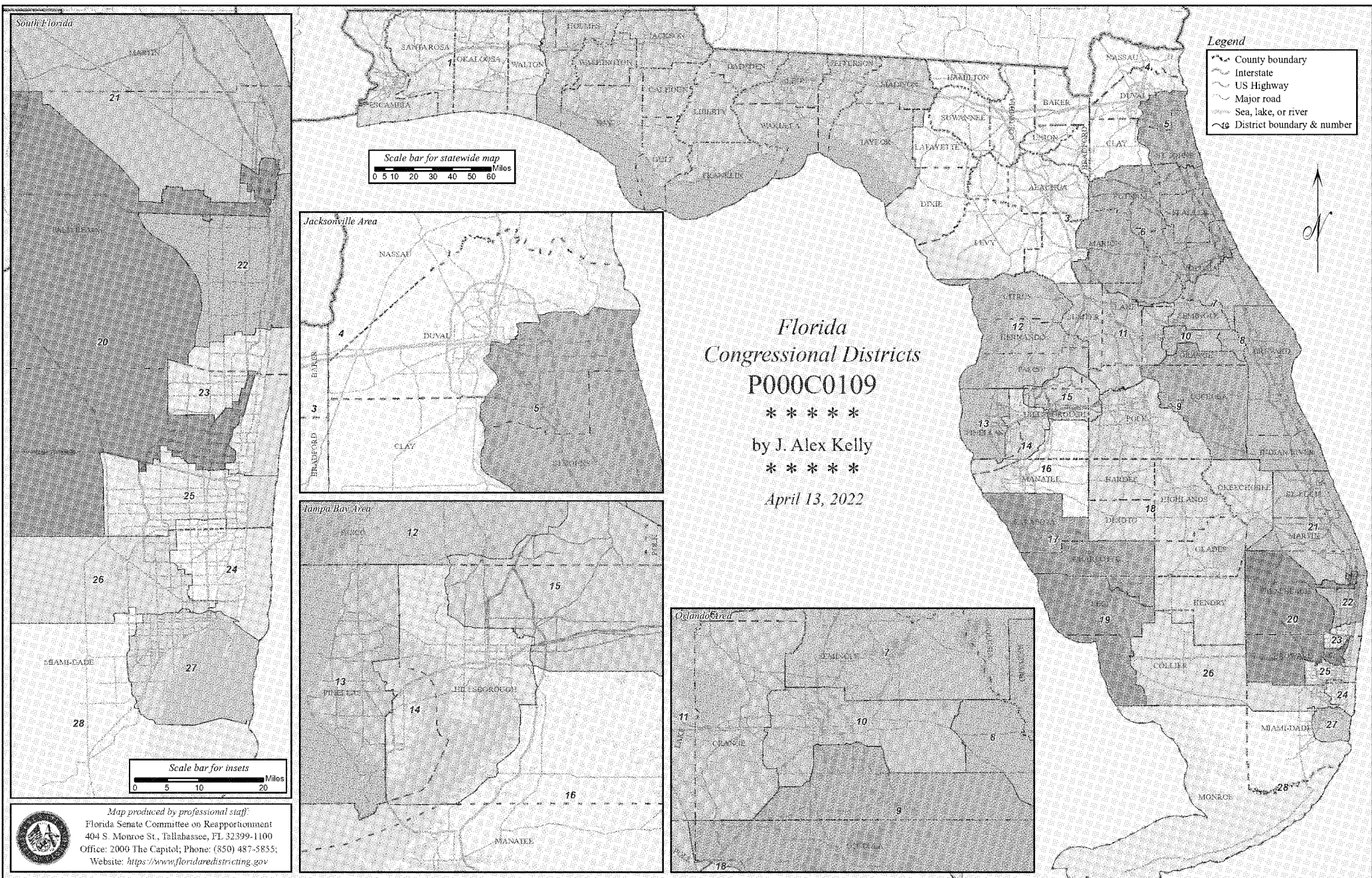
Gray indicates zero population split; only a split of unpopulated geography
Orange indicates error in Census Bureau's geographical files; city is not actually split

COMPAGNIES - ONLY DISTRICTS THAT CHANGED						
	REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER	REOCK	AREA CONVEX HULL	POLSBY POPPER
District	SB 102 Primary Plan 8019			EOG Proposed Plan on 4/13/22		
D3	0.63	0.91	0.53	0.57	0.90	0.50
D4	0.40	0.68	0.17	0.38	0.76	0.32
D5	0.52	0.90	0.45	0.56	0.89	0.52
D6	0.71	0.92	0.50	0.74	0.92	0.48
D7	0.50	0.82	0.40	0.47	0.83	0.40
D8	0.29	0.81	0.38	0.32	0.78	0.45
D9	0.48	0.86	0.34	0.49	0.86	0.47
D10	0.50	0.77	0.39	0.41	0.75	0.37
D11	0.36	0.79	0.32	0.52	0.82	0.36
D12	0.40	0.61	0.27	0.45	0.75	0.38
D13	0.68	0.91	0.63	0.51	0.93	0.58
D14	0.45	0.87	0.53	0.48	0.83	0.47
D15	0.47	0.84	0.49	0.58	0.88	0.58
D16	0.52	0.92	0.42	0.45	0.73	0.45
D17	0.60	0.92	0.57	0.28	0.77	0.39
D18	0.48	0.82	0.45	0.42	0.82	0.42
D19	0.33	0.78	0.38	0.33	0.78	0.39
D26	0.40	0.67	0.35	0.29	0.77	0.33
Mean:	0.48	0.82	0.42	0.46	0.82	0.44
Max:	0.71	0.92	0.63	0.74	0.93	0.58
Min:	0.28	0.61	0.17	0.28	0.73	0.32

BOUNDARIES - ONLY DISTRICTS THAT CHANGED												
	City (%)	County (%)	Road (%)	Water (%)	Rail (%)	Non Geo/ Pol (%)	City (%)	County (%)	Road (%)	Water (%)	Rail (%)	Non Geo/ Pol (%)
5B 102 Primary Plan 8019												
District												
EOG Proposed Plan on 4/13/22												
D3	5.00	82.00	3.00	31.00	0.00	13.00	6.00	85.00	7.00	32.00	0.00	5.00
D4	25.00	80.00	5.00	46.00	0.00	10.00	8.00	86.00	2.00	55.00	0.00	2.00
D5	65.00	65.00	10.00	29.00	1.00	21.00	16.00	48.00	7.00	79.00	0.00	13.00
D6	14.00	49.00	14.00	37.00	0.00	18.00	16.00	42.00	17.00	32.00	2.00	15.00
D7	26.00	47.00	19.00	31.00	0.00	15.00	22.00	68.00	9.00	40.00	2.00	8.00
D8	3.00	92.00	1.00	54.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	89.00	7.00	44.00	0.00	4.00
D9	2.00	86.00	10.00	36.00	0.00	4.00	2.00	61.00	25.00	27.00	0.00	12.00
D10	20.00	55.00	23.00	20.00	0.00	18.00	13.00	26.00	35.00	2.00	1.00	37.00
D11	12.00	48.00	15.00	17.00	1.00	29.00	14.00	49.00	27.00	26.00	2.00	13.00
D12	10.00	72.00	6.00	52.00	0.00	13.00	7.00	84.00	13.00	63.00	0.00	8.00
D13	44.00	70.00	0.00	88.00	0.00	1.00	15.00	75.00	12.00	67.00	0.00	3.00
D14	23.00	19.00	28.00	32.00	1.00	36.00	12.00	19.00	46.00	21.00	1.00	13.00
D15	7.00	51.00	39.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	3.00	1.00	61.00	4.00	0.00	32.00
D16	2.00	84.00	2.00	26.00	3.00	12.00	1.00	73.00	21.00	32.00	1.00	2.00
D17	22.00	57.00	5.00	51.00	0.00	14.00	9.00	84.00	5.00	39.00	0.00	6.00
D18	13.00	74.00	6.00	29.00	0.00	4.00	6.00	77.00	8.00	21.00	0.00	9.00
D19	13.00	62.00	14.00	61.00	0.00	8.00	11.00	65.00	12.00	59.00	0.00	10.00
D26	9.00	69.00	20.00	19.00	0.00	4.00	11.00	54.00	28.00	13.00	0.00	9.00
Mean:	17.50	64.56	12.22	36.94	0.72	12.72	9.56	60.33	19.00	36.44	0.50	11.17

SPLITS - ONLY COUNTIES AND CITIES THAT CHANGED					
Geography	COUNTY	CITY	COUNTY	CITY	
	SB 102 Primary Plan 8019		EOG Proposed Plan on 4/13/22		
Column1	Column *	Column *	Column *	Column *	
Cape Coral (Lee)		1.0			
Citrus	1.0				
Lakeland (Polk)					1.0
Longboat Key (Manatee/Sarasota)					1.0
Orange City (Volusia)		0.0			
Plant City (Hillsborough)		1.0			
Polk			1.0		
Port Orange (Volusia)		1.0			
Sarasota	1.0				
St. Petersburg (Pinellas)					1.0
	2.0	3.0	1.0		3.0

Gray indicates zero population split; only a split of unpopulated geography



Plan P000C0109

Dist.	Deviation		Voting Age Population:		Area (sq.mi.)	Perim. (mi.)	Convex Hull	Polsby- Popper	Reock Ratio	Counties:		Cities:		Political and Geographic Boundaries:					
	Total	%	Black	Hisp.						Whole	Parts	Whole	Parts	City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non-Pol/Geo
			15.54%	24.99%	2,550.1	244.0	0.81	0.43	0.47	50	48	396	36	14%	56%	18%	39%	1%	12%
1	0	0.00%	13.54%	6.69%	4,416	341	0.87	0.48	0.54	3	1	16	0	8%	78%	10%	53%	0%	3%
2	0	0.00%	23.09%	6.42%	12,839	578	0.82	0.48	0.46	14	2	50	0	5%	84%	7%	49%	0%	3%
3	0	0.00%	15.88%	10.64%	8,271	456	0.90	0.50	0.57	10	2	42	0	6%	85%	7%	32%	0%	5%
4	0	0.00%	31.66%	7.82%	1,981	280	0.76	0.32	0.38	2	1	8	1	8%	86%	2%	55%	0%	2%
5	0	0.00%	12.80%	10.86%	829	141	0.89	0.52	0.56	0	2	5	1	16%	48%	7%	79%	0%	13%
6	0	0.00%	11.22%	9.78%	3,928	320	0.92	0.48	0.74	2	4	21	0	16%	42%	17%	32%	2%	15%
7	0	0.00%	10.53%	18.97%	1,053	181	0.83	0.40	0.47	1	2	17	0	22%	68%	9%	40%	2%	8%
8	0	0.00%	9.68%	10.05%	2,299	253	0.78	0.45	0.32	2	1	21	0	0%	89%	7%	44%	0%	4%
9	0	0.00%	13.02%	50.04%	1,846	223	0.86	0.47	0.49	1	2	4	1	2%	61%	25%	27%	0%	12%
10	0	0.00%	25.98%	28.63%	273	96	0.75	0.37	0.41	0	1	3	1	13%	26%	35%	2%	1%	37%
11	0	0.00%	12.76%	17.09%	1,836	254	0.82	0.36	0.52	1	3	23	1	14%	49%	27%	26%	2%	13%
12	0	0.00%	5.29%	11.72%	2,538	289	0.75	0.38	0.45	2	2	9	0	7%	84%	13%	63%	0%	8%
13	0	0.00%	7.09%	9.56%	730	125	0.93	0.58	0.51	0	1	23	1	15%	75%	12%	67%	0%	3%
14	0	0.00%	19.13%	25.97%	524	118	0.83	0.47	0.48	0	2	0	2	12%	19%	46%	21%	1%	13%
15	0	0.00%	15.40%	22.74%	675	121	0.88	0.58	0.58	0	3	3	2	3%	1%	61%	4%	0%	32%
16	0	0.00%	11.98%	18.67%	1,500	205	0.73	0.45	0.45	1	1	5	1	1%	73%	21%	32%	1%	2%
17	0	0.00%	5.56%	11.54%	2,149	262	0.77	0.39	0.28	2	1	4	1	9%	84%	5%	39%	0%	6%
18	0	0.00%	13.21%	23.68%	7,085	460	0.82	0.42	0.42	6	2	26	1	6%	77%	8%	21%	0%	9%
19	0	0.00%	6.07%	16.22%	1,897	249	0.78	0.39	0.33	0	2	8	0	11%	65%	12%	59%	0%	10%
20	0	0.00%	50.11%	22.98%	2,397	330	0.77	0.28	0.50	0	2	13	8	28%	37%	15%	13%	3%	22%
21	0	0.00%	12.48%	15.14%	1,888	219	0.82	0.49	0.50	2	1	16	2	9%	68%	7%	48%	0%	16%
22	-1	0.00%	15.88%	24.65%	345	102	0.74	0.42	0.44	0	1	19	1	36%	24%	18%	36%	0%	24%
23	0	0.00%	13.17%	20.51%	254	105	0.79	0.29	0.50	0	2	11	5	29%	28%	16%	38%	9%	20%
24	0	0.00%	42.17%	38.46%	183	69	0.90	0.48	0.48	0	2	18	2	36%	36%	32%	46%	0%	10%
25	0	0.00%	17.52%	42.26%	237	88	0.81	0.38	0.42	0	1	8	3	64%	29%	12%	20%	0%	15%
26	0	0.00%	6.92%	73.22%	2,440	306	0.77	0.33	0.29	0	2	8	1	11%	54%	28%	13%	0%	9%
27	0	0.00%	7.07%	74.18%	281	70	0.95	0.73	0.71	0	1	7	1	10%	18%	34%	59%	0%	7%
28	0	0.00%	10.32%	73.35%	6,710	591	0.55	0.24	0.22	1	1	8	0	1%	88%	8%	86%	0%	1%

Overall numbers
of county and city splits:

District lines and City and County Boundaries	In Plan P000C0109	
	67	50
Number of Counties	5	17
Counties with only one district	5	17
Districts with only one county	5	17
Counties split into more than one district	48	48
Counties with all population in a single district	46	46
Aggregate number of county splits	412	396
Aggregate number of splits with population	16	16
Number of Cities	396	396
Cities with only one district	36	36
Cities split into more than one district	36	36
Cities with all population in only one district	36	36
Aggregate number of city splits	36	36
Aggregate number of splits with population	36	36

Plan P000C0109

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%
Broward	20	535,322	27.5%	889.4	68.0%
Broward	23	561,713	28.9%	171.5	13.1%
Broward	24	78,119	4.0%	10.9	0.8%
Broward	25	769,221	39.6%	236.7	18.1%
Collier	18	4,861	1.3%	73.8	2.8%
Collier	19	156,767	41.7%	607.9	23.3%
Collier	26	214,124	57.0%	1,923.5	73.8%
Duval	4	460,624	46.3%	611.1	66.5%
Duval	5	534,943	53.7%	307.4	33.5%
Hillsborough	14	579,335	39.7%	391.4	29.4%
Hillsborough	15	510,916	35.0%	404.4	30.4%
Hillsborough	16	369,511	25.3%	536.2	40.3%
Lafayette	2	1,731	21.0%	43.3	7.9%
Lafayette	3	6,495	79.0%	504.6	92.1%
Lake	6	117,124	30.5%	499.6	43.2%
Lake	11	266,832	69.5%	657.2	56.8%
Lee	17	148,368	19.5%	225.9	14.9%
Lee	19	612,454	80.5%	1,288.9	85.1%
Marion	3	206,835	55.0%	655.9	39.5%
Marion	6	169,073	45.0%	1,006.7	60.6%
Marion	12	0	0.0%	0.1	0.0%
Miami-Dade	24	691,102	25.6%	172.0	7.2%
Miami-Dade	26	555,097	20.6%	516.6	21.6%
Miami-Dade	27	769,221	28.5%	280.7	11.8%
Miami-Dade	28	686,347	25.4%	1,420.1	59.4%
Orange	7	0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%
Orange	8	2,821	0.2%	125.2	12.5%
Orange	9	326,695	22.9%	276.6	27.6%
Orange	10	769,221	53.8%	272.5	27.2%
Orange	11	331,171	23.2%	329.1	32.8%
Palm Beach	20	233,899	15.7%	1,507.8	63.3%
Palm Beach	21	281,564	18.9%	447.3	18.8%
Palm Beach	22	769,220	51.6%	345.3	14.5%
Palm Beach	23	207,508	13.9%	82.8	3.5%
Pasco	12	420,863	74.9%	862.1	85.0%
Pasco	15	141,028	25.1%	152.7	15.1%
Pinellas	13	769,221	80.2%	730.2	84.7%
Pinellas	14	189,886	19.8%	132.4	15.4%
Polk	9	53,870	7.4%	63.5	3.2%
Polk	11	41,466	5.7%	270.1	13.4%
Polk	15	117,277	16.2%	117.8	5.9%
Polk	18	512,433	70.7%	1,559.0	77.5%
St. Johns	5	234,278	85.7%	521.6	63.5%
St. Johns	6	39,147	14.3%	299.9	36.5%
Volusia	6	255,178	46.1%	724.4	50.6%
Volusia	7	298,365	53.9%	708.1	49.4%
Walton	1	47,648	63.3%	821.5	58.3%
Walton	2	27,657	36.7%	587.9	41.7%

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Plan P000C0109

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%
Deerfield Beach	20	27,968	32.2%	3.8	23.5%
Deerfield Beach	23	58,891	67.8%	12.4	76.5%
Fort Lauderdale	20	55,428	30.3%	12.4	34.1%
Fort Lauderdale	23	105,601	57.8%	18.6	51.2%
Fort Lauderdale	25	21,731	11.9%	5.3	14.7%
Jacksonville	4	459,228	48.4%	609.1	69.7%
Jacksonville	5	490,383	51.6%	265.4	30.4%
Lakeland	15	49,933	44.3%	33.7	44.9%
Lakeland	18	62,708	55.7%	41.4	55.1%
Longboat Key	16	2,746	36.6%	8.3	51.7%
Longboat Key	17	4,759	63.4%	7.7	48.3%
Margate	20	11,080	18.9%	1.6	17.8%
Margate	23	47,632	81.1%	7.4	82.2%
Miami	24	86,644	19.6%	14.1	25.1%
Miami	26	66,430	15.0%	5.7	10.1%
Miami	27	289,167	65.4%	36.3	64.8%
Miramar	24	56,729	42.1%	6.9	22.3%
Miramar	25	77,992	57.9%	24.2	77.7%
Oakland Park	20	15,037	34.0%	3.5	43.0%
Oakland Park	23	29,192	66.0%	4.7	57.0%
Orlando	9	81,845	26.6%	62.8	52.8%
Orlando	10	225,262	73.2%	56.0	47.1%
Orlando	11	466	0.2%	0.1	0.1%
Plantation	20	44,325	48.3%	9.3	42.0%
Plantation	25	47,425	51.7%	12.8	58.0%
Pompano Beach	20	49,811	44.5%	10.9	44.1%
Pompano Beach	23	62,235	55.5%	13.8	55.9%
Riviera Beach	20	29,204	77.7%	6.8	70.7%
Riviera Beach	21	8,400	22.3%	2.8	29.3%
St. Petersburg	13	82,168	31.8%	33.6	25.6%
St. Petersburg	14	176,140	68.2%	97.8	74.4%
Tampa	14	287,435	74.7%	137.9	78.4%
Tampa	15	97,524	25.3%	38.0	21.6%
West Palm Beach	20	59,919	51.0%	15.1	26.0%
West Palm Beach	21	21,937	18.7%	34.9	60.2%
West Palm Beach	22	35,559	30.3%	8.0	13.8%

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Plan P000C0109

Dist.	2020 Census		2020 General Election Registered Voters																
	VAP who are:		RV who are:			RV who are:		Black Voters who are:			Hisp. Voters who are:			DEM who are:		REP who are:		NPAOth who are:	
	Black	Hisp	DEM	REP	OTH	Black	Hisp	DEM	REP	NPAOth	DEM	REP	NPAOth	Black	Hisp	Black	Hisp	Black	Hisp
9	13.02%	50.04%	41.93%	23.25%	34.81%	9.42%	44.21%	72.15%	3.99%	23.83%	46.62%	13.42%	39.97%	16.21%	49.15%	1.62%	25.50%	6.45%	50.75%
20	50.11%	22.98%	61.33%	13.79%	24.88%	46.82%	15.27%	81.47%	2.53%	15.98%	46.07%	17.38%	36.51%	62.20%	11.47%	8.57%	19.25%	30.08%	22.41%
24	42.17%	38.46%	60.04%	12.59%	27.37%	44.01%	27.28%	82.62%	2.44%	14.94%	42.23%	20.67%	37.09%	60.56%	19.19%	8.52%	44.78%	24.03%	36.98%
26	6.92%	73.22%	29.79%	37.92%	32.29%	5.19%	60.87%	76.51%	4.41%	18.86%	28.91%	36.07%	35.00%	13.33%	59.08%	0.60%	57.90%	3.03%	65.98%
27	7.07%	74.18%	34.57%	33.39%	32.04%	6.14%	62.75%	78.63%	3.69%	17.62%	28.03%	38.96%	33.00%	13.97%	50.91%	0.68%	73.27%	3.38%	64.68%
28	10.32%	73.35%	33.92%	32.58%	33.51%	8.68%	53.92%	77.57%	3.44%	18.87%	28.78%	35.48%	35.75%	19.84%	54.23%	0.92%	69.60%	4.89%	68.19%

Plan P000C0109

Dist.	2020 Census		Average Primary Election Turnout				Average General Election Turnout												General Election Performance in Statewide Elections 2012-2020									
	VAP who are:		DEM who are:		REP who are:		Voters who are:			DEM who are:		REP who are:		NPAOth who are:		Black Voters who are:			Hisp. Voters who are:			Avg. Perf.		Wins		Margins		
	Black	Hisp	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	DEM	REP	NPAOth	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	DEM	REP	NPAOth	DEM	REP	NPAOth	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	MAX	MIN	AVG
9	13.02%	50.04%	18.43%	33.46%	0.91%	12.47%	43.53%	29.36%	27.10%	17.53%	42.62%	1.25%	18.03%	6.02%	41.13%	79.20%	3.78%	16.96%	53.12%	15.00%	31.85%	57.0%	41.3%	12	2	D +34.2%	D +0.1%	D +15.7%
20	50.11%	22.98%	64.90%	4.45%	6.38%	10.02%	66.49%	14.54%	18.97%	62.40%	8.78%	6.96%	14.88%	28.23%	19.00%	86.64%	2.11%	11.19%	49.92%	18.74%	31.05%	78.5%	20.7%	14	0	D +65.2%	D +51%	D +57.8%
24	42.17%	38.46%	68.02%	10.67%	6.87%	49.03%	66.57%	12.25%	21.17%	63.27%	15.70%	7.45%	43.92%	24.06%	34.66%	87.54%	1.89%	10.54%	44.74%	23.56%	31.66%	80.3%	18.9%	14	0	D +68%	D +48.9%	D +61.5%
26	6.92%	73.22%	18.16%	44.54%	0.34%	54.72%	30.40%	43.16%	26.44%	15.56%	53.37%	0.47%	54.98%	2.82%	61.53%	82.86%	3.57%	13.25%	28.79%	42.28%	28.90%	43.1%	55.7%	2	12	R +25.6%	R +1.8%	R +12.6%
27	7.07%	74.18%	17.88%	36.73%	0.39%	75.67%	35.72%	38.10%	26.18%	15.24%	45.37%	0.53%	72.01%	3.20%	63.12%	83.84%	3.12%	12.96%	26.84%	45.71%	27.44%	50.9%	48.1%	9	5	D +17.4%	R +0.6%	D +2.7%
28	10.32%	73.35%	22.56%	36.22%	0.54%	65.41%	35.69%	36.75%	27.56%	21.17%	47.57%	0.76%	66.17%	4.66%	64.29%	82.78%	3.06%	14.07%	28.65%	41.33%	30.00%	50.9%	47.9%	9	5	D +15.7%	R +2.2%	D +3%

			9	20	24	26	27	28
Plan P000C0109			13.02%	50.11%	42.17%	6.92%	7.07%	10.32%
Primary Elections			BVAP 50.04%	HVAP 22.98%	38.46%	74.27%	74.13%	73.35%
2018	Governor (REP)	R_Baldauf	0.83%	1.45%	1.93%	1.77%	1.52%	1.82%
		R_DeSantis	52.20%	62.28%	66.81%	68.79%	67.70%	67.72%
		R_Devine	1.87%	2.05%	3.26%	2.74%	3.13%	3.31%
		R_Langford	1.44%	1.80%	1.93%	1.37%	1.56%	1.70%
		R_Mercadante	1.19%	1.53%	2.21%	1.76%	2.18%	2.03%
		R_Nathan	0.95%	1.52%	2.71%	1.07%	1.41%	1.41%
		R_Putnam	38.82%	25.44%	16.79%	19.55%	18.87%	18.11%
		R_White	2.47%	2.84%	3.90%	2.55%	3.49%	3.51%
	Governor (DEM)	D_Gillum	28.49%	53.43%	50.66%	27.71%	28.97%	31.80%
		D_Graham	30.30%	13.31%	11.07%	21.85%	22.66%	21.12%
		D_Greene	14.18%	10.21%	9.33%	9.82%	7.98%	10.56%
		D_King	4.30%	0.91%	0.76%	2.55%	1.56%	2.11%
		D_Levine	19.74%	21.28%	27.38%	34.73%	37.17%	32.26%
		D_Lundmark	1.17%	0.29%	0.38%	1.32%	0.79%	0.90%
		D_Wetherbee	1.70%	0.37%	0.32%	1.12%	0.70%	0.96%
	Attorney General (REP)	R_Moody	54.39%	55.46%	53.14%	51.15%	54.81%	54.83%
		R_White	45.57%	44.16%	46.91%	48.88%	45.20%	45.11%
	Attorney General (DEM)	D_Shaw	60.65%	81.41%	82.21%	65.79%	74.10%	69.58%
		D_Torrens	39.34%	18.58%	17.77%	34.06%	25.90%	30.43%
	Agriculture Commissioner (REP)	R_Caldwell	35.51%	43.02%	39.87%	42.26%	40.18%	42.06%
		R_Grimsley	31.86%	26.45%	31.49%	27.34%	32.68%	31.53%
		R_McCalister	16.13%	20.87%	16.88%	13.25%	16.76%	16.54%
		R_Troutman	16.38%	8.59%	11.33%	16.96%	10.38%	9.57%
	Agriculture Commissioner (DEM)	D_Fried	54.90%	63.96%	59.13%	51.59%	59.89%	53.25%
		D_Porter	18.84%	16.09%	17.30%	19.35%	15.15%	20.42%
		D_Walker	26.24%	19.91%	23.59%	28.75%	24.89%	26.19%
	US Senate (REP)	R_De La Fuente	10.05%	15.12%	15.72%	9.35%	12.64%	12.23%
		R_Scott	89.87%	84.46%	84.02%	90.52%	87.34%	87.65%
2016	US Senate (REP)	R_Beruff	17.67%	14.86%	8.38%	9.70%	5.63%	6.40%
		R_Rivera	2.99%	4.55%	3.20%	2.21%	1.92%	2.93%
		R_Rubio	71.79%	70.37%	80.78%	84.05%	88.89%	85.70%
		R_Young	7.42%	9.04%	7.31%	3.83%	3.50%	4.84%
	US Senate (DEM)	D_De La Fuente	14.71%	3.13%	5.63%	19.79%	12.21%	13.69%
		D_Grayson	45.09%	10.08%	10.80%	11.60%	11.26%	11.07%
		D_Keith	9.55%	14.72%	13.76%	13.93%	17.89%	15.57%
		D_Luster	1.27%	2.22%	2.70%	1.82%	1.55%	1.65%
2014	Governor (REP)	D_Murphy	29.23%	69.53%	66.98%	51.93%	56.90%	57.52%
		R_Adeshina	1.67%	2.51%	2.89%	1.38%	1.82%	1.75%
		R_Cuevas-Neunder	11.64%	14.70%	16.26%	9.74%	13.29%	15.11%
	Governor (DEM)	R_Scott	86.55%	81.70%	80.61%	88.59%	84.85%	82.94%
		D_Crist	75.49%	82.85%	84.36%	78.07%	73.98%	78.45%
		D_Rich	24.46%	16.99%	15.62%	21.35%	25.94%	21.39%
2012	Attorney General (DEM)	D_Sheldon	60.42%	38.39%	46.60%	62.01%	65.55%	61.36%
		D_Thurston	39.47%	61.50%	53.40%	37.34%	34.43%	38.41%
	US Senate (REP)	R_Mack	49.47%	65.27%	71.88%	73.24%	77.15%	73.63%
		R_McCalister	11.65%	12.41%	6.67%	8.45%	5.22%	7.31%
		R_Stuart	6.47%	6.66%	13.36%	11.47%	13.00%	13.19%
		R_Weldon	32.18%	13.82%	7.69%	6.45%	4.50%	5.63%
	US Senate (DEM)	D_Burkett	19.90%	13.92%	14.22%	18.63%	14.82%	18.34%
		D_Nelson	80.01%	85.94%	85.75%	80.92%	85.13%	81.50%

			9	20	24	26	27	28	
Plan P000C0109			BVAP	13.02%	50.11%	42.17%	6.92%	7.07%	10.32%
General Elections			HVAP	50.04%	22.98%	38.46%	75.22%	74.16%	73.35%
2020	President	D_Biden	58.24%	75.89%	74.18%	40.49%	49.45%	46.42%	
		R_Trump	40.80%	23.52%	25.28%	58.98%	50.01%	52.99%	
2018	Governor	D_Gillum	60.99%	79.93%	81.45%	44.44%	53.18%	52.49%	
		R_DeSantis	37.66%	19.45%	17.83%	54.26%	45.75%	46.31%	
	Attorney General	D_Shaw	57.74%	78.44%	80.05%	42.63%	51.99%	50.86%	
		R_Moody	40.31%	20.26%	18.39%	55.44%	46.10%	46.94%	
	Chief Financial Officer	D_Ring	60.15%	79.79%	81.53%	44.03%	52.59%	51.92%	
		R_Patronis	39.85%	20.20%	18.46%	55.96%	47.41%	48.07%	
	Agriculture Commissioner	D_Fried	61.55%	80.09%	82.00%	45.29%	54.63%	53.44%	
		R_Caldwell	38.45%	19.89%	18.00%	54.70%	45.38%	46.56%	
2016	US Senate	D_Nelson	59.82%	80.00%	81.36%	44.81%	54.47%	53.46%	
		R_Scott	40.18%	20.00%	18.64%	55.19%	45.52%	46.55%	
	President	D_Clinton	61.62%	77.83%	81.05%	50.61%	57.42%	56.46%	
		R_Trump	35.03%	20.39%	17.28%	47.09%	40.05%	40.81%	
2014	US Senate	D_Murphy	54.93%	75.64%	75.93%	40.61%	47.78%	47.69%	
		R_Rubio	41.01%	22.42%	21.99%	57.17%	50.17%	49.92%	
	Governor	D_Crist	52.25%	79.92%	82.18%	40.53%	50.00%	51.20%	
		R_Scott	42.62%	17.97%	16.24%	56.88%	47.55%	45.89%	
	Attorney General	D_Sheldon	48.62%	76.13%	79.80%	36.07%	46.03%	45.82%	
		R_Bondi	48.53%	22.42%	18.77%	61.63%	51.96%	51.75%	
	Chief Financial Officer	D_Rankin	48.45%	75.48%	79.06%	37.37%	43.49%	45.87%	
		R_Atwater	51.55%	24.50%	20.93%	62.62%	56.52%	54.11%	
2012	Agriculture Commissioner	D_Hamilton	47.07%	77.02%	79.78%	37.30%	44.30%	46.04%	
		R_Putnam	52.94%	22.99%	20.21%	62.69%	55.69%	53.95%	
	President	D_Obama	61.22%	80.52%	82.82%	48.85%	52.22%	54.83%	
		R_Romney	37.97%	19.06%	16.83%	50.67%	47.27%	44.61%	
US Senate	D_Nelson	65.83%	81.97%	83.46%	50.74%	54.47%	56.33%		
	R_Mack	31.67%	16.82%	15.49%	47.10%	44.15%	42.03%		

SB 2-C Congressional Plan 0109

J. ALEX KELLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
OF THE GOVERNOR

4.19.22

Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

DISTRICTS IDENTICAL IN PLANS 8019 & 0109

10 Districts Identical:

- ☐ 1-2 (Panhandle)
- ☐ 20-25 (Southeast)
- ☐ 27-28 (Southeast)

IMPROVEMENTS IN PLAN 8019

18 Districts Improved:

- ☐ 3-19
- ☐ 26 (Southwestern portions)

Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

- ☐ Starting with the Legislature's Primary Plan 8019:
 - ☐ Maintained the same number of performing majority-minority districts.
 - ☐ Maintained the Legislature's Panhandle districts.
 - ☐ Maintained the Legislature's Southeast districts.
 - ☐ Addressed federal constitutional concerns by using the EOG's Northeast districts (w/ minor improvements).
 - ☐ Tier 2 improvements through a compromise (hybrid of the Legislature's and EOG's plans) for Gulf Coast counties, stretching from Citrus to Lee counties and impacting some inland counties.
 - ☐ Tier 2 improvements by returning to concepts from the House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee's Central Florida in Plan 8011, with inclusion of one concept from the Senate's Plan 8060.
 - ☐ Tier 2 improvements to boundaries by eliminating EOG's adherence to Census Designated Places and adopting the Legislature's Tier 2 focus on use of roadways and waterways.

Tier 2 Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

☐ Counties Kept Whole: 49

☐ 18 counties split 48 ways

☐ Differences:

- ☐ Where there are differences in county splits, 7 counties split 17 ways (Citrus, Collier, Hillsborough, Marion, Polk, Sarasota, Volusia)
- ☐ FL's 7 largest counties split 24 ways (Broward, Duval, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade, Orange, Palm Beach, Pinellas)

SB 2-C PLAN 0109

☐ Counties Kept Whole: 50

☐ 17 counties split 46 ways

☐ Differences:

- ☐ Where there are differences in county splits, 7 counties split 16 ways (Citrus, Collier, Hillsborough, Marion, Polk, Sarasota, Volusia)
- ☐ FL's 7 largest counties split 23 ways (Broward, Duval, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade, Orange, Palm Beach, Pinellas)

Tier 2 Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109

- ☐ Boundaries: 87.50% use of Tier 2 boundaries
- ☐ Therefore: 12.50% Non-Geo/Pol boundary lines

- ☐ Boundaries: 88.50% use of Tier 2 boundaries
- ☐ Therefore: 11.50% Non-Geo/Pol boundary lines

Tier 2 Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

- ☐ Compactness:
 - ☐ Reock: 0.48
 - ☐ Area/Convex Hull: 0.82
 - ☐ Polsby Popper: 0.42
 - ☐ Least mathematically compact CD 4's Polsby Popper is 0.17 (below 0.20)

SB 2-C PLAN 0109

- ☐ Compactness:
 - ☐ Reock: 0.47
 - ☐ Area/Convex Hull: 0.81
 - ☐ Polsby Popper: 0.43
 - ☐ Only Plan w/ all CDs > 0.20 Reock & Polsby Popper
 - ☐ Improved visual compactness for several CDs

Tier 2 Comparing SB 2-C Plan 0109 to SB 102 Primary Plan 8019

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

☐ City Splits: 16

☐ Differences:

- ☐ Cape Coral (Lee) – split in 2 CDs
- ☐ Plant City (Hillsborough) – split in 2 CDs
- ☐ Port Orange (Volusia) – split in 2 CDs
- ☐ Lakeland (Polk) – whole
- ☐ Longboat Key (Manatee & Sarasota) – whole
- ☐ St. Petersburg (Pinellas) – whole

SB 2-C PLAN 0109

☐ City Splits: 16

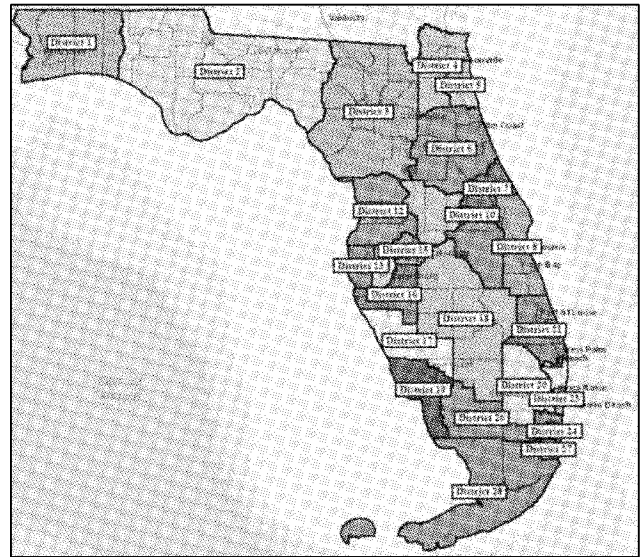
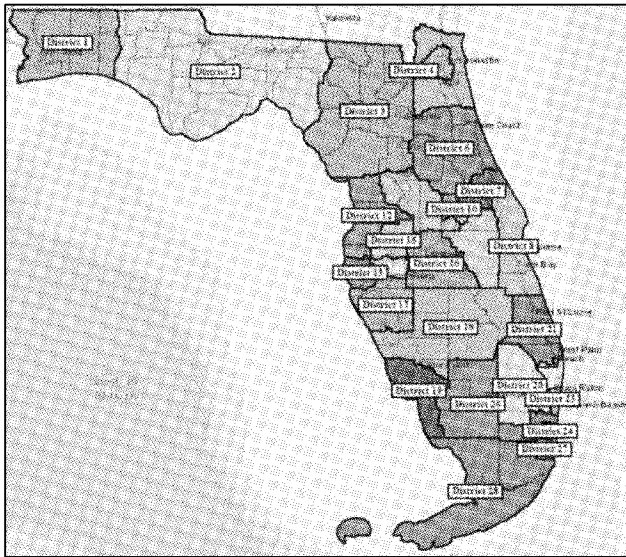
☐ Differences:

- ☐ Cape Coral (Lee) – whole
- ☐ Plant City (Hillsborough) – whole
- ☐ Port Orange (Volusia) – whole
- ☐ Lakeland (Polk) – split in 2 CDs
- ☐ Longboat Key (Manatee & Sarasota) – split in 2 CDs (due to keeping Sarasota County whole)
- ☐ St. Petersburg (Pinellas) – split in 2 CDs

Statewide

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

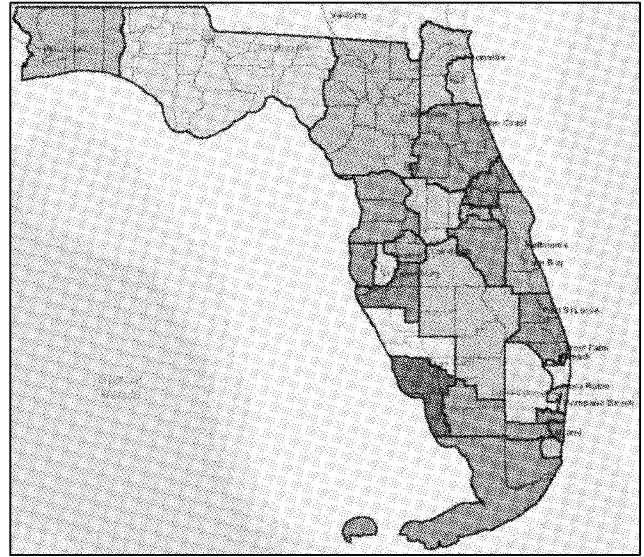
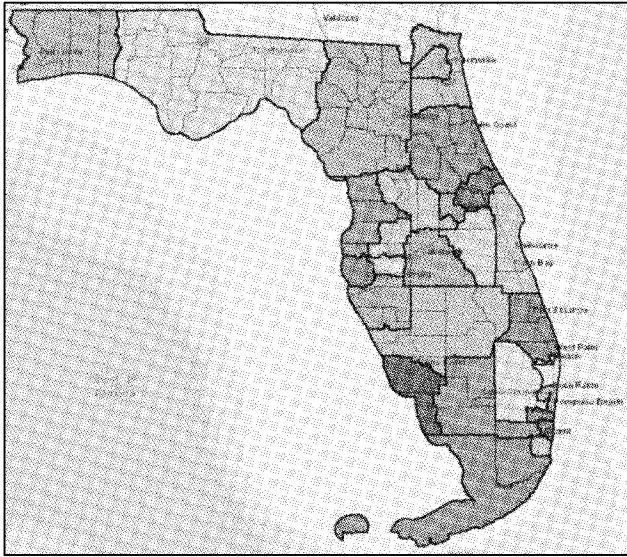
SB 2-C PLAN 0109



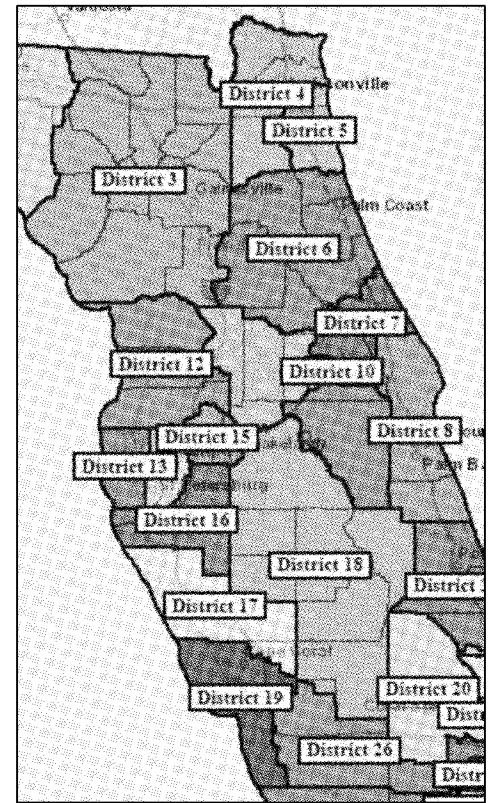
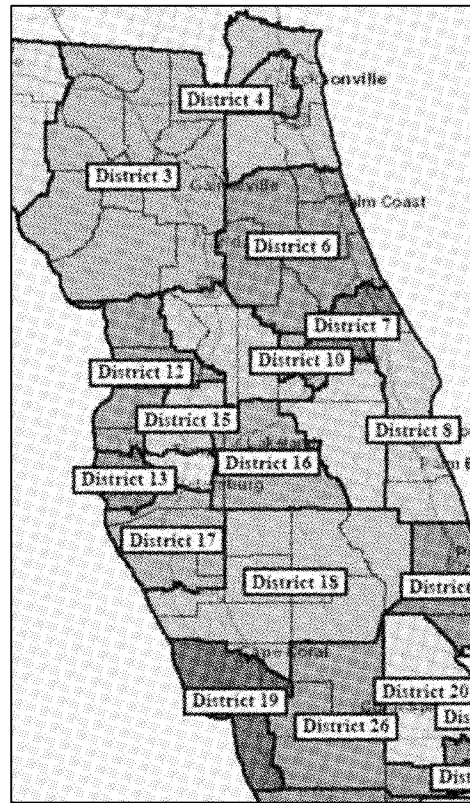
Statewide Without District Labels

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109

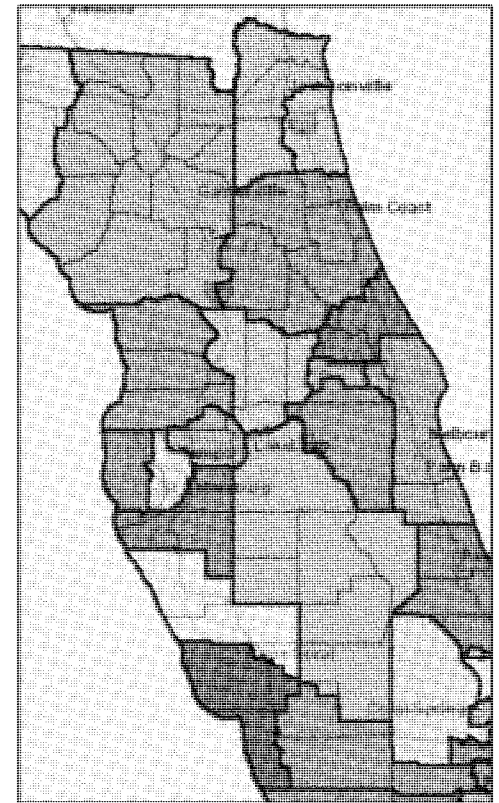
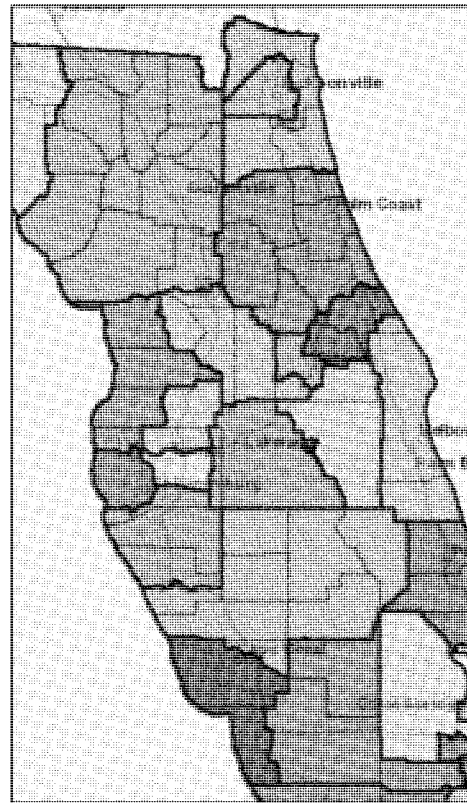


Focusing on the 18 Districts with Changes



Focusing on the 18 Districts with Changes

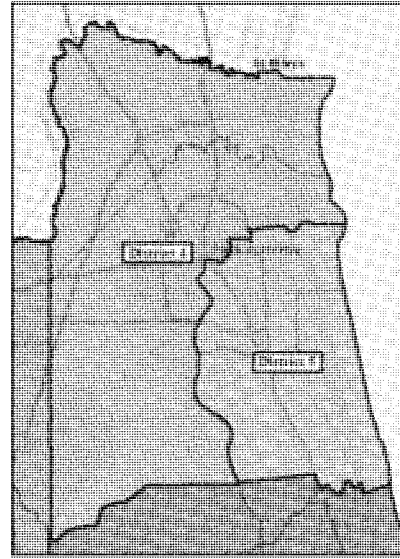
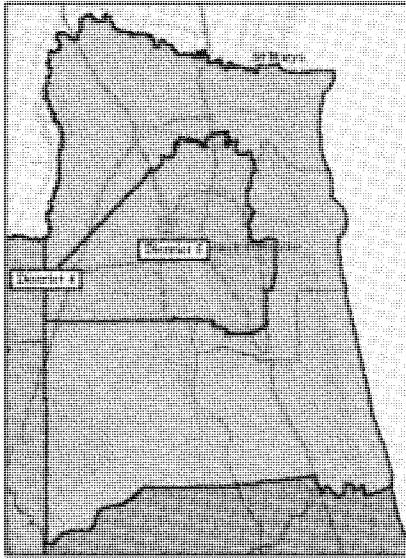
Without District Labels



Districts 4-5

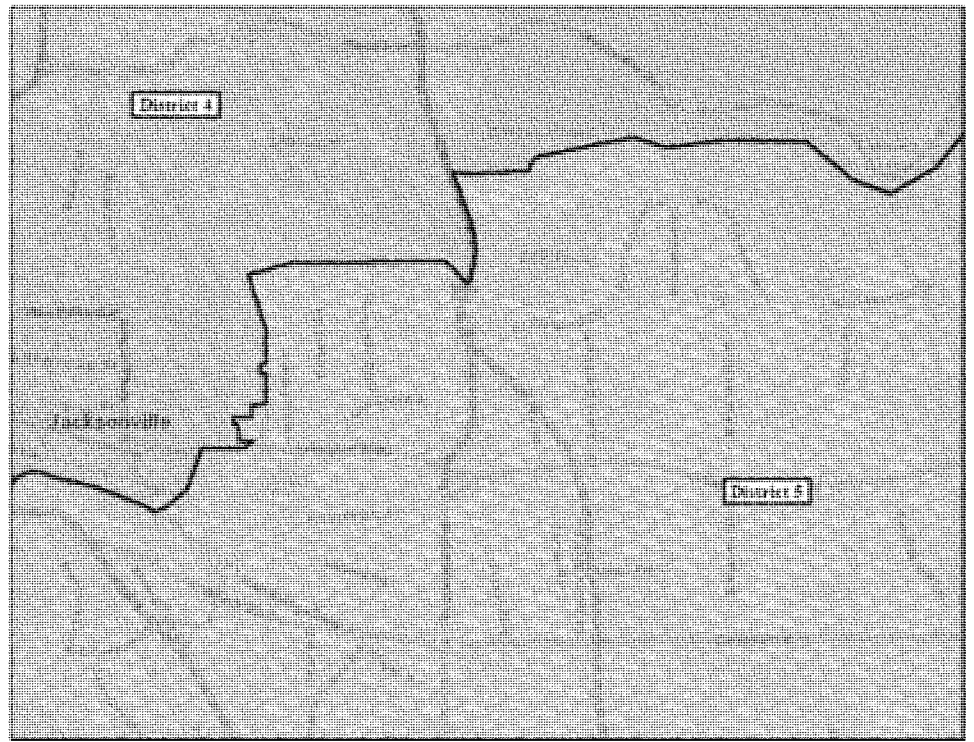
SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109



SB 2-C Plan 0109

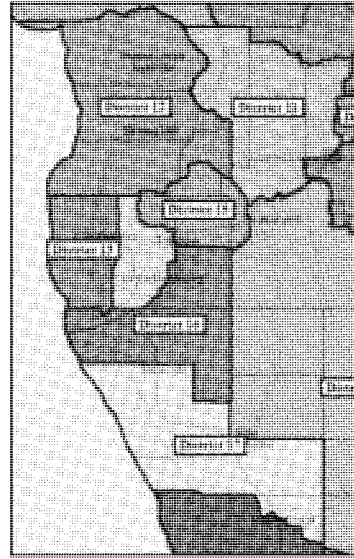
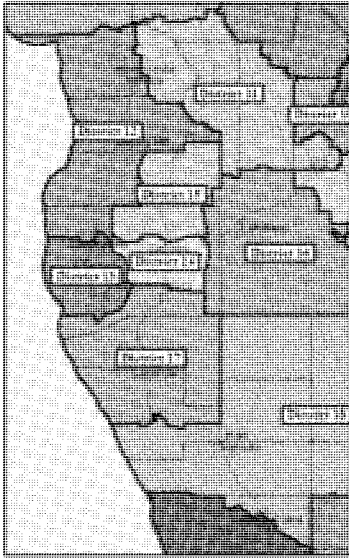
Districts 4 & 5



Districts 11-18

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

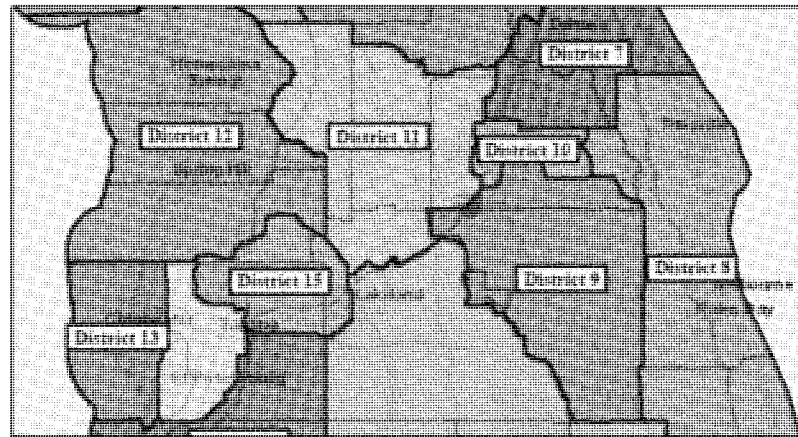
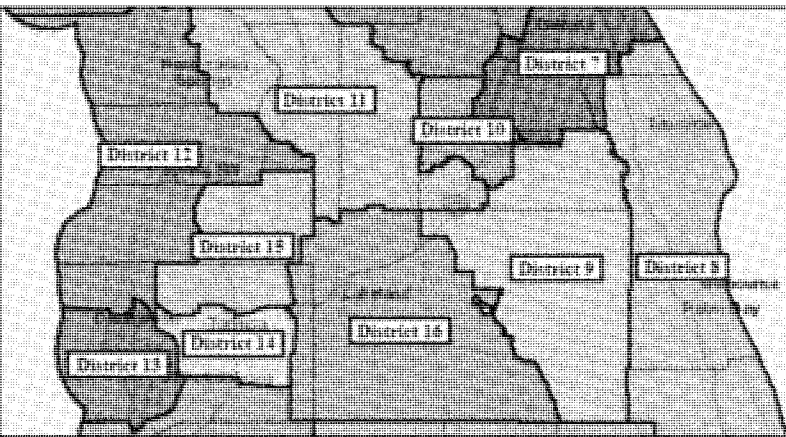
SB 2-C PLAN 0109



The I-4 Corridor and Tier 2 Improvements

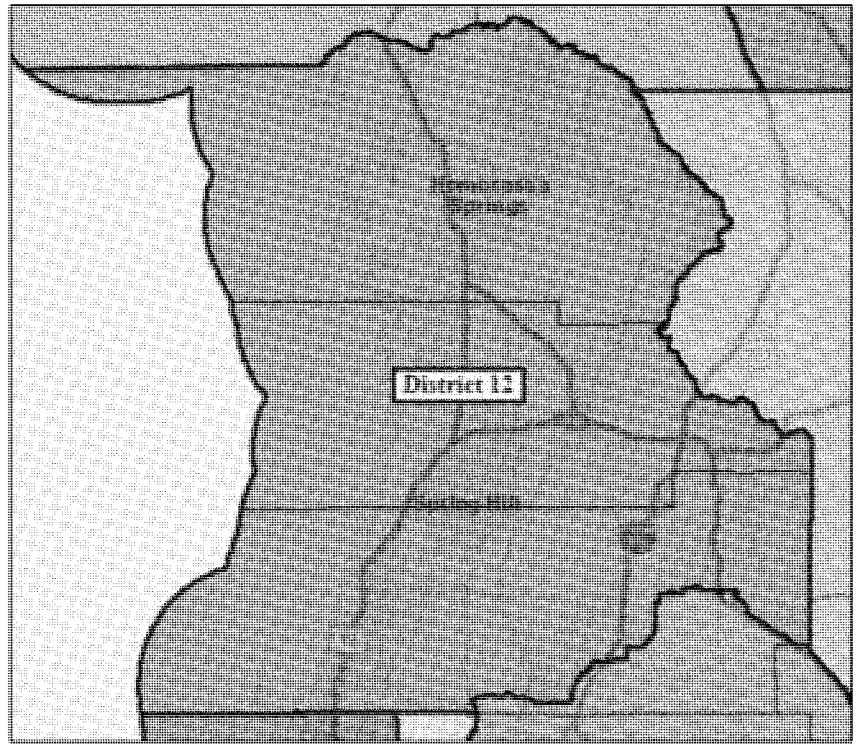
SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109



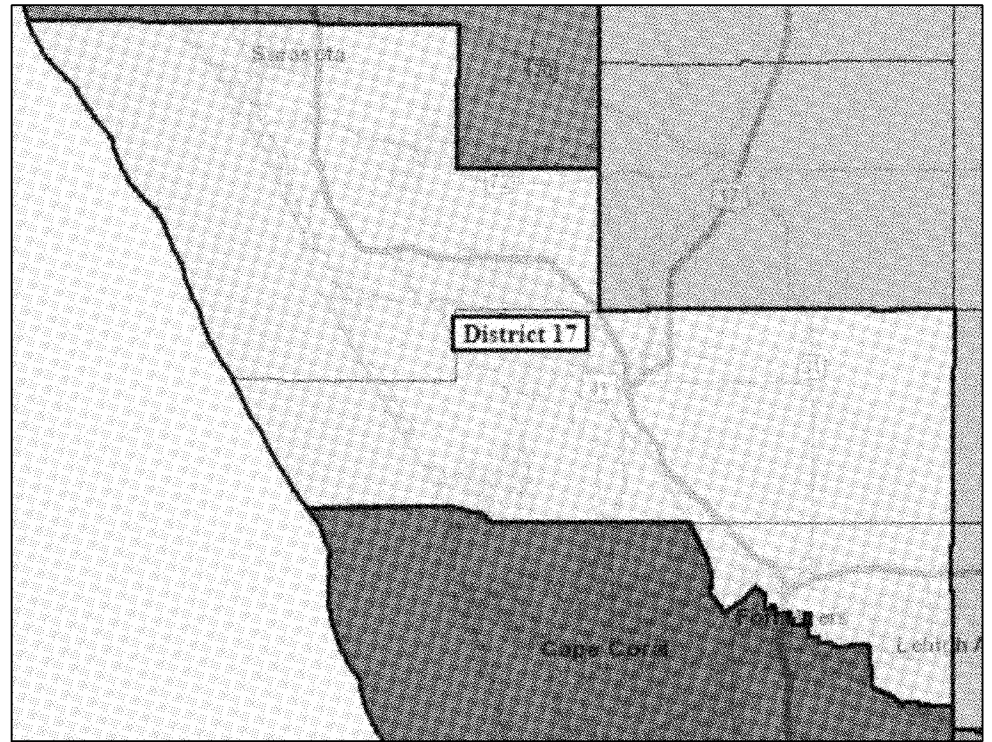
SB 2-C Plan 0109

District 12



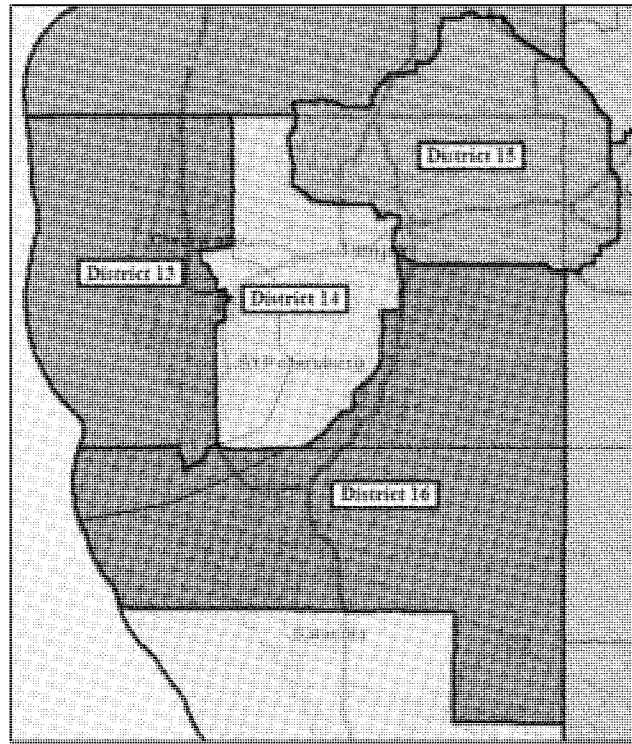
SB 2-C Plan 0109

District 17

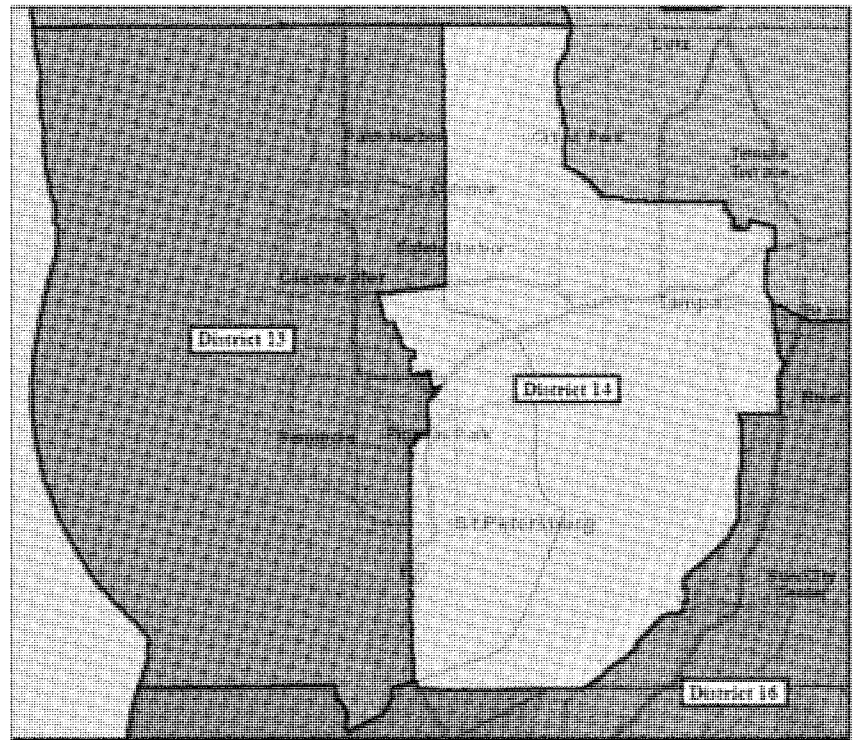


SB 2-C Plan 0109

Districts 13-16



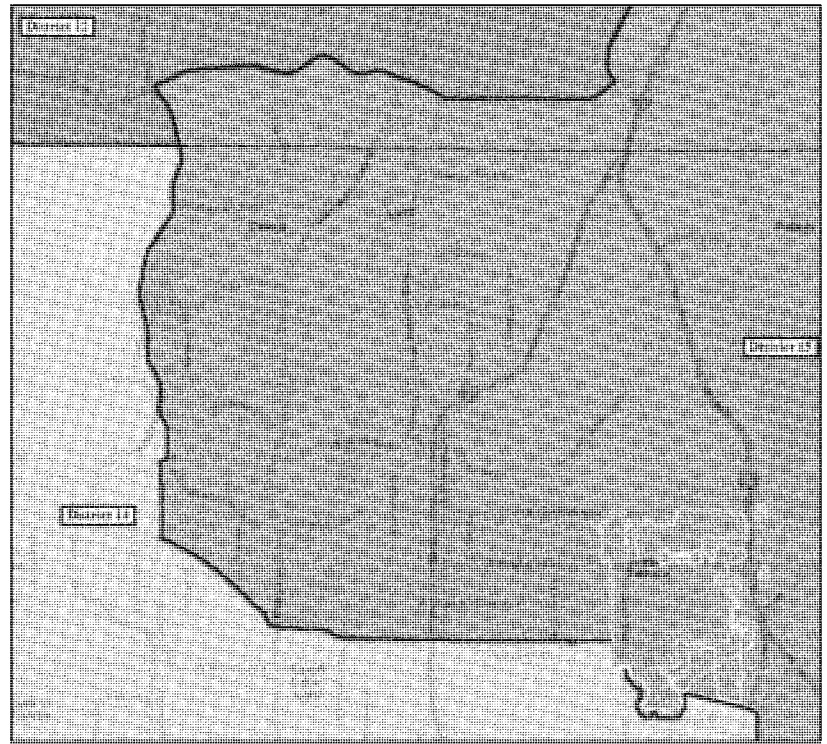
District: 13-06



SB 2-C Plan 0109

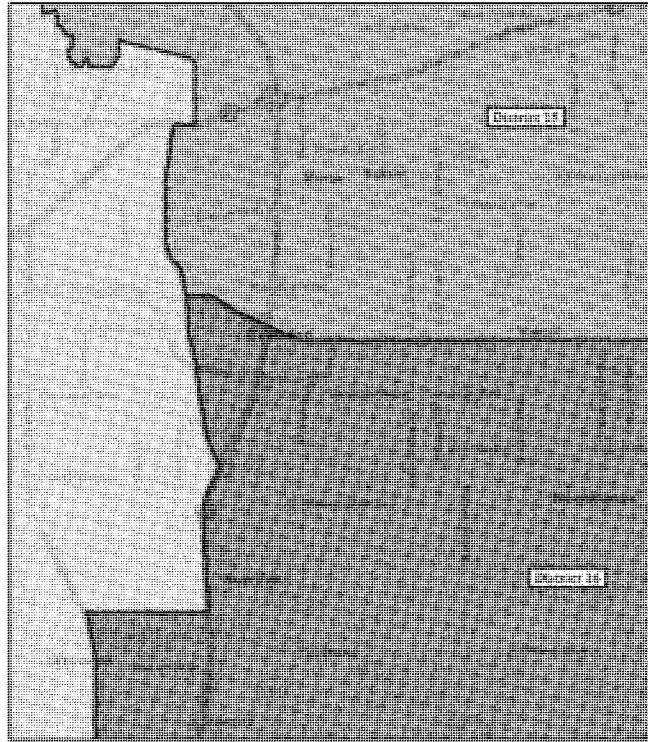
Districts 12, 14-15

Temple Terrace is highlighted



SB 2-C Plan 0109

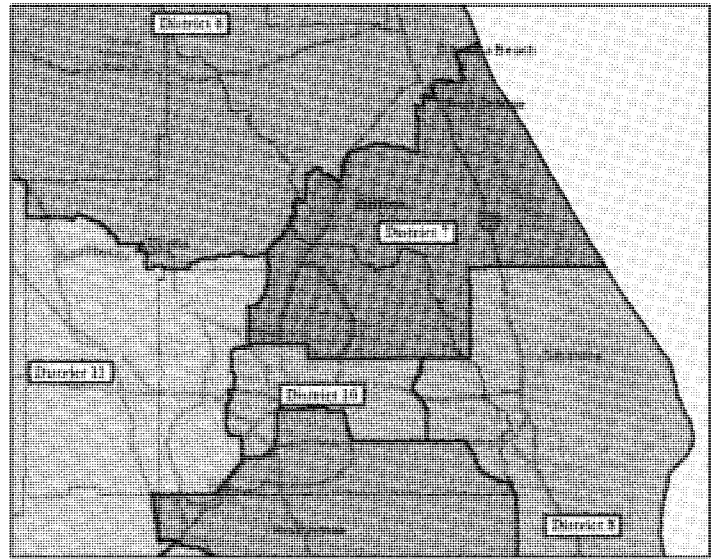
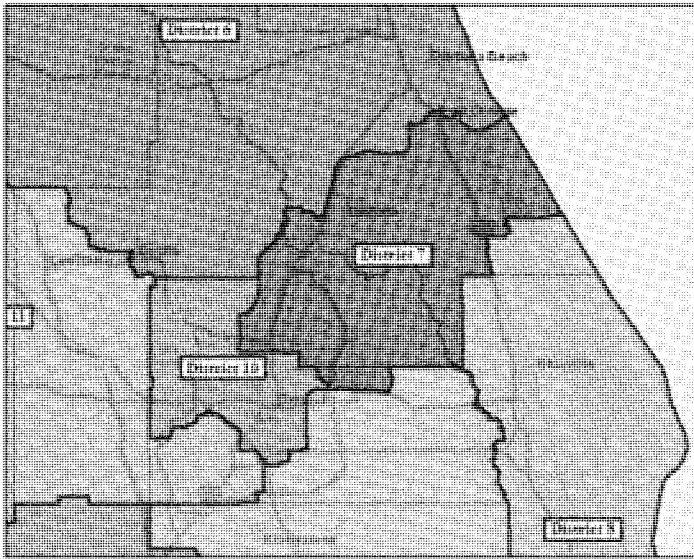
Districts 14-16



Districts 6-11

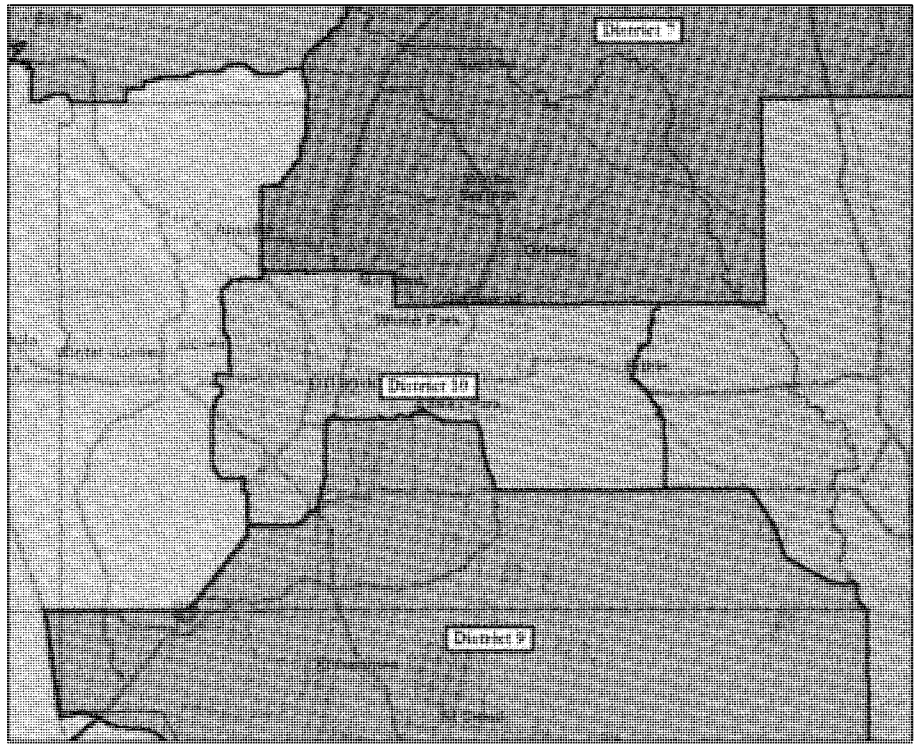
SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109



SB 2-C Plan 0109

Districts 7-11



SB 2-C Plan 0109

Districts 7-11

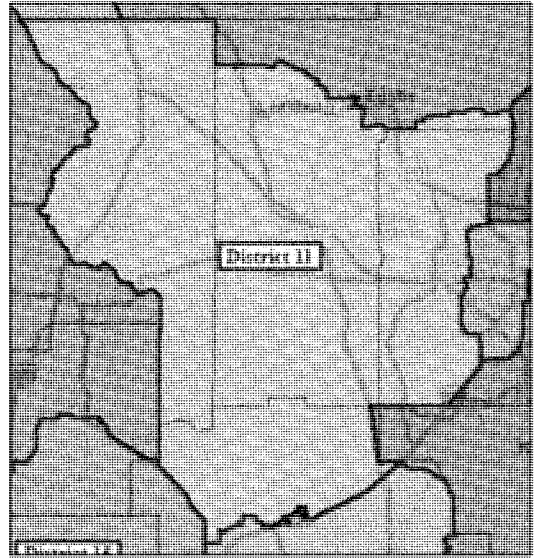
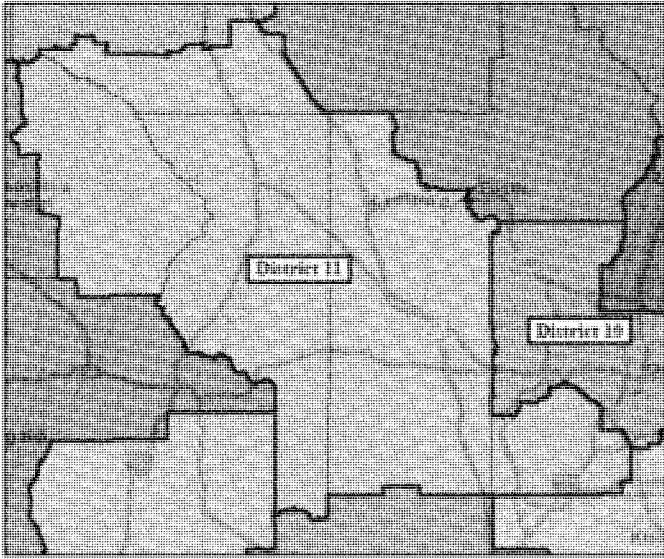
Edgewood is highlighted



Districts 6, 10-12

SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109



SB 2-C Plan 0109

Districts 3, 6, 11

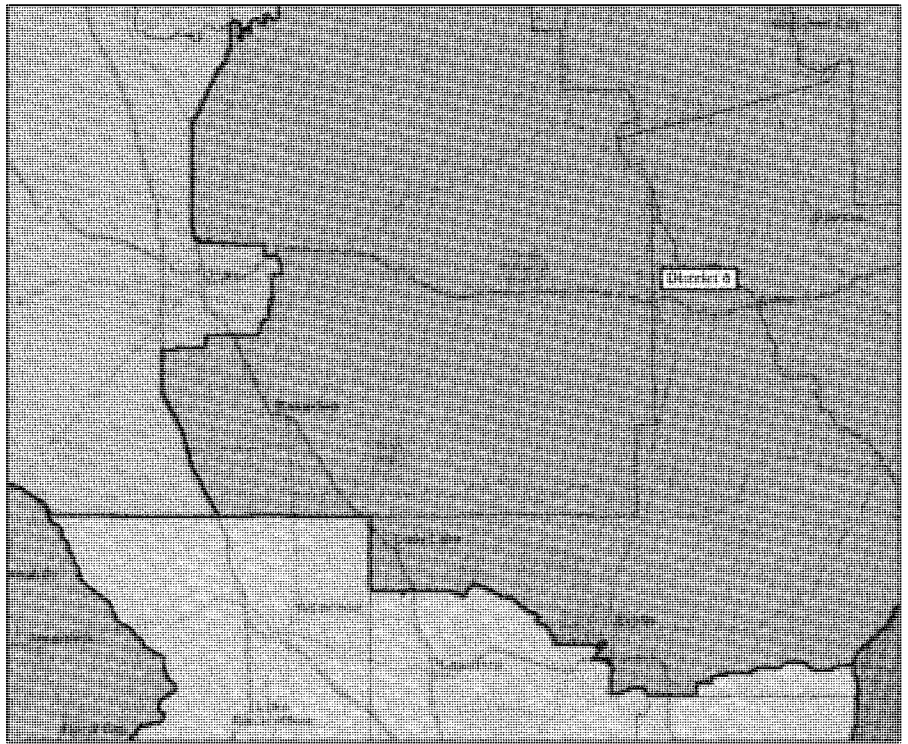
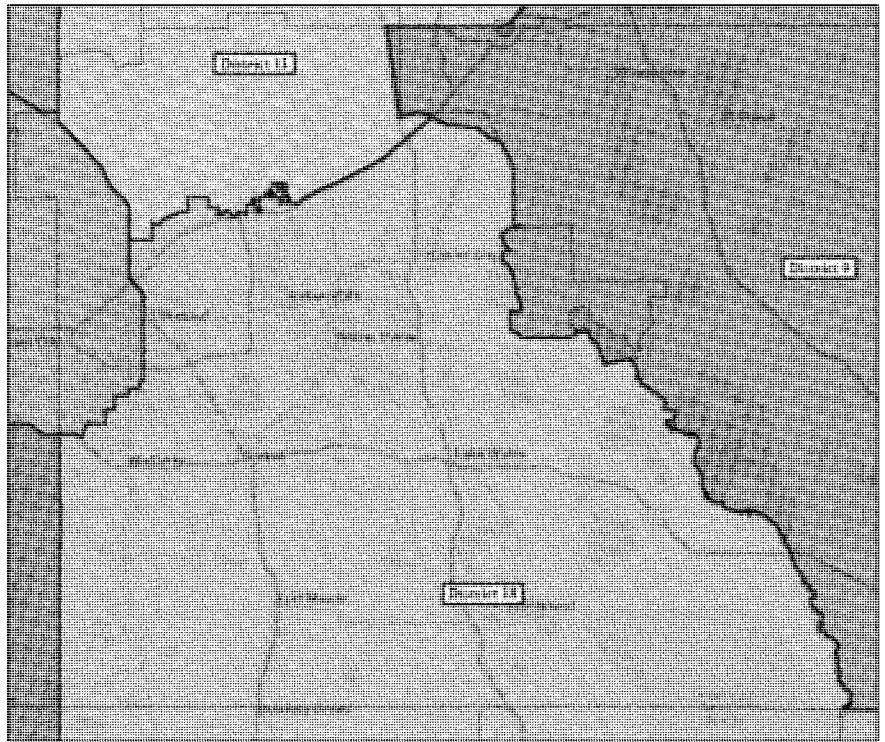


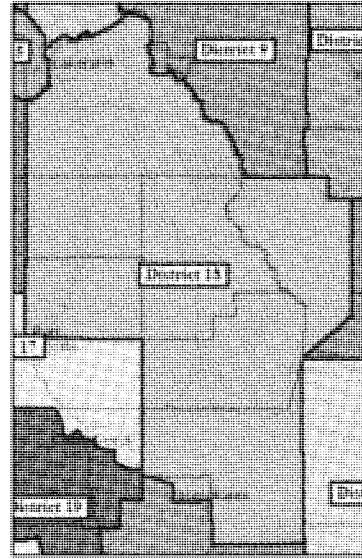
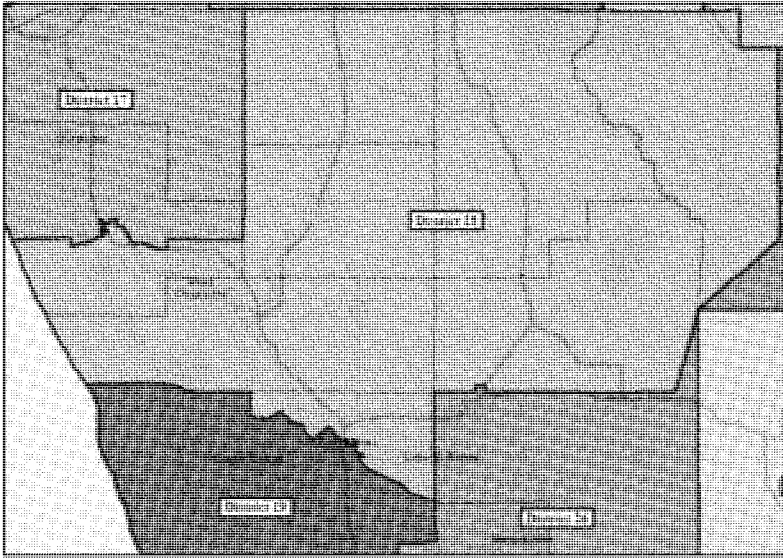
Figure 9, 10, 11, 12



Districts 17-19, 26

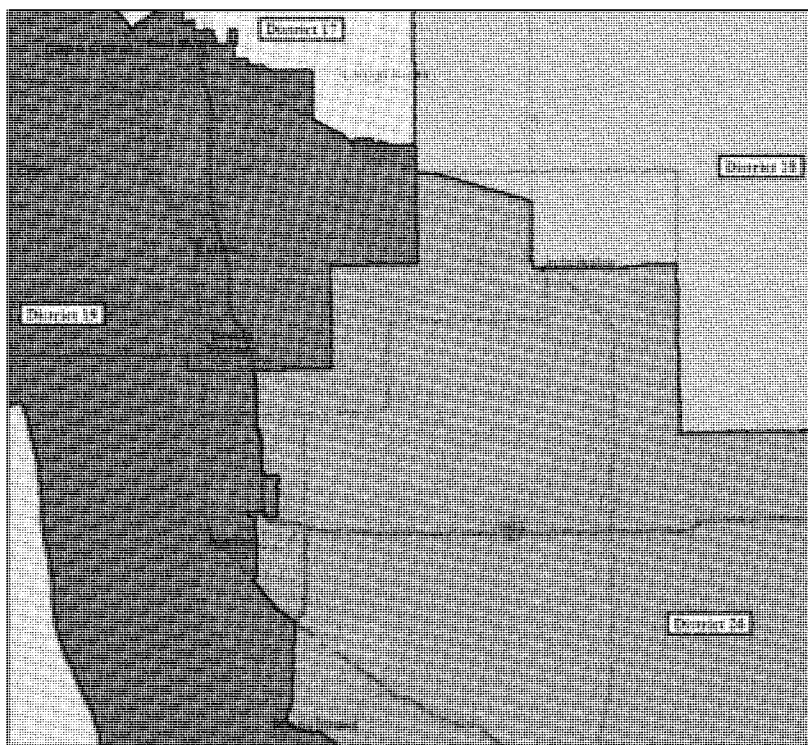
SB 102 PRIMARY PLAN 8019

SB 2-C PLAN 0109



SB 2-C Plan 0109

Districts 17, 19, 26



Common Cause, et al.)
)
v.) 4:22-cv-109
)
Cord Byrd)
)

TRANSCRIPTION OF AUDIO RECORDING
SENATE COMMITTEE ON REAPPORTIONMENT
APRIL 19, 2022

DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP
1730 M Street, NW, Suite 812
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 232-0646

1 APRIL 19, 2022

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Committee on
3 Reapportionment will now come to order.

4 Dana, please call the roll.

5 THE CLERK: Chair Rodriguez.

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Here.

7 THE CLERK: Vice Chair Broxson.

8 Senator Bean.

9 SENATOR BEAN: Here.

10 THE CLERK: Senator Bracy.

11 SENATOR BRACY: Here.

12 THE CLERK: Senator Bradley.

13 Senator Brodeur.

14 SENATOR BRODEUR: Here.

15 THE CLERK: Senator Burgess.

16 SENATOR BURGESS: Here.

17 THE CLERK: Senator Gibson.

18 Senator Harrell.

19 SENATOR HARRELL: Here.

20 THE CLERK: Senator Rodriguez.

21 Senator Rouson.

22 SENATOR ROUSON: Here.

23 THE CLERK: Senator Stargel.

24 Senator Stewart.

25 SENATOR STEWART: Here.

1 THE CLERK: A quorum is present, Mr. Chair.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you. I'd like
3 to ask everyone to silence your electronic devices.
4 Anyone wishing to speak before the Committee should
5 complete an appearance form and hand it in to a
6 member of the Sergeant's Office. Should you select
7 to waive your speaking time, your position will be
8 included in the Committee meeting records.

9 Members, as you know, the Congressional
10 maps passed by the Legislature in our regular
11 session were vetoed. We have been called back into
12 special session to fulfill our constitutional
13 obligation to reapportion this state.

14 On Tuesday, April the 12th, I was briefed
15 by the Governor's Office on a map which has been
16 published as P000C0109. After a conversation with
17 our Senate counsel, I determined that this map
18 reflects standards that the Senate can support and
19 filed it as Senate Bill 2-C.

20 I've asked our general counsel, Mr. Dan
21 Nordby, to prepare a legal analysis of the
22 Governor's submission, and that legal analysis is
23 included in today's meeting materials for your
24 review. The letter that the Governor's Office sent,
25 along with their map and their analysis the

1 accompanied the veto message, are also included in
2 today's materials.

3 At my request, the Governor's Office is
4 here today to provide members of this committee with
5 the same briefing that I received last week and to
6 answer questions about the map. Members earlier
7 today -- all interested Senators were invited to
8 attend this meeting.

9 Members of the Committee will be the first
10 to ask questions relating to the proposed map, after
11 which, if time permits, non-Committee members will
12 be allowed to ask questions. Questions should not
13 be framed in the form of debate. Debate is reserved
14 for members of the Committee at the appropriate
15 time.

16 We are scheduled to conclude this meeting
17 at 4:30. The Senate will reconvene at 5 o'clock, as
18 required by the earlier recess motion. In order to
19 keep with the special session schedule, the
20 President has indicated that he will not be open to
21 extending today's meeting.

22 If there are no questions about our process
23 for today, then we will proceed to today's agenda.

24 Seeing no questions, we will now move to
25 the agenda. Take up tab number 1, Senate Bill 2-C

1 on establishing the Congressional districts of the
2 state.

3 Mr. Alex Kelly is here on behalf of the
4 Executive Office of the Governor to walk us through
5 the map.

6 Mr. Kelly, the floor is yours.

7 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Chair and members.

8 Again, my name is Alex Kelly, and I
9 appreciate your time and this opportunity today to
10 present the map proposed by the Executive Office of
11 the Governor, the third map filed by our office, and
12 the proposed Congressional Reapportionment Plan and
13 to discuss our office's contribution to what is a
14 compromise plan.

15 And just for a background, I serve as at
16 the Deputy Chief of Staff for the Governor. A very
17 brief introduction before I get into the slides.
18 I'll frequently today refer to improvements in the
19 plan before you today. Senate Bill 2-C is followed
20 by the Chair Plan 0109.

21 Although when I refer to changes in this
22 map, as you may know, you know, my role in terms of
23 when I talk about my role in these changes, I'm only
24 really referring to 18 of the 28 districts in this
25 map. Ten of the districts are unchanged from Senate

1 Bill 102 that you passed during session, so Primary
2 Plan 8019. So when I refer to changes and I refer
3 to my work on this map, I'm really just referring to
4 the 18 districts that I changed.

5 For my role in this process and my reason
6 for being here today, I am the map drawer of the 18
7 changed districts in this plan before you. As for
8 my experience, just to give a little context, a
9 decade ago I was the Redistricting Committee Staff
10 Director in the Florida House of Representatives.

11 Starting in January earlier this year, I
12 initially served for our office just in a role of
13 providing general guidance and oversight to our in-
14 house and contract counsel and also to a contract
15 map drawer, who we brought on to support this work,
16 and that contract map drawer supported our work in
17 the Governor's first map that was submitted back in,
18 I want to say, maybe late January, early February,
19 Plan 0079.

20 For reference, that contract map drawer of
21 Congressional Plan 0079, his name is Adam Foltz.
22 He's also previously drawn maps on behalf of the
23 Texas and Wisconsin Legislatures. He's currently
24 drawing maps right now on behalf of the Texas
25 Legislature.

1 Adam and myself collaborated on our
2 office's second map, map 0094, which was submitted a
3 few weeks later. Much like your professional staff,
4 myself, and our contact map drawer, we've only ever
5 worked on maps for state government -- or I should
6 say much like your professional staff and your
7 Committee.

8 In this map before you today, I alone
9 authored the changes in this plan, 0109, with
10 respect to how this new plan compares to the map
11 that the Legislature passed, the Legislature's
12 primary plan. And generally speaking, today, I'll
13 refer to the Legislature's primary plan, except
14 where I might note otherwise, but generally, I'm
15 referring to Plan 8019.

16 I will also say at the outset some
17 important disclaimers. One, no one directed me to
18 favor or disfavor a political party or incumbent in
19 my work, and I did not draw with the intent to favor
20 or disfavor. Two, in drawing any of the districts
21 submitted by our office, I did not consider or even
22 look at political data, including party registration
23 and voting data. In other words, I do not know the
24 voting history or party registration numbers for any
25 of the districts that we've drawn as an office for

1 any of the districts that we'll look at today.

2 The only time I did reference political
3 data was early in the process to determine a
4 question that you were having to address, to
5 determine whether or not it was possible to draw a
6 compact African-American performing district in
7 Northeast Florida, essentially a more compact
8 version of the benchmark District 5.

9 I did at that time reference political data
10 to determine if that was possible and determine if
11 there was a way to draw such a district that
12 complied with the U.S. Constitution, the Florida
13 Constitution, in particular the Florida Constitution
14 as interpreted by the Florida Supreme Court and
15 implemented by this Legislature. I ultimately
16 determined earlier in this process that it was not
17 possible to essentially check all those boxes.

18 Three, in drawing the plan before you today
19 -- in drawing and in really contributing to any of
20 our office's plans and in the totality of our
21 engagement in this process, I have not consulted
22 with any outside -- anyone outside the Executive
23 Office of the Governor, our contract counsel, our
24 contract map drawer, or the Legislature and the
25 Legislature staff and counsel.

1 In other words, I can confirm I've had no
2 discussions with any political consultant, partisan
3 operative, or any political party official
4 concerning any plans presented by our office,
5 including the plan that you'll be considering today.
6 In effect, I have engaged in this process, including
7 authoring this proposed comprise plan, in a manner
8 that meets the same high standards that you set for
9 your professional staff.

10 And this proposed plan truly is -- Senate
11 Bill 2-C, Plan 0109, is indeed a compromise. It is
12 the project of -- a product of consultation and
13 collaboration between our office and the leadership
14 in the House and Senate, and it incorporates
15 portions of the plan passed by the Legislature. when
16 I noted earlier that 10 of the districts are
17 identical to what the Legislature passed.

18 It incorporates concepts from maps
19 previously discussed and presented by -- or
20 previously submitted to the Legislature by our
21 office, 0079 and 0094. It incorporates concepts
22 from the map that was referred out of the House's
23 Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee, Plan 8011,
24 and it aligns in several other ways that I'll
25 describe with the House and Senate's map drawing.

1 I'll jump into the slides. Ten districts
2 in the compromised plan, as I noted, Districts 1, 2,
3 20-25, 27, and 28 are unchanged by the plan passed
4 by the Legislature. The remaining districts, 3-19
5 and 26, have been modified in various ways to
6 address the federal constitutional concerns raised
7 by the Governor and to improve various Tier 2
8 metrics.

9 In a few minutes, I will walk you through
10 visually the 18 districts that I changed in this
11 proposed plan. First though, I'll give you a
12 general overview on the next slide and then after
13 that some highlights of the improvements to the Tier
14 2 metrics.

15 First, in an effort to create a
16 collaborative product, I worked off the
17 Legislature's primary plan, 8019. So while I was
18 seeking to remedy the Governor's veto message and
19 make improvements throughout the map, I began my
20 work by downloading the Legislature's Plan 8019 and
21 subsequently making changes. And I should note that
22 I drew Plan 0109 entirely with the Legislature's
23 publicly available website and data.

24 Regarding the proposed plan, the plan
25 maintains the same number of performing

1 minority/majority seats. It retains, as I noted
2 before, the Legislature's exact configuration for
3 congressional districts in the Florida Panhandle,
4 Districts 1-2, and Congressional Districts in the
5 southeastern region of the state, essentially St.
6 Lucie County down to Monroe County, just as in the
7 Legislature's primary plan.

8 For the reasons set forth in the detailed
9 memorandum that the Chair referenced and is in your
10 packets that was prepared by our office's general
11 counsel that accompanied the Governor's veto
12 message, the compromised proposal eliminates the
13 racially gerrymandered versions of Congressional
14 District 5, which were included in Senate Bill 102
15 in both -- in different ways, the primary plan and
16 the secondary plan. Again, members, that legal
17 memorandum is in your committee packets.

18 In summary, Congressional District 5, in
19 both the primary and secondary maps enacted by the
20 Legislature, violates the Equal Protection Clause of
21 the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution
22 because it assigns voters primarily on the basis of
23 race but is not narrowly tailored to achieve a
24 compelling state interest.

25 That memorandum otherwise fully explains

1 the Governor's legal objections to both versions of
2 the district as passed by the Legislature in the
3 primary and secondary maps. I should note, as a map
4 drawer, I'm not an attorney. So I'm not going to
5 play the role of an attorney here today. I'll keep
6 my comments focused on the map itself and do my best
7 to answer your questions, but I just want to note
8 that at the outset, that I'm not legal counsel to
9 the Governor.

10 Plan 109 creates in Northeast Florida two
11 new districts, Districts 4 and 5, in the area that
12 are consistent with the other maps previously
13 published by our office with some minor
14 improvements. These two districts are race neutral
15 and overall more compact than District's 4 and 5 in
16 the maps passed by the Legislature.

17 In addition to resolving federal -- the
18 federal constitutional objections raised by the
19 Governor, the compromised plan makes several overall
20 improvements with respect to Tier 2 metrics relative
21 to the maps passed by the Legislature by bringing
22 together some of the best concepts from the
23 Legislature's maps and of our office's maps.

24 Plan 109 adjusts the congressional
25 districts in the Tampa Bay area and the larger Gulf

1 Coast region stretching from Citrus down to Lee
2 Counties and impacting some inland counties to
3 create sort of a hybrid, if you will, of some of the
4 Legislature's and our office's maps. These changes
5 improve overall visual compactness, have a net
6 affect of reducing a county split, and significantly
7 increase usage of other Tier 2 political and
8 geographic boundary lines.

9 In the Central Florida region, the plan
10 that you have before you today aligns more closely
11 with the map that was referred out of the House
12 Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee Plan 8011
13 with one distinction that I'll describe later that
14 aligns with Senate Plan 8060 as you passed out of
15 the Senate.

16 SENATOR GIBSON: Mister --

17 ALEX KELLY: With --

18 SENATOR GIBSON: Sorry.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: (Indiscernible)

20 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair. So
21 we're waiting until the entire packet is done to ask
22 any questions because I didn't hear the explanation
23 of the -- I think Mr. Kelly said of the Governor's
24 veto language. I don't see it in the packet. So
25 I'm just -- could he repeat? It was a rational for

1 --

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: The veto language was
3 in the packet we provided.

4 SENATOR GIBSON: And is -- can I have
5 clarity if that is the language that Mr. Kelly is
6 talking about that's in this thing?

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you understand the
8 question?

9 ALEX KELLY: Yes, Chair.

10 Yes, Senator. Yes. I gave a brief
11 synopsis of that veto message and the accompanying
12 message from our general counsel that went with the
13 veto message.

14 SENATOR GIBSON: I think that's the part I
15 didn't understand how you put it together. I just
16 want to make sure I hear it correctly. That's all
17 --

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Okay.

19 SENATOR GIBSON: -- Chair. If he could
20 repeat it?

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Would you repeat that
22 please?

23 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Chair. Happy to.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you.

25 ALEX KELLY: In summary, Congressional

1 District 5, in both the primary and secondary maps
2 enacted by the Legislature, violates the 14th
3 Amendment of the United States Constitution because
4 it assigns voters primarily based on race but is not
5 tailored to achieve a compelling state interest.

6 SENATOR GIBSON: Okay. Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you. Please
8 proceed.

9 ALEX KELLY: Thank you.

10 So again, in the Central Florida region,
11 the plan that you're looking at today, Plan 0109,
12 aligns more closely with the map that was referred
13 out of the House Congressional Redistricting
14 Subcommittee Plan 8011 with one distinction that
15 aligns with Senate Plan 8060.

16 With respect to similarities with House
17 Plan 8011, specifically with respect to
18 Congressional District 10, we accept the position
19 articulated by the House's professional staff in
20 their subcommittee, that this district is not
21 subject to the Florida Constitution's non-
22 diminishment standard because the benchmark district
23 does not contain an African American population
24 sufficiently large enough to reliably elect a
25 candidate of their choice.

1 We understand during the course of the
2 testimony between House and Senate there was a
3 disagreement on this point. However, because
4 districts cannot be drawn on the basis of race
5 unless there is a compelling reason to do so, in the
6 absence of an agreement between the House and Senate
7 on the need to treat District 10 as a minority
8 protected district under the state Constitution
9 indicates that a compelling basis for using race is
10 lacking.

11 Accordingly, the proposed plan defers to
12 the House's stated testimony and my changes to the
13 district in Central Florida in that region,
14 including District 10, are drawn on race-neutral
15 principles. Again, these changes in Central Florida
16 result in Tier 2 improvements in the Central Florida
17 region. And in combination, these changes in
18 Central Florida and in the Gulf Coast counties
19 result in some additional Tier 2 improvements for
20 other impacted districts like Districts 3, 6, and
21 11.

22 Lastly, in-between the submission of our
23 office's second map plan, 0094, and my drawing of
24 this plan, 0109, I received feedback from House and
25 Senate staff regarding our second maps overreliance

1 on the use of census-designated place boundaries. I
2 was encouraged to follow the House and Senate's
3 preferred methodology for boundary usage to increase
4 our usage of major roadways, waterways, and railways
5 for Tier 2 compliance.

6 Our second map closely adhered to county
7 and city lines. So that was not a concern, although
8 less frequently so to other Tier 2 recognized
9 boundaries. Therefore, throughout the 18 districts
10 that are revised in this plan, I adopted the House
11 and Senate's preferred and clear articulation of
12 Tier 2 compliance. So even when I was trying to
13 articulate a concept from one of our office's plans,
14 I made such revisions using the Legislature's
15 preferred approach to Tier 2 compliance.

16 In the next few slides, I'll walk you
17 through some key points regarding those Tier 2
18 improvements. First, the proposed -- the proposed
19 plan before you today reduces by one the number of
20 county splits from 18 to 17 by keeping Citrus and
21 Sarasota Counties whole lieu of Polk, effectively a
22 two-for-one swap. Furthermore, where there are
23 county splits, the number -- the number of ways in
24 which those counties are split is reduced.

25 Probably the most visible example of that

1 is -- at least in a larger county is the change in
2 Hillsborough County, where portions of Hillsborough
3 County are now only divided into three districts,
4 rather than four districts.

5 Second, the proposed plan reduces the
6 reliance on nongeographic and nonpolitical
7 boundaries from 12.5 percent to 1.5 -- to -- I'm
8 sorry -- 12.5 percent to 11.5 percent. In other
9 words, just a minute ago when I mentioned previously
10 that I adopted the House and Senate's preferred way
11 to articulate Tier 2 compliance by substituting
12 major roadways, waterways, and railways, along with
13 our map's already strong usage of county and city
14 lines, my Tier 2 usage of compliant boundaries
15 surpassed that of the maps passed by the
16 Legislature.

17 Third, although mean compactness scores are
18 largely equivalent when comparing my revisions to
19 plan -- or in Plan 0109 with the Legislature's
20 primary plan, the proposed plan improves the
21 compactness score of the least compact district in
22 the map. I believe this would actually be the first
23 map considered by the Legislature in which every
24 district has a Reock or Polsby-Popper score greater
25 than 0.2.

1 Moreover, visually, as we go through the
2 map, we'll see in just a few moments many of the
3 districts are just plainly more circular, squared,
4 more visually compact shapes that are more easily
5 understandable.

6 Lastly, my changes in Plan 0109 stayed
7 equal to the Legislature's achievement of only
8 splitting 16 cities in its primary plan. There are
9 some differences about which cities are split when
10 comparing my revisions in this plan to the
11 Legislature's enacted plan. Specifically, Cape
12 Coral, Plant City, and Port Orange would be kept
13 whole in this plan, while splits would occur in
14 Lakeland, St. Petersburg, and Longboat Key.

15 What I did take care to do is ensure that
16 where those essentially trades in city splits
17 occurred to ensure that other Tier 2 metrics were
18 being met in the process. For example, as you know,
19 Longboat Key is one of four cities in Florida that
20 crosses county lines, and I only split Longboat Key
21 in the process of keeping Sarasota County whole. So
22 it seemed a reasonable and rational trade to keep a
23 county whole in lieu of a city that crossed county
24 lines.

25 I should say in saying all this I don't

1 ever mean to suggest with these slides that there is
2 a statistical line in the sand for what is Tier 2
3 compliant compactness or county splits or city
4 splits. But recognizing that we could be presenting
5 a plan to this Legislature and me author -- you
6 know, authoring a compromised plan, I recognized I
7 should come to you with a plan that recommends
8 improvements and builds on the work of the
9 Legislature and certainly in no way ask you to go
10 backwards, only ask you to consider improvements,
11 and that's exactly what I've done.

12 So with that, I'll proceed to a more
13 detailed visual presentation. The next two slides
14 are the same content just the second slide doesn't
15 have the district labels. The statewide view
16 definitely helps get a sense of some of the visual
17 compactness -- and we'll zoom in some -- the visual
18 compactness in this map and some of the
19 improvements. And this was really here for your
20 reference, as is the next slide, and you can begin
21 to really see the changes -- if I might just go to
22 that slide -- you can begin to really see the
23 changes when I've excluded the district labels.

24 Again, as much as it was important to
25 maintain statistical compactness for Tier 2

1 purposes, I also wanted these changes to satisfy the
2 eyeball test and so offering up some square -- more
3 square, circular districts, greater usage of clear
4 and visible boundary lines helped that effect.

5 The next couple slides zoom in a little
6 closer just focusing on those districts that I
7 changed in this plan, so excluding the Panhandle and
8 excluding Southeast Florida. Again, the slide
9 without district labels might be a little easier to
10 see, if only to appreciate some of the Tier 2
11 improvements.

12 One of the other key facets of my work on
13 this proposed plan -- that I wanted to make sure
14 there was not essentially collateral unintended
15 consequences to my changes without making some sort
16 of equal or better Tier 2 change. For example, as
17 you see, I split Polk County as part of the swap for
18 keeping Citrus and Sarasota Counties whole, and I'll
19 explain in a little more detail later what exactly I
20 mean by that.

21 In doing so, I incorporated several Tier 2
22 related changes in Polk County to make sure that the
23 new lines and how those districts interact with
24 districts from neighboring counties, how those lines
25 are still very meaningful in a Tier 2 context.

1 That said, the District 18 that you're
2 looking at, still two-thirds of the residents in the
3 proposed District 18 are from Polk County, remaining
4 residents coming from those rural counties. So Polk
5 County would still be the significant portion of
6 population in one of those districts.

7 SENATOR BRACY: Mr. Chair, I have a
8 question.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy, you are
10 recognized.

11 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you. All your
12 comments about -- are about Tier 2 compactness, but
13 I haven't heard once about Tier 1. Tier 1 obviously
14 is -- it trumps, no pun intended, but trumps Tier 2.
15 So why are you focusing on Tier 2 and not Tier 1,
16 when that clearly is the most important by federal
17 law?

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly, you are
19 recognized.

20 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 And thank you for the question. So I did
22 note earlier in my presentation part of that Tier 1
23 analysis is not intentionally favoring or
24 disfavoring an incumbent or political party, and I
25 noted that in no way was I ever instructed to do

1 that and in no way did I ever intend to do that. So
2 I addressed Tier 1 in that context. Additionally,
3 there is nowhere in the map where there's a
4 contiguity issue. So Tier 1 has been addressed in
5 that context as well.

6 In terms of the non-diminishment standard,
7 when I went through the benchmark District 5 and the
8 Governor's veto message, that really was at the
9 heart of probably the one sort of outstanding Tier 1
10 question, the division between the Legislature's
11 maps and the Governor's ultimate veto and objection
12 to the map because there's this tension between that
13 district -- that district, the way it was composed
14 in both the primary and secondary plan violate the
15 Federal Constitution.

16 So while there is the Tier 1 diminishment
17 requirement, that Tier 1 diminishment requirement
18 cannot be utilized to violate federal law, and so
19 that's what I was referring to as I was walking
20 through that.

21 SENATOR BRACY: How do we know that you
22 haven't talked to --

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized for
24 a follow-up.

25 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Chair.

1 You said you haven't spoken to anyone. You
2 haven't looked at any data regarding race. How do
3 we know that? I mean, it was -- that was said
4 before when we had the map drawing process in 2016.
5 It proved to be wrong. We're just -- why would you
6 even mention that if there's no way to prove that?

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy, I'm not
8 going to forward that question on. I think he
9 opened in the preamble by laying out these were the
10 parameters that he worked from. If the question is
11 -- you can ask the question, why did he feel he
12 should lay those parameters out, but I don't think
13 it's a fair question to put out, how can you prove
14 something that you believe can't be proven. So I
15 will yield to Mr. Kelly --

16 SENATOR BRACY: Okay.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- if he wants to
18 articulate why he led the preamble of these were the
19 things I drew from.

20 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you, Chair, and
21 thank you for the question.

22 And really in due deference and respect to
23 your process, we know these are standards by which
24 you have to live too. And so we know that your
25 work, the work of your professional staff, you hold

1 yourself to this high bar as well, and so I wanted
2 to make sure that you understood that from our
3 office's perspective, we were living up to that same
4 standard that you are.

5 SENATOR BRACY: Question. How do you --

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

7 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

8 How do you feel that District 5, District
9 10 violates the 14th Amendment?

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12 And so I could probably -- I could probably
13 at this point probably defer a little bit to counsel
14 because I've probably given sort of my best summary
15 overview of the tension between the two. I will say
16 that the memo that has been provided to you details
17 this significantly and explains the Governor's veto
18 message.

19 And, of course, I also walked through
20 District 10. In District 10, we accept the House's
21 analysis that it's not actually a performing seat.
22 The House testified to that in committee. It was a
23 very rational and well-thought-out analysis, and so
24 we're adopting that analysis here. And in both
25 cases, if there's absent a compelling state

1 interest, if there's a potential violation of
2 federal law, at that point, the State's not
3 obligated to draw those districts in a manner that
4 aligns with the state constitutional diminishment
5 standard.

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy, did you
7 get a copy of the veto letter in the packet we
8 provided?

9 SENATOR BRACY: I didn't, but if the staff
10 can go through how this violates the 14th Amendment
11 I guess from the House analysis -- I mean, you're
12 here to defend this map. So if someone can explain
13 to me how District 5, District 10 are not protected
14 minority access seats when it was in our Senate
15 drawing -- Senate map drawing process. Now all of
16 the sudden, it's not. I understand that was the
17 House position. If it can be explained for this
18 committee so it's clear, I would appreciate that.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Why don't we do this?
20 Why don't we give you some time to read over the
21 veto letter, and then I'm going to go to Senator
22 Rouson for a question. And then we'll come back and
23 (indiscernible).

24 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you very much,
25 Mr. Chairman.

1 You indicated that your rationale for not
2 drawing Congressional District 5 the way it
3 currently is configured and for not drawing
4 Congressional District 10 the way it's currently
5 configured was because it violates the Equal
6 Protection Clause because it assigns voters based on
7 race but not narrowly tailored to meet a compelling
8 state interest; is that correct?

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

10 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

11 And I don't know that I would -- I would
12 relate the analysis of both districts identically.
13 I did state regarding District 5 -- benchmark
14 District 5 and subsequent attempts to redraw that.
15 I did articulate that that's a violation of the
16 United States Constitution.

17 The issue with District 10 is just more
18 plainly -- and we accept the House's analysis of
19 this -- that the district is not a performing
20 minority seat, and that analysis was laid out in the
21 House record. And we have adopted that analysis
22 into our justification here.

23 And essentially what the House articulated
24 is that the minority community is not on its own --
25 it does not on its own have enough strength to elect

1 a candidate of its choice.

2 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have a follow-
4 up?

5 SENATOR ROUSON: Yes. Thank you --

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You --

7 SENATOR ROUSON: -- Mr. Chair.

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- you are recognized.

9 SENATOR ROUSON: Do you believe that it's a
10 compelling state interest to reflect diversity in
11 representation?

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

13 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair, I'm not sure -- I'm
14 not sure how to answer the question. It's -- it is
15 a -- it is a highly scrutinized process to draw a
16 district based on racial reasons, and to do so,
17 there must be a very narrowly tailored, compelling
18 interest to do so.

19 And so absent that, it's unlawful to do so.

20 SENATOR ROUSON: Well, I guess --
21 Mr. Chairman.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

23 SENATOR ROUSON: Therein lies my question.
24 Is it not a compelling interest to have
25 representation that reflects the diversity of the

1 great state of Florida?

2 ALEX KELLY: Chair?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

4 ALEX KELLY: I mean, Chair -- Senator
5 Rouson, redistricting standards as outlined in the
6 Florida Constitution and outlined just traditional
7 redistricting standards refer to things such as
8 compactness, keeping counties together, keeping
9 cities together, using clearly identifiable boundary
10 ways. These are ways to draw districts that have a
11 lack of political intent, a lack of racial intent, a
12 lack of any sort of manipulation. And so that is --
13 that is, generally speaking, the way to draw a
14 district. The Florida Constitution guides districts
15 to be drawn that way, and so that is the process
16 that we followed.

17 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Stewart.

19 SENATOR STEWART: Thank you, Chair.

20 And you have outlined quite a few
21 concurrences with the criteria for 2, and, of
22 course, since it was brought up about Tier 1, it
23 seems to have much more need for compelling review.

24 One of the Tier 1 guidelines along the
25 federal law directs the lawmakers -- and we heard

1 this in committee over and over and over again --
2 that districts shall not be drawn with the intent or
3 result of denying or abridging the equal opportunity
4 of racial or language minorities to participate in
5 the political process or to diminish their ability
6 to elect representatives of their choice.

7 Now, I have not heard yet from this map
8 that was drawn if that was also considered.

9 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: I think I've just answered
12 that same question a couple different ways. I'm not
13 sure I have any more to offer.

14 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy, have
15 you had an opportunity to read the veto letter?

16 SENATOR BRACY: I perused the letter.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized for
18 a question.

19 SENATOR BRACY: So and you just said that
20 minorities cannot elect a candidate of its own. It
21 does not have enough, I guess, voting strength to do
22 that, and that is why you don't consider District 5
23 or District 10 a minority -- protected minority
24 access seat; is that correct?

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

1 ALEX KELLY: Just to -- just to clarify,
2 there are some points there where the analysis
3 regarding benchmark District 5 and benchmark
4 District 10 would be different. So the analysis
5 regarding benchmark District 5 is very plain sighted
6 in that regard. There is not sufficient voting
7 strength in the minority community to, by itself,
8 elect a candidate of its choice. So the analysis
9 for the two is not identical.

10 SENATOR BRACY: Got it. So --

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

12 SENATOR BRACY: -- thank you, Mr. Chair.

13 So what is the benchmark where minorities
14 could elect the candidate of their choice? What
15 would be that percentage if you --

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

17 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair, thank you.

18 That would require an analysis of the
19 political data for any district. I don't know that
20 there's one line in the sand, but generally, the
21 idea is that could that minority community -- on its
22 own voting strength without help, could that
23 minority community elect a candidate of its choice?
24 But that's going to be different in every single
25 district.

1 SENATOR BRACY: So if you didn't --
2 Mr. Chair?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

4 SENATOR BRACY: So if you didn't look at
5 any data to determine that this is a minority access
6 seat, how did you determine it? By eyeballing it?
7 How did you make that determination?

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: He said earlier that
9 he did use the political data on District 5 when he
10 was attempting to draw the district. So on that, I
11 believe he's already answered that question.

12 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. So you did use
13 political data, and you -- when you were looking at
14 the political data for District 5, what
15 determination did you -- how did you determine that
16 that was not a minority access seat since you did
17 look at the data for that? What did the data show
18 you that --

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You --

20 SENATOR BRACY: -- told you?

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

22 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

23 So the look at District 5 -- benchmark
24 District 5 in different configurations the
25 Legislature considered wasn't a question so much of

1 the political effectiveness of the community. It
2 was a question of multiple facets at the same time.
3 The district is clearly -- the benchmark is clearly
4 drawn from Duval to Gadsden Counties is clearly a
5 racial gerrymander. That's what the district is
6 plain sighted.

7 So the question becomes does it meet some
8 compelling state interest in doing so? And our
9 analysis, particularly early on as we were weighting
10 this question and I was personally weighing this
11 question was, was there a manner in which that
12 district could be drawn more compactly, more in line
13 with traditional redistricting criteria so that, in
14 effect, from a federal law perspective, state law
15 perspective, and sort of the traditional
16 redistricting criteria, could you, so to speak,
17 check all the boxes and find a way to have a sort of
18 compromise?

19 The reality through analysis of that
20 district, including just observing the Legislature's
21 process, there was not a way to draw a compact,
22 politically effective, minority district and check
23 all the boxes, so to speak, without violating some
24 manner of law.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have a follow-

1 up?

2 SENATOR BRACY: I do. I do.

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

4 SENATOR BRACY: You mentioned that your
5 determination was basically, did it meet a state --
6 a compelling interest? But I want to go -- but I
7 feel like you haven't answered the question about
8 minority voting strength. You said it did not meet
9 the criteria because it did not have enough of a
10 minority voting strength to be a protected seat.
11 How did you determine -- I know you said it didn't
12 have state compelling interest.

13 But specifically to why you said it did not
14 have enough of a voting -- a minority voting
15 strength to make it a minority access seat, how did
16 you determine that specifically? Was there a
17 percentage that it did not meet that made you decide
18 it did not meet the threshold?

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

20 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Chair.

21 So and I apologize. I think we're having a
22 little bit of just confusion, which is certainly
23 understandable, between our district of benchmark
24 District 5 and benchmark District 10.

25 Benchmark District 10 in Orlando -- or

1 Orange County, I should say, for that district, I
2 was specific in saying it does not have a
3 significant enough minority community to have the
4 electoral strength to elect a candidate of their
5 choice.

6 So that analysis was provided in public
7 testimony by the House's professional Redistricting
8 Committee's staff in their Congressional
9 Redistricting Subcommittee. It was -- the analysis
10 was a sound analysis, and we have adopted that. We
11 have essentially adopted their judgment in our
12 process, and we've agreed with their analysis.

13 So that's where the analysis for District
14 10 departs some from District 5. District 5 starts
15 with the question of the district is a racial
16 gerrymander. Is it done in such a way that is so
17 narrowly tailored to a compelling state interest?
18 And it ultimately fails a different test. It fails
19 a test of violating the U.S. Constitution.
20 Obviously, we can't take any element of our state
21 Constitution and use that against the U.S.
22 Constitution and violate that.

23 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. So just so that I
24 understand, you did not make your determination on
25 District 5 based on the minority voting strength.

1 You made that determination on District 10; is that
2 correct?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

4 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair.

5 Yes. Correct.

6 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. Okay. So let's go
7 to District 10 then. How did you determine that
8 District 10 did not have enough of a minority voting
9 strength for it to be a minority access seat,
10 protected access seat?

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I think he's answered
12 that, Senator Bracy. They adopted the House
13 analysis, which the testimony in the House Committee
14 was --

15 SENATOR BRACY: But with --

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- over time --

17 SENATOR BRACY: With all due respect
18 though, this is not the House's map. This is the
19 Governor's map. And so I'm asking how the
20 Governor's Office made this determination, not the
21 House.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Well, he answered that
23 question, Senator Bracy. He said they adopted the
24 House position. Do you have a follow-up question?

25 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. Can you clarify what

1 the House's position is again?

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Could you clarify that
3 again please?

4 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 The House's position -- the House staff
6 articulated in their committee meeting or
7 Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee meeting
8 that they looked at recent elections history, and
9 that when they looked at that recent elections
10 history, the black community in Orange County, in
11 Congressional District 10 was not sufficient enough
12 on its own to elect a candidate of its choice. They
13 did that analysis on their own. We didn't do that
14 analysis, but the logic that they articulated in
15 committee was sound logic and a sound analysis. And
16 so we adopted that.

17 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. I don't serve in the
18 House. I did not see that election data. So I
19 understand you took their position, but I guess I'm
20 asking for specifics on their data and how they made
21 that determination. And I don't know if our staff
22 can clarify how they came to that position. I
23 understand what their position was, but I'm trying
24 to understand how they came to that position.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Jay, do you have

1 insight on that?

2 JAY FERRIN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If
3 I'm understanding the question correctly, I believe
4 the House reviewed the data for benchmark CD 10 and
5 determined that, over time, over the different
6 election cycles, the level of primary control for
7 African American voters in the Democratic Primary
8 was slipping below 50 percent and, therefore,
9 concluded that the voters in that benchmark district
10 did not outright control the Primary and, therefore,
11 made their determination based on that.

12 And that's my understanding of the House's
13 analysis on that district, and that's probably about
14 all I can speak to on that.

15 SENATOR BRACY: Just a follow-up. So from
16 your understanding, the black voting age population
17 in that CD 10 had a voting strength of less than 50
18 percent in a primary, which in turn is how they and
19 the Governor determined that that is not a protected
20 seat. Is that the way you understand it?

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Jay, you're
22 recognized.

23 JAY FERRIN: Mr. Chairman.

24 Yeah. Without trying to speak for the
25 House or the Governor, that is my understanding is

1 that they reviewed elections over time and noticed a
2 trend in terms of primary control. It has nothing
3 to do with voting age population but in terms of
4 primary control for African American voters on the
5 Democratic Primary and based their conclusions on
6 that.

7 SENATOR BRACY: So they took an average of
8 elections, not just like the past 2020 elections.
9 They took an average of recent elections and put
10 that together and determined together that it went
11 less than 50 percent?

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Jay.

13 JAY FERRIN: No. Senator Bracy, we did
14 look at the average in the Senate to try to control
15 for electoral trends. The House looked at the
16 trends. They looked at each individual -- each
17 election -- the primary control in each election
18 cycle individually and looked at that over time and
19 noticed that it was decreasing every two years.

20 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. So they are
21 anticipating, the way you understand it, that the
22 trend will be that it will go below 50 percent, but
23 maybe it's not there yet. But the trend is trending
24 toward below 50 percent; is that a correct analysis
25 of how you understand it?

1 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Jay, do you recall
2 what the percentage was?

3 JAY FERRIN: Unfortunately, I don't recall
4 the percentages offhand, and I can't always speak to
5 the House's analysis of that. But that's how I
6 understood it to work.

7 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. Well, I'll just say
8 I think it's troubling that the Governor's Office is
9 coming before us and touting an analysis that no one
10 really understands -- and he cannot speak to either
11 -- and this is how he's determined that District 10
12 is not a protected access seat. I think that's
13 important information.

14 So, you know, if you can't answer my
15 question, we can move on, but I just want to make
16 the point that we're here for this purpose of
17 learning more information. And no one can speak to
18 it. Thank you.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Broxson, you
20 are recognized.

21 VICE CHAIR BROXSON: Thank you,
22 Mr. Chairman.

23 I'd like to kind of put this in perspective
24 of the predicate that you started on. When you
25 looked over the Senate -- State Senate and State

1 House, you used more of a Florida standard of what
2 we were trying to accomplish. Now, you're looking
3 at the Congressional maps, which this probably will
4 be contested, and you believe that based on the U.S.
5 prototype that these conform with the intent of the
6 current law and gives you the position that you have
7 -- you've stated today. Is that kind of where we
8 are?

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Alex, you are
10 recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: And thank you for the
12 question. So essentially, yes. We've brought -- if
13 I understood correctly, we've brought forward a map
14 that we believe complies with the U.S. Constitution
15 and the State Constitution. So obviously, we have
16 an obligation to try to balance and comply with
17 both, of course, and so we believe we've brought
18 forward a map that complies with both and gives the
19 Legislature a work product that brings forward the
20 best of both.

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Gibson.

22 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

23 In terms of the statement of, I guess,
24 apparently there was no way to meet the state's
25 interest in drawing minority access seats, in the

1 best interest of the state to do what?

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Gibson, I'm
3 not sure I understand the question. Could you
4 restate it?

5 SENATOR GIBSON: The maps in the -- I guess
6 it's in the veto message or the way Mr. Kelly talked
7 about it, there was language that says they could
8 not draw maps that were in the best interest of the
9 state that would perform for minority communities.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly.

11 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
12 Thank you for the question. So --

13 SENATOR GIBSON: What is in the best
14 interest of the state?

15 ALEX KELLY: Thank you. And that's not
16 really a question I could answer. The compelling
17 interest is for the map drawer to define. I did not
18 draw benchmark District 5. I did not draw, you
19 know, any of the Legislature's attempts to redraw or
20 reconfigure benchmark District 5. So that
21 compelling interest is something that you, the
22 Legislature, would have to define.

23 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

25 SENATOR GIBSON: And so when you said the

1 statement about what's in the best interest of the
2 state in terms of the districts, that was not --
3 those were not your words. That is something that
4 was just written in the veto message. So you don't
5 necessarily have any explanation of what is in the
6 best interest of the state when it comes to creating
7 the districts, particularly for minority voters?

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Were you referring to
9 the veto letter in that statement, Mr. Kelly?

10 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

11 I was referring to the veto letter and also
12 the accompanying memorandum that our general counsel
13 wrote to further explain the veto letter. I was
14 just giving a short summary of it.

15 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

17 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

18 I see it now. It says but since this --
19 let me ask you this before I even ask you a
20 question. Since this is the Governor's language
21 where it says, "The bill contains a primary map and
22 a secondary map that included a racially
23 gerrymandered district, Congressional District 5,
24 that is not narrowly tailored to achieve a
25 compelling state interest." So since those are not

1 your words, you cannot explain what the compelling
2 state interest is?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly.

4 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 That obligation would be on the part of the
6 map drawer. I did not draw the Legislature's
7 attempts to redraw benchmark District 5, and I
8 didn't redraw -- I didn't draw benchmark District 5.
9 So that would be a compelling interest that the
10 Legislature would have to put forward through your
11 process if you were attempting to redraw that and
12 narrowly tailor that to some state compelling
13 interest.

14 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

16 SENATOR GIBSON: May I? Thank you, Mr.
17 Chair.

18 There's no functional analysis in the
19 packet that I see of the districts. Is there no
20 functional analysis because it is the -- is there
21 some understanding that if it's not going to be a
22 minority access seat, then there's no reason to have
23 a functional analysis?

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Gibson, I'm
25 going to refer to Staff Director Jay Ferrin on that

1 question because we covered that very same topic in
2 our maps.

3 JAY FERRIN: Senator Gibson, you're
4 correct.

5 SENATOR GIBSON: There's no need to do a
6 functional analysis if there is no minority
7 district; is that what I said?

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

9 SENATOR GIBSON: Yes. That's what I said.

10 JAY FERRIN: Mr. Chairman.

11 Yes, Senator. That's correct.

12 SENATOR GIBSON: All right.

13 JAY FERRIN: The purpose of the functional
14 analysis is to evaluate the performance of the
15 minority district.

16 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you. And may I?

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

18 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

19 And so since I think what I heard was there
20 was no data looked at to come up with the, what is
21 that, Senate Bill 2 -- no. What's the Governor's
22 map number, 102?

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: 109.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: 109, sorry, 109, SB 2-C
25 Plan 0109. What information only just -- I don't

1 understand the information in that was used to
2 determine that the Senate 8019, which I want to make
3 sure we're also clear that 8019 and the House's map
4 -- primary and secondary maps were all voted on
5 before special session. And those maps are not the
6 maps that the Governor or that you all drew at the
7 Governor's direction; is that correct?

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

9 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair.

10 Yes. Primary plan 8019 and secondary plan
11 8015 are the two maps that you, the Legislature,
12 approved within the contents of Senate Bill 102, and
13 that's the bill that the Governor vetoed.

14 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

16 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you. Thank you,
17 Mr. Chair.

18 And I wanted to make sure that that was
19 clear because there is some confusion about which
20 came first, the chicken or the egg, whether it was
21 the House maps that came over that were passed out
22 and not the Governor's maps because we are now
23 addressing the Governor's proposed maps, correct?

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I'll answer that. we
25 are taking up the Governor's map now.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you. Follow-up,
2 Mr. Chair?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

4 SENATOR GIBSON: I want to go back to -- so
5 CD 5, which was different before it became 5, I
6 think in the last redistricting, the last how many
7 years has an African American been elected in the
8 maps previously that represented -- that included
9 representation of what is currently shown as CD 5?

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I think we're getting
11 beyond the contents of the lines he's drawn there,
12 but I'll give him a shot at it.

13 ALEX KELLY: To my knowledge, of course,
14 that district has only existed since the court
15 adopted it in late 2015 and it went into place for
16 the 2016 election cycle. Prior to that, the
17 district, instead of going from Jacksonville to
18 Gadsden County went from Jacksonville to Orlando,
19 and if I recall correctly, Congresswoman Brown had
20 that seat since somewhere in the early-to-mid '90s.
21 I don't remember the exact year.

22 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

25 And then the recent CD 5 that elected an

1 African American, the drawing of the maps concluded
2 that that -- or the drawing of the Governor's maps
3 concluded that that map was not gerrymandered but
4 the previous adaptation of CD 5, which went east to
5 west, is gerrymandered?

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Could you restate that
7 please?

8 SENATOR GIBSON: He shook his head. I
9 think he understood it.

10 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Chair. I think I
11 got it.

12 Yeah. So yes. And this is articulated in
13 the memorandum too, but I can say unequivocally the
14 district currently today as drawn from Jacksonville
15 over to Gadsden County stretching about three and a
16 half hours is a racial gerrymander.

17 SENATOR GIBSON: I'm sorry. Mr. Chair?

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Could you repeat that?

19 SENATOR GIBSON: The last -- you said
20 what's three and a half hours?

21 ALEX KELLY: The drive from Jacksonville to
22 Gadsden County, the length of the district.

23 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank -- Mr. Chair?

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Okay. Members, we're
25 going to go back to the map.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: Oh.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: And there'll be more
3 time for questions at the end.

4 Pick up your presentation please.

5 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

6 So shifting to the part of the region we're
7 talking about, shifting to Districts 4-5 on this
8 slide and the next, of course, obviously, we've
9 already had a lengthy discussion. So just some
10 other general points to give you some sense of the
11 final lines for the proposed map in front of you
12 here today.

13 And, again, as we noted through the
14 questioning, on the left, you see the plan -- the
15 primary plan as adopted by the Legislature; on the
16 right, the plan before you here today in Senate Bill
17 2-C.

18 The boundary between the two is mostly the
19 St. Johns River. As you know, Jacksonville is the
20 single lone city in the entire state that's actually
21 larger in population than a congressional district.
22 So the river, which nearly equally divides the city,
23 stands out as certainly a logical, recognizable Tier
24 2 boundary to divide Jacksonville if you're going to
25 have to divide it somewhere. And at the same time,

1 the new configuration here still allowed us to
2 improve overall on compactness.

3 The southern boundaries of Districts 4 and
4 5 are still actually exactly as the Legislature
5 proposed them. So the boundary between Clay and
6 Putnam is as the Legislature proposed it, and the
7 split in St. Johns County is exactly what the
8 Legislature proposed. So we didn't change that.

9 The last point I just want to make in this
10 slide, just zooming in a little bit on these two
11 districts, is at some point, just for the sake of
12 equal population, District 4 does need to come
13 across the river just to equalize a couple thousand
14 residents if I recall correctly. And so at some
15 point the district does have to come across the
16 river.

17 The original iteration of this crossing
18 that we drew in one of our earlier maps was I would
19 say less deliberative. In this improved
20 configuration, I used the bridges of the Arlington
21 Expressway and Interstate 295 to literally allow a
22 resident of District 4 to not have to leave the
23 district in order to traverse the entire district.
24 So we just tried to use those boundary lines a
25 little more logically if we were going to have to

1 cross the river and gain equal population.

2 SENATOR BRACY: Mr. Chair?

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Yes?

4 SENATOR BRACY: I have a question on the
5 map. I'm looking at District 2. How far does
6 District 2 go from east to west?

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have that on a
8 slide, or do you want to answer that?

9 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

10 And I don't, and I don't actually know. We
11 didn't draw District 2. The Legislature drew
12 District 2. And I will say in general in the maps
13 that we drew out of our office, I don't recall if we
14 ever made any changes to the Legislature's
15 configurations in Districts 1 or 2, but we
16 definitely did not change them for the purposes of
17 this map compared to what the Legislature passed.

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Okay.

19 SENATOR BRACY: Well, the reason why I
20 bring it up is that you said that District 5 was a
21 racial gerrymander that spread 200 miles, but I'm
22 looking at District 2. It looks like it goes about
23 200 miles, maybe more.

24 So the fact that you singled out District 5
25 for it going east to west that far but you got other

1 ones that do, you got a problem. It seems that --
2 anyway, I just wanted to explain how -- I would like
3 for you to explain how District 2 can go 200 miles,
4 but District 5 can't.

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

6 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

7 I think if you're looking at Northeast
8 Florida, where you have Nassau, Duval. You have
9 Clay. You have St. Johns Counties. Within those
10 four counties, you can fit more than two
11 congressional districts because a third district is
12 even started in southern St. Johns in the
13 configuration we're looking at today.

14 You're comparing that to rural Florida, the
15 Panhandle, where there's significantly less
16 population. Naturally, a district in the Panhandle
17 is going to comprise probably several entire rural
18 counties. The same is true if you look in the
19 southern central part of the state as well where you
20 have rural communities.

21 And that's just generally a reality of
22 drawing a district that perhaps is maybe based out
23 of a municipality or a larger city or a larger
24 county versus drawing a district that's centered
25 around a number of rural counties. So a compact

1 district in rural communities might take on a very
2 aesthetically compact shape, but it's physically
3 likely to be larger than, of course, a compact
4 district in an urban community.

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you. Please
6 continue.

7 ALEX KELLY: Thank you.

8 So the next few slides, slides 14 through
9 21, visualize my changes to the Gulf Counties. As I
10 noted earlier in the opening from Citrus down to Lee
11 Counties and even how those districts in those
12 counties tie to inland counties to the east, north,
13 and south.

14 And I'm showing you this way to give you a
15 sense of how I actually thought about going through
16 the map and making those Tier 2 improvements. I
17 really want to take you through my thought process,
18 and essentially what you have in this region of the
19 state is a hybrid of the Legislature's maps and our
20 office's prior plans in this region. And in order
21 to really achieve worthwhile Tier 2 improvements to
22 this region, I had to revisit how the entire region
23 was drawn.

24 To give a sense of what I mean by that, as
25 this slide illustrates, the Legislature made a

1 decision to keep Broward, Osceola, and Polk Counties
2 whole. This decision essentially places a little
3 bit of a limitation on the map drawer. And
4 obviously there's -- obviously, it's a good goal to
5 keep counties whole, but it places a little bit of
6 limitation on the map drawer. And that limitation
7 essentially then forces your hand as a map drawer in
8 the Tampa Bay region.

9 Keeping Broward, Osceola, and Polk whole
10 essentially creates a wall across three-quarters of
11 the state. So if, as we do in Plan 109, if we're
12 able to essentially break that wall in Polk County,
13 there are means to do that in meaningful, Tier 2,
14 metric-driven ways that make gains for the map
15 overall, and we can still, as we'll show later, make
16 meaningful Tier 2 decisions in Polk County as well.
17 And that really allows a number then of Gulf Coast
18 counties decisions that make a number of Tier 2
19 gains for this map.

20 I'll give some specific examples. So in
21 this example in slide 16, this became a means to
22 keep Collier -- sorry, not Collier -- Citrus County
23 whole in District 12, which you can see here, and
24 this district is a much more squared-up, linear
25 district. District 12 actually is still in this

1 configuration a majority Pasco County seat yielding
2 about 141,000 of its residents in the southern part
3 of the county into District 15.

4 Just while we have it on the screen, the
5 boundaries there -- this is all of Citrus, all of
6 Hernando, and most of Pasco. The boundaries between
7 District 12 and 15 -- 15 is the pinkish district in
8 the south there -- the boundaries there, the city of
9 Zephyrhills is entirely in District 15. The cities
10 of St. Leo, San Antonio, and Dade City are entirely
11 in 12. And those lines, despite their curves,
12 they're predominantly state roads all throughout.

13 Moving on to slide 17, south of the Tampa
14 Bay region, we were also able to keep, through
15 changes made in the Polk County area, we're able to
16 also keep Sarasota County whole. As I opened it up,
17 essentially what I've done in this map is I've
18 articulated two whole counties in exchange for
19 splitting another county. So gaining that net whole
20 county in the map, keeping Citrus whole, keeping
21 Sarasota whole, splitting Polk.

22 In this particular configuration, keeping
23 Sarasota whole, aligning it with all of Charlotte
24 County and aligning it with some unincorporated
25 communities in Lee County to essentially equalize

1 the population, and the boundaries in Lee County are
2 almost entirely either major roadways or city
3 boundaries.

4 On slide 18, taking this approach north and
5 south of Tampa Bay then allowed us to go -- or
6 allowed me to go work in the Tampa Bay area because
7 overall just comparing the map that we had
8 previously worked on, comparing that to the
9 Legislature's map, the population distribution was
10 just simply different.

11 So again, as I noted earlier, really had to
12 lift the whole region out and look at options to
13 reconfigure it. Taking this approach north and
14 south of Tampa Bay and gave me a better chance to
15 draw more visually compact districts in Tampa Bay
16 and make improved usage of Tier 2 political and
17 geographical boundary lines.

18 Zooming just a little bit further on
19 Pinellas County and the bay, it seemed from the
20 Legislature's process that there was a goal to have
21 a seat wholly in Pinellas County, and so this map
22 still accomplishes this goal. I literally started
23 in this region working from west to east. Doing so,
24 essentially, I was able to create a very squared-up,
25 compact district.

1 In the northern part of District 13 where
2 it connects to District 14, that's just your
3 Pinellas-Hillsborough line. The southern part of
4 the seat just follows state road in-between Pinellas
5 -- or actually through the city of St. Pete, I
6 should say, follows a state road, and a just nice
7 clean line splits District 13 and District 14.

8 And then I continued just to work my way
9 east as I build District 14, again, seeking to
10 utilize as clean, clear, distinguishable lines --
11 municipal boundary lines, really leaning heavily on
12 Tier 2 standards. I essentially then built District
13 16 north at the same time and built District 16
14 north with the same goal in line of having those
15 boundaries match, again, clearly distinguishable
16 roadways. And I should say too District 16 still
17 keeps all of Manatee County whole.

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Rouson, you
19 are recognized for a question.

20 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you very much,
21 Mr. Chairman.

22 The way you have drawn CD 14 and CD 13, 13
23 being St. Pete and Pinellas, 14 being Tampa and
24 Hillsborough, you have packed black voters of
25 Midtown, South St. Pete with black voters in East

1 Tampa. Current configuration of the district is
2 different from what you've suggested. Can you
3 explain the difference?

4 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

5 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair, thank you.

6 To be frank, I actually am unaware of the
7 black voting age population of District 14. This
8 was not even drawn with any type of racial intent at
9 all. This was not drawn with any type of even
10 looking at any racial data for this district. There
11 was not to my knowledge any reason to do so. So I
12 was just drawing a district based on nice, clean,
13 compact lines, lines that adhered to major roadways,
14 major recognizable roadways, and try to split as few
15 cities as possible in this area.

16 I do trade a split of St. Pete for -- my
17 apology --

18 SENATOR ROUSON: You traded --

19 ALEX KELLY: -- one other city, my apology,
20 but I do -- there is a city split trade in this
21 area. But so the overall city splits are equal to
22 what the Legislature adopted, but I just utilized
23 the major roadways and worked my way east and worked
24 my way north.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Rouson, do you

1 have a follow-up?

2 SENATOR ROUSON: No.

3 SENATOR BRACY: Mr. Chairman, I do have a
4 question.

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: We'll go to Senator
6 Bracy and then Senator Gibson.

7 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you.

8 Is Mr. Alex Kelly under oath for this
9 committee?

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: No. He's not.

11 SENATOR BRACY: I know we do it in certain
12 circumstances, certain secretaries. Could we make
13 that happen in this committee?

14 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: The time to have done
15 that would have been before we began the
16 presentations. So at this point, I would rule that
17 out of order.

18 Senator Gibson, did you have a question?

19 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

20 In terms of the -- I think I heard the
21 primary elections showed some data that CD 5
22 couldn't on its own elect a candidate of their
23 choice, some historical image and something about
24 historical, and that's, I guess, in any other
25 district that should be a minority access district,

1 you mentioned that the primary elections showed that
2 they couldn't -- is that correct -- by themselves --

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly?

4 SENATOR GIBSON: -- elect someone?

5 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

6 I think the question you're asking about
7 pertained somewhat to my comments about
8 Congressional District 10, not Congressional
9 District 5. But I'm not totally sure. There might
10 have been some blurring of the line there between
11 the two in the question.

12 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up, Mr. Chair?

13 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

14 SENATOR GIBSON: It may be blurring because
15 they impact the same ethnic people perhaps, but it
16 was said that data had shown -- that was in context
17 of 5 and 10, that the primary data showed that the
18 CD 5 couldn't elect a minority member of Congress on
19 their own, which is why we weren't following any
20 Tier 1 because all we're talking about today is Tier
21 2. And that's the reason for it's not diminished;
22 is that what you said about the primary data --

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: -- primary election data?

25 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1 I think your question or at least what
2 you're referencing from my testimony refers to my
3 comments about Congressional District 10, and I was
4 reflecting on the House professional staff's, their
5 analysis of Congressional District 10. We didn't
6 look at the political data for Congressional
7 District 10. I didn't look at the political data
8 for Congressional District 10.

9 The House, in their subcommittee,
10 referenced their analysis of Congressional District
11 10 and that based on their analysis of past years
12 primary electoral data, that their analysis showed
13 that the black community in Orange County, in
14 Congressional District 10, could not on their own
15 elect a candidate of their choice.

16 Congressional District 5, I don't think
17 I've heard anyone question that the district has an
18 ability to elect. Their issues are similar, but the
19 issues are not identical. The question in
20 Congressional District 5 is it is a gerrymandered
21 district drawn predominantly based on one criteria,
22 a strong -- predominantly based on race and was it
23 drawn in a way that meets a compelling state
24 interest, which is a question that would have to be
25 asked of the map drawer to justify the district.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: So --

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

3 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 And so the map drawer only looked at an
5 analysis that didn't include a functional analysis
6 in any configuration, correct?

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

8 ALEX KELLY: My apology. I'm not sure I
9 understood the question.

10 SENATOR GIBSON: So -- I'm sorry.

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Restate.

12 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

13 In the purported gerrymandered district
14 based on race, the -- and now in the map that we're
15 dealing with today, there was -- a functional
16 analysis was not reviewed to recognize communities
17 of interest, not gerrymandered based on race,
18 because it's all race neutral; is that correct?

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you understand it
20 now?

21 ALEX KELLY: I think so. Yes. Thank you,
22 Mr. Chair and thank you.

23 So I'm going to break that down. So our
24 office has not done a functional analysis on any of
25 the districts. We have not -- I have not drawn

1 districts based on communities of interest. What
2 you did say at the end, we drew districts -- is
3 correct. We drew districts in a race neutral way.

4 SENATOR GIBSON: Mr. Chair?

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Follow-up?

6 SENATOR GIBSON: I keep trying to
7 understand the -- is there a definition for race
8 neutral drawing?

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

10 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

11 I mean, I'll give you a non-attorney
12 definition. Essentially, for me, race was not a
13 driving factor of how I drew the district. It was
14 definitely not a predominant factor, and as I noted
15 when we talked earlier about District 14, I couldn't
16 even tell you -- and I still can't tell you -- what
17 the actual black voting age population of the
18 district is.

19 I drew that district, District 13, 14, all
20 the districts around it solely based on trying to
21 draw districts that are compact, aesthetically
22 compact, statistically compact, that follow clearly
23 definable political and geographical boundary lines
24 that meet that Tier 2 test. So I didn't draw a
25 single district in this map based on race.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: Follow-up?

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

3 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 And so the Tier 1 never came into play in
5 terms of keeping communities of interest together,
6 that it doesn't have to be a majority, but certainly
7 their ability to elect the representative of their
8 choice, that was never a factor. It's just strictly
9 where the lines are and let people fall where they
10 may; is that kind of how it --

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

12 SENATOR GIBSON: -- it is?

13 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 Again, I drew districts based on drawing
15 compact districts that followed aesthetic
16 compactness, statistical compactness, followed
17 clearly identifiable, recognizable, political and
18 geographical boundary lines. I did not use
19 communities of interest as a standard, and I did not
20 draw race-based districts.

21 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Kelly.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Stewart, did
23 you have a question?

24 SENATOR STEWART: Thank you, Chair.

25 A little bit toward where Senator Gibson

1 was going, but what I'm gathering from the
2 discussion thus far is that Tier 1 guidelines that
3 was the federal law was not considered in this map
4 and primarily you went by roadways and to make sure
5 that the Tier 2 was done correctly?

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

7 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

8 Senator, the Tier 1 guidelines are part of
9 state law, not federal law.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have a follow-
11 up, Senator Stewart?

12 SENATOR STEWART: That's news to me. Thank
13 you.

14 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy.

15 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you. Thank you,
16 Mr. Chairman.

17 Senator Rouson talked about the black
18 people in Pinellas, and now they're moved to a
19 district over that will now have them most likely
20 representing -- having a Republican representative.
21 And you're saying you are not aware of that at all
22 whatsoever, did not have any impact on your
23 decision-making.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

25 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1 Race and political partisan data in no way
2 related at all to my drawing of Districts 13, 14,
3 15, 16, or any of the districts on the map. Really
4 leaned in heavily to Tier 2 standards of compactness
5 and use of Tier 2 boundaries in these districts.
6 Again, I made a split in northern -- the northern
7 part of District 13 along the Pinellas-Hillsborough
8 County line, in the southern part of District 13 and
9 14 right along U.S. 19 as a southern divider.
10 There's a little bit of equal population work done
11 just north of St. Pete in the unincorporated Feather
12 Sound area as --

13 SENATOR BRACY: I got it. Thank you. I
14 understand. So District 5 -- excuse me -- District
15 10 --

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized for
17 a follow-up.

18 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 So in District 10, the district that I
20 represent now, in West Orange County, all of the
21 black people in West Orange County have now been
22 moved to a district that will be represented mostly
23 by Lake County.

24 So you have an area that has elected Val
25 Demings, who was a potential Vice President

1 Democratic nominee for President, who will now be
2 electing possibly Representative Anthony Sabatini,
3 who is known for blackface.

4 And I mean no district, but I'm trying to
5 make a point that you're telling me that this group
6 of people who have elected someone completely
7 different now will be electing someone like that.
8 And you're saying you had no idea. This is the
9 first time that you're ever considering that point.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12 My reading of the state Constitution, it
13 would have violated the law on several -- Tier 1 law
14 in several ways for me to even go anywhere near an
15 analysis like that. So I have no consideration for
16 anything like that. I think to put something into
17 context here too that is important.

18 And I can -- Mr. Chair, if it's okay, I can
19 skip to District 10 if that might help.

20 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Let's do that.

21 ALEX KELLY: So this is Congressional
22 District 10. Well, this is the region. This is how
23 it compares to the map that the Legislature passed,
24 which is not dissimilar from the benchmark and then
25 Congressional District 10 in the map before you

1 today.

2 That Congressional District 10 is a very,
3 very Tier 2-adherent district, very compact. All of
4 those lines are used to define either major roadways
5 or municipal boundaries, and to put this into
6 context, the benchmark Congressional District 10, to
7 my knowledge, has a black voting age population
8 somewhere just under 27 percent, somewhere in the
9 high 26 percent range.

10 The district that you're looking at there
11 today has like a 25.98, 25.96, a very close
12 percentage to 26. So it's not even a 1 percent.
13 It's maybe a 7/10 or 8/10 of a percent point drop in
14 its black voting age population.

15 So just drawing a compact seat -- and I can
16 walk through the different city and roadway
17 boundaries. Just drawing a compact seat that lines
18 up with -- you can see that's the Seminole-Orange
19 County line. You can see some major roadways. That
20 piece of District 9 that goes up into District 10,
21 that's the cities of Belle Isle and Edgewood. So
22 it's keeping some municipalities whole. Maitland,
23 Winter Park are kept whole in 10. You've got Winter
24 Garden, Ocoee, Apopka are kept whole in 11.

25 So just following all those principles, we

1 were able to draw a very compact District 10 that's
2 not even a percentage point difference in its black
3 voting age population. So we really adhered to the
4 principles in Florida law and drew a very compact
5 district, and that's something that was similar to
6 what the House had drawn and articulated good
7 reasons for drawing it. And so when I worked on
8 this map, that is the seat that I drew, and it
9 really is a very compact and very lawfully compliant
10 seat.

11 SENATOR BRACY: Mr. Chairman?

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You're recognized.

13 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you.

14 You mentioned before that you had no idea
15 on percentages. You did not use that for any
16 outcomes, yet you just quoted the black voting age
17 population, how much it changed. So help me
18 understand.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You want to provide
20 some clarity there?

21 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 I noted that comment specific to District
23 14. District 10, we recognized that there was a
24 tension between the testimony in the House and
25 Senate. And so it was important to understand the

1 black voting age population, as well as the Hispanic
2 voting age population of that district, that
3 benchmark district, again, somewhere, you know,
4 around, give or take, close to 26-something percent.
5 I forget the exact number, but 26-something percent
6 black voting age population in the benchmark. And I
7 think the Hispanic voting age population is actually
8 larger, around 28 percent Hispanic voting age
9 population.

10 So this was a district where we did have to
11 look at -- I had to look at the data for the black
12 voting age population, the Hispanic voting age
13 population, try to come to an understanding of that
14 tension between the House and Senate testimony, and
15 figure out an appropriate resolution.

16 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. So you were aware of
17 --

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

19 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

20 So you were aware of the black voting age
21 population, Hispanic voting age population when
22 making the changes that you were -- that you made in
23 District 10; that is correct?

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

25 ALEX KELLY: Yes.

1 SENATOR BRACY: Okay. All right. Just
2 looking at the Federal Voting Rights Act, and it
3 protects against retrogression. And it defines that
4 as the ability of racial and language minorities to
5 elect representatives of their choice. So any
6 effect to that would be considered retrogression.

7 So what I'm saying is to move the people
8 from West Orange County, who have elected Val
9 Demings as their Congresswoman, to now move them in
10 a district in Lake County with the villages and
11 others where now they won't be able to elect the
12 representative of their choice, from this
13 definition, it clearly goes against the Voting
14 Rights Act. It clearly is retrogression.

15 How do you explain that group of black
16 people having the choice to vote for one, but now
17 they will not be able to elect the candidate of
18 their choice?

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly, you are
20 recognized.

21 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 And I won't claim to be an expert on every
23 facet of the Voting Rights Act, but in general, I
24 don't know of any way in which a Voting Rights Act
25 challenge could be brought to a district that's 26

1 percent of the black -- or 26 percent of it's the
2 black community, 28 percent of it's the Hispanic
3 community. I don't know that there's any connection
4 at all to the Voting Rights Act for a district like
5 that.

6 Generally, that type of challenge is, to my
7 knowledge -- and counsel could probably clarify --
8 but to my knowledge is applicable to a district
9 where a majority of the district is a particular
10 minority community, so a district, in other words,
11 where it has a 50 percent-plus black voting age
12 population.

13 There's further analysis required, more
14 than just that, but in general, this district and
15 the Voting Rights Act wouldn't have anything to do
16 with each other.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy?

18 SENATOR BRACY: But you said before you
19 don't even know the percentages the House used to
20 determine if this is even a minority seat or not.
21 So --

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Well, he did say he
23 looked at District 10.

24 SENATOR BRACY: He looked at the black
25 voting age population, but to determine if it is a

1 minority seat -- you know what. We're going in
2 circles. What I would ask, Chairman, is that we've
3 got a lot of people here, and I think there's
4 honestly only three, four districts that are really
5 what people are paying attention to.

6 So I appreciate the presentation from the
7 Governor's Office, but just so that we have time for
8 debate and that people have a chance to speak, I
9 would ask that we could conclude the presentation or
10 really expedite it and then allow for people to
11 speak.

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Gibson.

13 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 And I certainly will save time for public
15 testimony. I appreciate those who have come today.
16 On the -- I'm unclear as to which -- when there was
17 data reviewed, when there wasn't data reviewed.

18 But just in the House primary map -- I
19 believe that was one that you all utilized, I think,
20 a little bit or tweaked it a little bit -- the black
21 voting age population according to this full
22 analysis was around 35 percent, a little over 35
23 percent. In the data for the race neutral maps,
24 that goes down to 12 percent.

25 And so it's your testimony today that

1 because -- that there's no diminishment because that
2 population couldn't elect a candidate of their
3 choice in a primary?

4 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

5 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

6 I apologize. I don't have the benefit of
7 the data that you're looking at. So I'm not sure
8 what you're looking at.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have a follow-
10 up?

11 SENATOR GIBSON: Mr. Chair? Yes.

12 So I have the packet with the map that
13 we're discussing, which district by district,
14 includes percentages for the various districts based
15 on the map that we received.

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Gibson, our
17 staff --

18 SENATOR GIBSON: So this is the staff data.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Our staff prepared --

20 SENATOR GIBSON: Okay.

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- that data.

22 SENATOR GIBSON: Well, Mr. Chair, may I?

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Yes.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: Regardless of the
25 preparation -- and I trust what our staff does --

1 those are the percentages. And that is not
2 diminishment because CD 5 is no longer considered to
3 have need for a minority access district? Would
4 that be the premise?

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly.

6 ALEX KELLY: I have to apologize. I'm not
7 sure. Are we talking about District 5 or District
8 10?

9 SENATOR GIBSON: I said -- I'm sorry.

10 ALEX KELLY: And I'm still not really sure
11 what data -- I don't know if we're referencing data
12 regarding racial and language minorities. I don't
13 know if we're referencing elections data. I'm
14 struggling to follow the question?

15 SENATOR GIBSON: May I?

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: He's at a disadvantage
17 not having the packet.

18 SENATOR GIBSON: May I explain it?

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Sure.

20 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 So we have something called a voter age
22 voting data, right, or the voting age population in
23 each of the congressional districts that were drawn
24 in Plan 109, and the projection for the CD 5 in 109
25 of black voting age population in CD 5 is now 12

1 percent, which was previously in the map I believe
2 you referenced that the Senate passed -- you chose
3 this one -- 8019, was 35 percent.

4 And so my question -- but you don't --
5 because you don't have the -- because you don't have
6 the data, can you not answer the question based on
7 the percentages that I gave?

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Kelly.

9 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Okay. And thank you.
10 And thank you for the clarification. I think I'm
11 starting to understand what you're asking. So
12 you're referring to District 5 in map 8019, and
13 District 5's black voting age population in map 8019
14 is 35.32 percent.

15 I wouldn't say that District 5 in map 0109
16 is the comparable district. Neither district really
17 resembles it, but I wouldn't say that it's the
18 comparable district. District 4 in that map, in map
19 0109, has a black voting age population of 31.66
20 percent, and that achieved that 31.66 percent
21 without attempting in any way to draw it with race
22 as a consideration.

23 SENATOR GIBSON: District 4 has the 30
24 percent.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: That's what he said.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: Okay. And District 5 is
2 12 percent.

3 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: He'll have to take
4 your word for that. He doesn't have the data.

5 SENATOR GIBSON: And thank you, Mr. Chair.

6 And so collectively in previous maps, those
7 -- it's the split between the districts that then
8 create a difference in the numbers and also go to a
9 different area, correct?

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: you are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12 You know, Senator, I think this visual
13 helps articulate based on the district -- or the
14 districts that the Legislature drew in its primary
15 plan and the districts that I've drawn in this plan
16 before you today.

17 When you look to the left, District 5 that
18 the Legislature drew, and you tried to compare the
19 geography, therefore, the population to District 4
20 that I drew, really most of the Legislature's
21 District 5 -- most of it but obviously not all of it
22 -- most of it population wise is in that District 4
23 that I drew.

24 You can see there's a little portion of
25 kind of -- not fully southwest Jacksonville but

1 getting into Southwest Jacksonville in the
2 Legislature's District 5 that for the map that I
3 drew is in a different district. That would explain
4 the changes in the numbers because the populations
5 don't match perfectly.

6 SENATOR GIBSON: Well --

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

8 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you. Thank you,
9 Mr. Chair.

10 And it's still diminishment; is that
11 correct? In each of the districts, it's not 35
12 percent any longer --

13 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

14 SENATOR GIBSON: -- correct?

15 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 As I noted in my opening, the district as
17 drawn in the different configurations by the
18 Legislature violates the Equal Protection Clause of
19 the 14th Amendment of the United States
20 Constitution. So in effect, the plain language way
21 of looking at that is there was no benchmark
22 district to be redrawn. So, therefore, there is no
23 diminishment to be considered.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: Last question?

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Last question.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

2 And, well, I'll put it in kind of a
3 compound question. So in terms of compactness, are
4 the two districts in Jacksonville area equal in
5 compactness, and is there another configuration that
6 can be drawn that keeps more of the African American
7 community of interest together and have the same
8 compactness and did you try?

9 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12 And in terms of compactness, the plan 109 -
13 - 0109 on the right compared to the plan -- the
14 primary plan the Legislature adopted, Plan 0109, is
15 -- those two districts combined is statistically
16 more compact than the primary plan the Legislature
17 drew. The main reason being is that District 4, as
18 the Legislature drew it, is very noncompact. So it
19 brings down your overall compactness of those two
20 districts combined. So Plan 0109 is an improvement
21 upon compactness.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Are there any other
23 members of the committee that have a question?

24 SENATOR BRACY: Mr. Chairman? Sorry.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Bracy?

1 SENATOR BRACY: Yeah.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy.

3 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Senator Gibson.
4 I get your point.

5 Last two questions. Mr. Kelly, how do you
6 justify splitting the minority population in Orlando
7 into two separate districts when it had been
8 contained in CD 10 in the benchmark?

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

10 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

11 As I noted before, there was no obligation
12 in any way to redraw District 10, the benchmark
13 district. There's no lawful obligation to redraw
14 that seat that way. What I did was I drew a
15 District 10, which, again, for reference, is nearly
16 equal, maybe a 7/10 or 8/10 of a percentage point
17 different in terms of its black voting age
18 population.

19 I drew a District 10 in an area that
20 includes Winter Prink, Maitland, is more centrally
21 located in Orange County, a very compact seat, and
22 drawing of that district actually allowed for some
23 Tier 2 compliance in several other ways around the
24 seat as well, essentially helping with District 9,
25 District 11.

1 So I followed the outline of Florida law to
2 draw those seats, draw those seats compactly,
3 utilize political and geographical boundary lines,
4 and I didn't consider race in any way in the drawing
5 of the seat.

6 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Last question. But aren't you -- in doing
8 it that way, aren't you putting Tier 2 requirements
9 above Tier 1?

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

11 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

12 And as I noted in my opening, you know,
13 part of Tier 1 is contiguity obviously, which I
14 followed that, and then part of Tier 1 is not
15 intentionally favoring or disfavoring an incumbent
16 or political party. And as I noted in my opening, I
17 did not do that, and I did not intend to do that.
18 And I did not in any way take any feedback from
19 anyone to try to do something like that.

20 So I didn't violate that Tier 1 standard,
21 and there was no diminishment obligation for that
22 district. So I complied with Tier 1, moved to Tier
23 2, and drew very compact districts that follow
24 political and geographical boundary lines.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Okay. Are there any

1 other questions from members of the committee?

2 Seeing none, we have a new member to the
3 Senate who's not on the committee who has joined us.
4 If you would like, please introduce yourself to the
5 crowd, and you may ask your question.

6 SENATOR OSGOOD: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

7 I am Senator Rosalind Osgood, newly elected
8 for District 33, and thank you so much.

9 Just trying to understand in listening at
10 the responses to Senator Bracy, where it's keep
11 being said that we didn't use race, but then we've
12 determined that one district is racial
13 gerrymandering. And you just said that, when you
14 were asked about Tier 1 and Tier 2, that when you
15 looked at CD 5, that there was no attempt to -- you
16 said you didn't discuss with anyone about favoring a
17 political party. You didn't have a conversation.
18 But if that is the outcome of what has been done,
19 then how do we address that, you know?

20 You clearly said you didn't -- it was not
21 your intent. And sometimes we can work and do
22 things, especially when we're just using maps and
23 highways, and the result ends up being something
24 other than what we intended. Because when we look
25 at what's going on with 5, 10, and the overall

1 schemes of these maps, it does appear to be
2 politically motivated. And it also appears to not
3 take the hardworking black citizens of this state
4 serious.

5 And I'm sorry if I don't know all the
6 correct languages. I'm just asking my question so
7 that I would be able to respond to the people that
8 elected me to represent them.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Could you restate your
10 question please?

11 SENATOR OSGOOD: So in the conversation and
12 questions back and forth with the Senators here, Mr.
13 Kelly has expressed the process he took and his
14 intent. That's not my question, okay. But the
15 results means that we're eliminating two seats that
16 gave minority access, where one political party is
17 being diminished in numbers and another one is
18 gaining.

19 So that clearly to me, when I look at Tier
20 1, violates when it talks about favoring a political
21 party. So I'll stop there first. So I'm just
22 trying to understand because we, you know, we talk
23 about race neutral, and then we talk about racial
24 gerrymander. We're either using race or we're not.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I'm sorry. Could you

1 restate the question again?

2 SENATOR OSGOOD: Okay. I'll start with the
3 first question.

4 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: It sounds like we're
5 getting into debate, and I just want to make sure
6 we're asking --

7 SENATOR OSGOOD: No. I'll start --

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- a question.

9 SENATOR OSGOOD: Okay. I'll start with the
10 first question.

11 Okay. Mr. Kelly has stated that it was not
12 -- that he didn't have any conversations with
13 anybody to favor a political party. When we look at
14 the results we got, Tier 1 says clearly that we
15 cannot favor a political party, and we haven't
16 talked a lot about Tier 1. It's been mentioned a
17 couple of times. So how do we substantiate what
18 you've given us does not violate Tier 1? Let me --

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: All right.

20 SENATOR OSGOOD: -- ask him that.

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you.

22 Mr. Kelly?

23 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

24 And thank you, Senator. And as I noted in
25 my opening -- and the Tier 1 standard's intent and I

1 noted in my opening that I've never had any
2 conversations that would compromise that intent.
3 I've never had anyone push or encourage any type of
4 intent such as that, that would either favor or
5 disfavor an incumbent or political party, and that's
6 not what I intended to do. So I've not violated the
7 Tier 1 standard of intent. Speaking of the results
8 of the map, I don't know what the results are. So I
9 couldn't even begin to provide an answer to that
10 question.

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Do you have a follow-
12 up?

13 SENATOR OSGOOD: Mr. Chair, I have one
14 follow-up.

15 Okay. Let me go back to District 5. I'm
16 trying to understand with District 5. I understood
17 your comments about the 14th Amendment and about the
18 racial gerrymandering, but it appears to me to
19 violate the Voting Rights Act. So can you tell me
20 how what you're recommending to eliminate District 5
21 does not violate the Voting Rights Act?

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

23 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Chair.

24 So Senator, generally, as I was -- one of
25 the questions earlier was similar when we were

1 talking about District 10, my general understanding
2 of the Voting Rights Act is it's not implicated --
3 it's not a potential Voting Rights Act question
4 unless a majority of the district's population -- a
5 majority of the voting age population, I should say,
6 of the district is of the same minority community.

7 So if a majority of the district -- that's
8 not the only question as to whether or not there
9 could be a Voting Rights Act implication, but that
10 benchmark district, Congressional District 5, a
11 majority of that district is not represented by any
12 particular minority community. So the Voting Rights
13 Act should not be implicated in any way.

14 SENATOR OSGOOD: In District 5, not 10, 5.

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized.

16 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

17 My statement there would actually apply to
18 both 5 and 10.

19 SENATOR OSGOOD: Okay. Thank you, Mr.
20 Chair. And thank you for allowing me to ask the
21 question.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Yes, ma'am.

23 That concludes questions, and it concludes
24 the presentation. Thank you, Mr. Kelly.

25 Next, we do have an amendment from Senator

1 Rouson.

2 Let's take up amendment barcode 917356.

3 Senator Rouson, you are recognized to
4 explain your amendment.

5 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you very much,
6 Mr. Chair.

7 And there are a lot of things to say in a
8 short period of time, and I do want to give respect
9 to those who traveled here and want to speak in
10 public comment. So I'll keep my description of the
11 amendment fairly brief.

12 First, this amendment restores District 5
13 in Northern Florida as a minority access seat as it
14 has been. Secondly, it restores the 10th District
15 in Orlando area as a minority seat, as it has been.
16 It also keeps the city of Tampa entirely within
17 District 14 and keeps the city of St. Petersburg
18 whole in District 13.

19 The intent of this amendment is to protect
20 minority access districts from retrogression as the
21 black communities in those areas have had access for
22 decades, and it continues the legacy of minority
23 representation. And that's the amendment.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Are there questions on
25 the amendment?

1 Senator Broxson, you are recognized.

2 SENATOR BROXSON: Senator, and you are an
3 attorney, but in your opinion, would this violate
4 the federal intent of how we draw congressional
5 maps?

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Rouson, you
7 are recognized.

8 SENATOR ROUSON: No.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Are there any other
10 questions?

11 Seeing no questions, we do not have
12 appearance forms for the amendment.

13 So now, we'll move to debate. Is there
14 debate on the amendment?

15 Hearing no debate, Senator Rouson, you are
16 recognized to close on the amendment.

17 SENATOR ROUSON: Thank you very much,
18 Mr. Chairman.

19 Diversity and diversity in representation
20 matters. Like the late, great Charles Rangel,
21 Congressman from Harlem, said, full participation in
22 government and society has been a basic right of
23 this country and this state, symbolizing the full
24 citizenship and equal protection of all.

25 The amendment seeks to not allow

1 retrogression, which reduces in the main bill the
2 opportunity of minorities to elect a person of their
3 choice. The underlying bill screams of diminishment
4 because it eliminates two minority districts.

5 As divisions both real and imagined deepen
6 in our political, social, economic, in our health
7 and justice worlds, even our education world, it
8 becomes increasingly important, even critical, that
9 everyone have a seat at the table where decisions
10 are being made. This amendment goes a long way
11 towards ensuring that. And with that, I close and
12 ask for your favorable support.

13 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: All those in favor of
14 the amendment say yea.

15 (Multiple yeas)

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: All opposed, say nay.

17 (Multiple nays)

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: The amendment fails.

19 There is another amendment, which I had
20 filed, barcode 644248.

21 Without objection, show that amendment has
22 been withdrawn.

23 We're now going to move to appearance forms
24 for the bill, and we have quite a few. Okay. I'm
25 going to start with those who are waiving against

1 the bill so that we have their statements on the
2 record.

3 We have Reverend Dr. Joe Parramore, who is
4 waiving against the bill.

5 We have Deborah Baker-Rian from Niceville,
6 Florida, who is waiving against the bill.

7 We have Jean Simbaneller (phonetic) from
8 Milton, Florida, who is waiving against the bill.

9 We have Matt Dailey from Tallahassee, who
10 is waiving against the bill.

11 We have Lisa Perry from St. Petersburg,
12 Florida, who is waiving against the bill.

13 Next, we're going to move to individuals
14 from Jacksonville, Florida, who are also waiving
15 against the bill.

16 We have Robert Buchanan (phonetic) waiving
17 against the bill.

18 We have Joy Burgess from Jacksonville,
19 Florida, waiving against the bill.

20 We have Jonathan Burgess from Jacksonville,
21 Florida waiving against the bill.

22 Okay. Next, we're going to continue with
23 Jacksonville individuals who are waiving against the
24 bill.

25 We have Gwendolyn Colman from Jacksonville

1 waiving against the bill.

2 We have -- it looks like -- and I'm having
3 difficulty reading the handwriting, but it looks
4 like Haraska Lavashal (phonetic) from Jacksonville,
5 Florida, waiving against the bill.

6 Samille Davis (phonetic) from Jacksonville,
7 Florida, waiving against the bill.

8 Sheila Singleton from Jacksonville,
9 Florida, waiving against the bill.

10 Joanne Brooks from Jacksonville, Florida,
11 waiving against the bill.

12 Next, we have additional people from
13 Orlando who are waiving against the bill.

14 It looks like Rylan Wagner (phonetic) from
15 Orlando waiving against the bill.

16 Lore Cordova (phonetic) from Orlando
17 waiving against the bill.

18 John Kemper from Orlando waiving against
19 the bill.

20 Anastasia Jackson from Orlando waiving
21 against the bill.

22 Allison Clark from Maitland, Florida,
23 waiving against the bill.

24 Mecca Godwin (phonetic) from Orlando
25 waiving against the bill.

1 Jasmine Fernandez from Orlando waiving
2 against the bill.

3 Anyone else?

4 Now, we're into our list of speakers.
5 We're going to begin with speakers from Orlando, who
6 have filled out the appearance card and are not
7 being compensated for their appearance. We're going
8 to get the non-compensated forms up first, and then
9 as time permits, move through those who have been
10 compensated for their testimony.

11 We're going to begin with Reverend Dr.
12 Martin M. Spoony (sic) from Orlando. Thank you,
13 sir. And you are recognized for two minutes, sir.

14 REVEREND DR. ROBERT M. SPOONY: Thank you.
15 Good morning -- good afternoon, and that's Reverend
16 Dr. Robert M. Spoony from Orlando, Florida.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you.

18 REVEREND DR. ROBERT M. SPOONY: But I'll
19 take Martin.

20 To the committee Chair and his committee
21 members, again, my name is the Reverend Dr. Robert
22 M. Spoony. I'm pastor of Mt. Zion Missionary
23 Baptist Church in Orlando, Florida, which is in
24 Congressional District 10. I also live in
25 Congressional District 10. I'm not a politician,

1 but I consider myself a public servant. Some people
2 also may consider me a subject matter expert on
3 servant leadership.

4 And I'm here today because the church is
5 called to be engaged. The church is called to lead.
6 The church is called to lend voice, moral authority,
7 resources in an effort to resist evil and -- and to
8 bring reorder to the common life of -- of those who
9 are most vulnerable, those who need to be protected.

10 We're servants to our congregations, and as
11 servant leaders, one of the things I do understand
12 is that servant leadership consists of ethicalness
13 and moral -- you're either -- you're ethical and
14 moral. Leadership can be taught, but ethics is tied
15 to your character.

16 And so what I'm here to talk about in only
17 these two short minutes is the fact that morally is
18 this the right thing to do to eliminate two
19 congressional districts, which will, in turn,
20 marginalize many, many people?

21 I've heard all the statistics spouted this
22 afternoon, and many of them, I -- I know for a fact
23 that they're just not necessarily true. I wonder
24 where -- what -- what you looked at for -- to
25 determine that the amount of African Americans and

1 Latinos who live in the district because I live in
2 the 10th District, and I know that the numbers are
3 not the same as I just heard today.

4 And so my -- my point is, will you morally
5 be able to live with yourself if you really make
6 this decision to just push a whole group of people
7 out of the way and -- and allow them not to
8 participate in the American system?

9 This is your decision. You've already
10 vetted your process. You came up with your answers.
11 You came up with a map, and now it's been vetoed and
12 turned around. Will you stand up and do the right
13 thing? Or will you bow down and be bullied?

14 That's the question that I just -- that's
15 just resonating in my mind. We've elected you to do
16 the right thing, and I just ask that you do the
17 right thing. Remember, we are one. Our cause is
18 one, and if we're ever to be successful in this
19 world, we ought to help one another. Help other
20 people get a chance to vote. Thank you.

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
22 comments.

23 Carla Jones, and on deck, we'll have
24 LaShonda Holloway.

25 Ms. Jones --

1 CARLA JONES: Good afternoon.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- you are recognized
3 for two minutes.

4 CARLA JONES: Thank you. My name is Carla
5 Jones. I am from Orlando, Florida, and I'm the
6 candidate running for Chief Financial Officer of the
7 State of Florida. I'm not an attorney, but I wake
8 up with one every morning.

9 And I'm here to, as you know, let you all
10 know that I am against the redistricting planned,
11 and I am -- because I know the representative from
12 the Governor's Office, he stood here, and he said
13 that race did not play a role in the redistricting
14 process. I'm here to tell you that I don't believe
15 it.

16 I think that it is the main factor that we
17 are looking at, and it's unfortunate. Because
18 minorities, they vote. They pay taxes. They own
19 property. They have rights, and a lot of that --
20 it's been looked over. And I'm highly disappointed
21 in the redistricting.

22 I'm the mother of six children, and they
23 are all of voting age. And a couple of them have
24 come -- have approached me about this redistricting,
25 and so I'm here today to stand up and say it's

1 wrong. I think race plays a big, big factor in the
2 decisions that's being made. And unfortunately we
3 aren't -- we -- we're -- we're one, but we're not
4 living as one. United, we stand. Divided, we fall.

5 So I would like to ask everyone, everyone
6 standing within the -- within -- if you can hear me
7 today, please reconsider this bill, please. It is
8 racist in my opinion. I don't know how much that
9 means, but it is racist. And I need to take some
10 true answers back to my children. I don't want to -
11 - I don't want them to be --

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You need to --

13 CARLA JONES: -- lied to.

14 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- bring it in for a
15 close.

16 CARLA JONES: Okay. I don't want them to
17 be lied to. So please reconsider. Please
18 reconsider this bill. It is racist, and I thank you
19 for listening to me.

20 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
21 comments today.

22 We have LaShonda Holloway. On deck, Dr.
23 Evie Welch (phonetic).

24 You are recognized for two minutes.

25 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: Good afternoon. My

1 name is LaShonda L.J. Holloway, and I am the
2 candidate to represent the people of the 5th
3 Congressional District. But, moreover, I am a
4 fourth generation Jacksonvillian and Floridian.

5 It is -- it is an abomination that we are
6 wasting taxpayer dollars regarding this
7 reapportionment and regarding redistricting when we
8 elect citizens -- I'm sorry -- we elect you, the
9 legislators, to come here and make laws and to draw
10 the lines.

11 However, notwithstanding your willingness
12 to stand up and -- stand up to the Governor, I am
13 here to say that this map denies equal access to the
14 political process, and it discriminates on the basis
15 of not only the African American race but black and
16 brown people and also language minorities in the
17 vein of Hispanics.

18 Furthermore, Mr. Kelly stated that he used
19 the Tier 2 standard. I believe -- not I believe --
20 the law states, one, that all persons -- all persons
21 in the State of Florida, the fair district laws, the
22 law that the citizens stated that they wanted fair
23 districts.

24 Look, 20 seats is not fair. Twenty
25 Republican seats versus eight Democratic seats is

1 not fair. So not only does it violate the will of
2 the people, under the equal protection of the law,
3 the equal protection argument, in particular,
4 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, it
5 specifically prohibits voting practices or
6 procedures that discriminate on the basis of race,
7 color, or membership in one language minority group.

8 We must protect minority access districts
9 from retrogression. I'll repeat that. We must
10 protect minority access districts from
11 retrogression. The --

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
13 a landing.

14 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: I'll bring it in for
15 the landing. Last, I will say that representation
16 of all citizens is indeed a compelling state
17 interest. Minority representation matters. We
18 deserve representation, and this outright attempt by
19 Governor DeSantis to dilute the voice of minorities,
20 it is an abomination. And all voices deserve to be
21 heard. Protect our democracy and -- and --

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
23 comments.

24 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: -- maintain the maps.
25 Thank you.

1 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Dr. Evie Welch. On
2 deck is Gail Frances Gardner.

3 Dr. Welch, you are recognized for two
4 minutes.

5 DR. EVIE WELCH: My name is Evie.

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I'm sorry. Dr. Evie
7 Welch.

8 DR. EVIE WELCH: Adams Welch.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I apologize.

10 DR. EVIE WELCH: I vote in District 5. I
11 am the committeewoman for Voting District 713 in
12 Jacksonville, Florida. You're looking at one of the
13 warriors of the boots on the ground.

14 Before I give my disappointment, I must
15 commend Senator Rouson for giving me a ray of hope.
16 Before I came here, it appeared to me that you
17 weren't in keeping with any of the laws that really
18 looks at the minority people who are marginalized.
19 I couldn't believe my ears, and so I'm here today.
20 At least there is a glimmer of hope.

21 We must contain the ideas of the
22 Constitution, Amendment 14, Section 2. We must go
23 back and read what the people voted for in the
24 revision of the Constitution. They -- the people of
25 Florida, not the Governor himself, said that we must

1 look at the federal statutes, and we must consider
2 what the Voting Rights Act of 1965 really made us to
3 look at making this a more perfect union.

4 And as a person who spent most of her life
5 professionally and academically working very hard to
6 make sure that Amendment 19 was always remembered,
7 do consider what you are doing to the State of
8 Florida. You are dividing us. We don't want to go
9 back, and we will not go back. Thank you for
10 listening to me.

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
12 comments.

13 We have Gail Frances Gardner. David
14 Rucker, you're on deck.

15 GAIL FRANCES GARDNER: Good afternoon.

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You have two minutes,
17 ma'am.

18 GAIL FRANCES GARDNER: In the '60s, my
19 ancestors, who live in the north where I was born
20 and grew up, would board a charter bus and head
21 south, where they are born and grew up. Well, now,
22 I too boarded a charter bus today for the same
23 reason my ancestors did. I too want to defend
24 theirs, mine, and generations to come voting rights.

25 The Congressional District redistricting

1 map not just to draw the lines but hold the line and
2 make this legislative body accountable and not allow
3 the persuasive executive decision by the Governor to
4 be a force to diminish the black vote, of which
5 those of you who benefited from the Fair Districts
6 Amendments of 5 and 6, that profit politicians from
7 drawing districts to favor themselves and their
8 parties and to ensure that minorities will have the
9 opportunity to elect representatives of their
10 choice. Let's not allow history to repeat itself.
11 Thank you.

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
13 comments.

14 David Rucker. And on deck is Odwan
15 Whitfield (phonetic).

16 Mr. Rucker, you have two minutes. Thank
17 you.

18 DAVID RUCKER: Good afternoon, Chair and
19 members, representatives.

20 My name is David Rucker. I'm from Orlando,
21 Florida. I also lived in District 10. I am highly
22 disappointed on the way things are being done right
23 now. For 57, almost 58 years, we're still fighting
24 about minorities voting.

25 Currently, the Governor wanted to cut two

1 seats when we already have four. I don't understand
2 that. All right. You're demising the vote for
3 minorities, and I want to say black folks first.
4 Then we can trickle down to the rest, the Latinos
5 and other people, but it's unfair the way that you
6 had a map going.

7 You decided not to use your map and use
8 what the Governor wants to do, all right. I think
9 it's a bigger disappointment for the people that you
10 represent and the people that you don't represent
11 but are voters. I am a super voter. I have been
12 voting here since 1965. I haven't missed but one
13 vote in my whole life doing this, all right.

14 So some things has to change, and some
15 things don't. But what you need to do is make a
16 conscious decision on what you're going to do about
17 drawing these maps. Let us have our own voice and
18 do what we need to do for us and not include us with
19 everyone else. But that would be fair to do, and I
20 don't know if you all know how to be fair sometimes.

21 So I think you need to look at this and
22 really make a concentration on getting -- keeping
23 the four that we have now instead of cutting it down
24 like the Governor want to do with two. Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your

1 comments.

2 We have Mr. Whitfield followed by Dr.

3 Carolynn Zonia.

4 Mr. Whitfield, you are recognized for two
5 minutes.

6 ODWAN WHITFIELD: Thank you. My name is
7 Odwan Whitfield. I am a taxpayer in District 5, in
8 Congressional District 5, and I'm here today because
9 this is a serious matter. I have this Senator here,
10 who has been looking at her laptop the whole time.

11 I have two Senators back there that have been
12 looking at their laptops. I've been watching them.

13 This is a serious matter. There's lives at
14 stake here. There are lives at stake here. The --
15 the representative from the Governor's Office said
16 that Tier 1 is only intent and that he didn't
17 converse or he didn't talk to anybody that -- that
18 helped him to decide these maps. Yet, he looked at
19 public testimony on video or he read the record. So
20 technically, he looked at everybody's opinion on
21 these maps before he drew them. How is that not --
22 disregard that. Disregard that.

23 Even if the -- the Governor's Office said
24 you know what. I think it's -- it's better for this
25 environment, for this government, for this -- for

1 this state that 1 percent of everybody needs to be
2 killed. He came up here, gave those statistics to
3 you all in a nice manner. It is still left up to
4 you all to make that decision.

5 This is people's livelihoods. I am a
6 United States Army veteran, served in Iraq and
7 Kuwait. Some of you would say so did my son. So
8 did my daughter. So did my father. So did my
9 sister. None of them have to come back to this
10 United States and do what I am doing here today.
11 They don't have that. They have a luxury. They
12 have a benefit.

13 I'm standing here today fighting for my
14 livelihood after I fought in Desert Storm, after I
15 fought in Iraq, in -- in other countries, only to
16 come back here to fight for my right to vote, for my
17 right to representation.

18 Senators, do your jobs. This is not right,
19 and this is not fair. I don't care what statistics
20 say. You know it in your hearts. You know it. Do
21 the right things.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
23 comments and thank you for your service.

24 Dr. Zonia.

25 ODWAN WHITFIELD: Don't thank me for my

1 service. Give me my representation.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: And ZsaZsa Ingram-
3 Fitzpatrick, you're on deck.

4 DR. CAROLYNN ZONIA: Thank you, Mr.
5 Chairman. And, Senators, thank you for the
6 opportunity to speak.

7 I really can't say it any better than the
8 previous speaker, but I'm asking you to follow
9 Florida's Constitution and remind you of your
10 promise to support, protect, and defend the
11 Constitution of the United States and Florida.

12 I'm also here as a physician working on the
13 front lines to speak for families who are struggling
14 to keep up. Essential workers cannot find or afford
15 a place for their families to live. Homeowners can
16 no longer find or afford property insurance. Folks
17 are working hard but cannot afford the basic
18 necessities like utilities, and the looming prospect
19 of many losing healthcare in the next few months
20 adds to the pain that many are feeling.

21 By the Governor's own proclamation,
22 legislative business this week may be transacted if
23 introduced by consent of two-thirds of the
24 membership of both houses of Legislature.

25 So on behalf of Florida families, I'm

1 asking you to please follow the Constitution on
2 redistricting and vote no on the Governor's map and
3 to use this special session to also address the real
4 emergencies that are crushing your constituents.
5 Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
7 comments.

8 We have ZsaZsa Ingram-Fitzpatrick with Dr.
9 Nancy Staats on deck.

10 Is Ms. Ingram-Fitzpatrick here?

11 Dr. Staats. And then we'll have Judy
12 Sheckland on deck.

13 DR. NANCY STAATS: Good afternoon,
14 everyone. My name is Dr. Nancy Staats.

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Staats, thank you.

16 DR. NANCY STAATS: Thank you.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I apologize for --

18 DR. NANCY STAATS: No worries.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- butchering that.
20 You are recognized for two minutes.

21 DR. NANCY STAATS: Okay. Thank you. I'm a
22 board certified medical doctor, but you don't need
23 an advanced degree to see what's happening here. We
24 know this is the blatant disenfranchisement of
25 African American communities and their

1 representatives. It's unfortunate that some of you
2 can't even look at me.

3 Just two months ago, you all worked very
4 hard making maps that adhered to Florida statutes,
5 and then the Governor proposed his own maps, which
6 you rightfully said, no, Gov, this is too far. But
7 then he vetoed yours, came back with his, and now
8 suddenly, you folded like a cheap suit.

9 I'm wondering what happened in those two
10 months. Were there backroom talks maybe working out
11 the budget details? I don't know. Arm twisting?
12 I'm not sure. Your arms all look fine, but maybe we
13 need to think about what you are here for, which is
14 to, as people have said, represent your
15 constituents.

16 It's painfully clear to me, to everyone in
17 this room, and everyone outside this room that this
18 special session is a farce. There is not even
19 another map being considered, and you won't consider
20 amendments. And it also has been mentioned this
21 Harvard-educated Governor of ours must be well aware
22 that his maps violate both the Fair Districts
23 Amendment and the Voting Rights Act, but perhaps, he
24 wants the attention. Perhaps he wants to go to a
25 Supreme Court case. That may be exactly what he

1 wants.

2 At any rate, you're making it easy for him,
3 but he must know that he's necessitating more
4 lawsuits, which more appeals after that, all of this
5 at the expense of all of Florida's citizens, like
6 these special sessions.

7 As we all learned in early grade history --
8 American history, our government was formed in
9 response to an authoritarian ruler, King George.
10 Remember that? Our Founding Fathers created a
11 system of three distinct, autonomous branches of
12 government, yet here we are today seeing complete
13 complicity to a new king.

14 As a physician, I pledged to uphold the
15 Hippocratic Oath. You too, all of you, took an oath
16 too to uphold --

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please --

18 DR. NANCY STAATS: -- your state's
19 constitution, which demands, mandates that you form
20 these maps, and you have not done so.

21 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
22 a landing.

23 DR. NANCY STAATS: Please, please remember
24 the oath you took, which you seem to have forgotten.
25 We will not forget. Thank you.

1 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for our
2 comments. Judy Sheklin. And Trish Brown will be on
3 deck.

4 JUDY SHEKLIN: My name is Judy Sheklin.
5 I'm from Jacksonville, Florida. I too am opposed to
6 the Governor's proposed maps. It is the
7 responsibility of the legislators, the Legislature,
8 to create congressional maps during redistricting
9 according to Article III of the Florida
10 Constitution.

11 The House and Senate did that, created
12 approved maps and that they were satisfied with, and
13 as we now know -- we've heard this all day -- were
14 then vetoed and redrawn by the Governor. This is
15 unprecedented in Legislatures all over the country.
16 This hasn't been done.

17 You, as legislators, quickly acquiesced to
18 the Governor, creating a dramatic imbalance of power
19 in our state government. This is very troubling.
20 The Governor's maps are a radical departure, and
21 they aren't in compliance with state and federal
22 law. These maps, as we've heard again here today,
23 reduce the likelihood of minorities to elect
24 congressional members of their choice, eliminating
25 two minority districts and violating the Voting

1 Rights Act.

2 In 2010, Florida passed the Fair Districts
3 Amendment, and the citizens of this state
4 overwhelmingly spoke. They deserve and expect
5 fairness in redistricting decisions. The Governor's
6 plan creates 20 Republican-majority districts and 8
7 Democratic-majority districts. This blatantly
8 demonstrates partisan gerrymandering. Please stand
9 up for all Floridians and oppose these unfair maps.
10 Thank you.

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
12 comments.

13 Trish Brown. And we have Rodney Long on
14 deck.

15 Trish Brown?

16 Rodney Long.

17 For the record, Trish Brown is against the
18 bill.

19 Mr. Long, you are recognized for two
20 minutes.

21 RODNEY LONG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 I'm Rodney Long. I don't live in
23 Congressional District 5 or 10. I'm from Alachua
24 County, Gainesville, Florida.

25 Because I am a concerned resident of this

1 state, I drove here today to speak to you in
2 opposition to the proposed plan, SB 2-C Plan 019
3 (sic) for three reasons. First, because if you
4 approve this map, it will reduce the minority
5 representation in the State of Florida by 50
6 percent. Second is there's no doubt in my mind that
7 these maps, if you approve them, will lead to
8 retrogression, which violates the Voting Rights Act.

9 Thirdly, I'm a person who believes in
10 process. I've served in local government for 17
11 years. I was president of the Florida Association
12 of Counties, served two terms. I understand how
13 government works very well, but what I do not
14 understand is this. We have a process that we
15 follow, and we all are sworn to oaths. And we
16 follow those oaths.

17 What I do not understand as a person who
18 understands process is how do you acquiesce the
19 authority given to you as a legislative body to draw
20 district lines under reapportionment? I'm a person
21 who believes in process. I can accept the fact --
22 if you approved the maps and I don't like the maps
23 but you approved the maps, I could live with that.

24 What I cannot live with is that you're just
25 not going to approve any maps. That is a

Page 112

1 dereliction of your oath and your duties. Do the
2 right thing. I could live with whatever maps you
3 all approve, but what I cannot live with is you
4 abdicating your responsibility to do your job.

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for --

6 RODNEY LONG: Do the right thing.

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- your comments.

8 Next, we have Matt Van Wormer with Whitney
9 Wogen (phonetic) on deck.

10 You are recognized for two minutes.

11 MATT VAN WORMER: Okay. Thank you.

12 I was just going to waive, but I'm going to
13 say a couple words because I'm on the other side of
14 this bet and will be the first to speak to that.

15 The map looks very square to me. It looks
16 very logical. Now, I don't -- I don't live in
17 Orlando. I moved in here recently, and so I don't
18 understand what some -- much of the politics are
19 here that have gone before. But I don't see weird
20 little lines going in here and there to try to
21 protect or do weird things. It seems very logical.
22 So I'm favor of what plan to -- Senate Plan 2-C 109.
23 So thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
25 comments.

1 We have Whitney Wogen with Bridget Smith
2 (phonetic) on deck.

3 Ms. Wogen, you have two minutes.

4 WHITNEY WOGEN: Thank you. My name is
5 Whitney Wogen. I just wanted to voice my support
6 for SB 2-C Plan 109. Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
8 comments.

9 Bridget Smith. And we have Carmen Soto on
10 deck.

11 BRIDGET SMITH: Bridget Smith, I'm from
12 Marion County, Florida. A lot of PhDs here, a lot
13 of physicians here. I'm a nurse. So I don't have a
14 redistricting degree. It is a science in all of
15 itself. I was here for the House and Senate debates
16 during session, and it is a lot. I commend you all
17 for even understanding all this. It's a lot.

18 But me, as a lay person to this,
19 redistricting to me is to equalize populations among
20 electoral districts after publication of the census,
21 but it seems today it's been all about race issues
22 and color.

23 From what I understand, the Fair District
24 Act, it's -- it was to state that a minority group
25 would not be prohibited from voting in their

1 candidate. But looking at the maps currently with
2 the contiguousness of them, which is what we're
3 supposed to do, and not make it about race,
4 according to everything we've talked about today, it
5 has become about race. And it's very confusing to
6 all of us.

7 I support this bill. The 2017 Supreme
8 Court decision, this is different. The Supreme
9 Court decision, a North Carolina case brought up the
10 fact that the gerrymandering had too many blacks in
11 that district. So they threw that map out because
12 it was gerrymandered. Now, based on that decision,
13 District 5 is considered gerrymandered, the previous
14 District 5. So that's my interpretation of it. I
15 do support the bill. Thank you very much.

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you or your
17 comments.

18 We have Carmen Soto, and Robert Schmidt
19 (phonetic) is on deck.

20 CARMEN SOTO: Hi. My name is Carmen Soto,
21 and I'm waiving in favor of the bill.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
23 comment.

24 CARMEN SOTO: Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Robert Schmidt. And

1 then we've got John Berry (phonetic) on deck.

2 ROBERT SCHMIDT: Good afternoon. I'm
3 speaking in support of SB 2-C Plan 109, 0109. While
4 this plan was drawn for common sense districting,
5 today's discussions have devolved into political
6 accusations.

7 Not one voice has been silenced today by
8 this map. Everyone still has a voice. I am happy
9 this Governor has shown backbone. We hear people
10 discuss the unprecedented nature of this map. I
11 might remind those that look to other states such as
12 New York to see what real gerrymandering looks like
13 for political gains.

14 This map represents common sense and allows
15 for the seismic shifts that are happening in Florida
16 today. Thank you.

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
18 comments.

19 John Berry.

20 I don't see John. Lauren -- John is in
21 support of the map.

22 Lauren Dickenson (phonetic).

23 LAUREN DICKENSON: I waive in support of
24 the map.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Waives in support,

1 thank you.

2 Okay. That concludes testimony from the
3 non-compensated.

4 We're going to move to the compensated.
5 We've got about 40 minutes, and I believe the
6 members are going to want to debate. So we're going
7 to do one minute testimony.

8 We'll start with Marsha Davis, and on deck
9 will be Cristian Cardona.

10 Marsha Davis? Thank you, ma'am.

11 MARSHA DAVIS: I waive against Governor
12 DeSantis' legislative map. Floridians, and I was
13 one of them, voted the Fair District Act Amendment
14 into the state Constitution to protect minority
15 voters and to prevent legislators from doing what it
16 appears has been done, making sure that you protect
17 your party. It's not right.

18 Minority growth alone, by the last census,
19 indicates that there should probably be more
20 minority representation in the Legislature, but the
21 Governor plans to cut our representation in half.
22 That's not right. The plan is unfair, and I believe
23 that it is unconstitutional. Thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
25 comments.

1 Cristian Cardona. And we have Stacy
2 Williams (phonetic) on deck.

3 CRISTIAN CARDONA: Thank you. My name is
4 Cristian Cardona. I am worker and leader with the
5 Fight for \$15 and the union from Orlando, Florida.
6 Different movements are gathered here today because
7 Florida's Republican leadership is trying to silence
8 black and brown communities by passing voter
9 suppression laws.

10 By eliminating protections that Fair
11 Districts Amendment provides, this map is a direct
12 attack on black representation and our democracy,
13 and that ain't right. By proposing a congressional
14 map that reduces Florida's black and brown
15 representation by 50 percent, the Governor is trying
16 to advance his political career at the expense of
17 black and brown voters.

18 Let me tell you about my experience as a
19 voter and why this issue is important to me. I
20 moved to Orlando, Florida, with my family in 2009.
21 I gained citizenship just in time to vote for
22 Amendment 2. Amendment 2 brought us one step closer
23 to a living wage, which is something I have been
24 organizing and speaking up about for years.

25 This amendment has a direct impact on the

1 community around me, my family, my friends, and my
2 neighbors. It felt powerful to organize and
3 campaign to raise the standard of living for
4 millions of Floridians. The day I got to vote yes
5 on Amendment 2 --

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
7 a close.

8 CRISTIAN CARDONA: All right. This --
9 after months of campaigning and yelling it out to
10 the world, I finally had the chance to cast my vote
11 with my community. This is why it's important that
12 workers have a strong voice and a vote.

13 I want to thank everyone for showing up and
14 taking time out of their day because I know workers
15 have never been --

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
17 comments.

18 CRISTIAN CARDONA: -- given rights.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I appreciate it.

20 Stacy Williams. And Larry Coleton
21 (phonetic) on deck.

22 LARRY COLETON: Good afternoon --

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you.

24 LARRY COLETON: -- Mr. Chairman.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized for

1 a minute.

2 LARRY COLETON: Ms. Williams is not here.

3 I'm Larry Coleton.

4 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Okay.

5 LARRY COLETON: The writer James Baldwin
6 said, not everything that is faced can be changed,
7 but nothing can be changed until it is faced. The
8 columnist Leonard Pitts wrote that one party in
9 America is steering the ship of this state towards
10 jagged rocks, and that's where we find ourselves.

11 I like what the former and late President
12 John Kennedy asked. He wrote a book called Profiles
13 in Courage. In these next few days, we're going to
14 see one of two things, either profiles in courage or
15 profiles in cowardice.

16 We have a bully as a Governor, and
17 unfortunately, we have members of this body,
18 Mr. Chairman, that have essentially capitulated your
19 constitutionally required responsibilities.

20 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
21 a close.

22 LARRY COLETON: It's up to you. It's
23 either going to be courage or cowardice, and
24 unfortunately, the fear is it will be cowardice.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your

1 comments.

2 We have Hedder Pierre-Joseph with Gail
3 Presley on deck.

4 HEDDER PIERRE-JOSEPH: Good afternoon to
5 the committee and committee members. My name is
6 Hedder Pierre-Joseph. I am a member of
7 Congressional District 10 for the last 19 years.

8 Redistricting is the process by which new
9 congressional and state legislative districts are
10 drawn. Federal law stipulates that districts must
11 have nearly equal protection, equal population, and
12 must not discriminate on the basis of race or
13 ethnicity.

14 The current redistricting map, which
15 eliminates Congressional House representation for
16 black people is based on fear, fear that black
17 people are voting. As black people who are
18 descendants of the enslaved Africans, we know our
19 history, and we know -- and we have seen this devil
20 before.

21 I implore you not to continue down the path
22 of your ancestors and deny black people their
23 constitutional right of representation. I remind
24 all of you to remember the Boston Tea Party of 1773.
25 Finally, I ask you to look around or to remember the

1 presence of the people that were in this room, and
2 for me, I see the promise of the enslaved African.
3 We are on the side of justice, and with the God of
4 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and our ancestors --

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Bring it in for a
6 landing please.

7 HEDDER PIERRE-JOSEPH: -- we shall always
8 overcome. Remember this, we win with God and time.
9 Thank you for your consideration.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
11 comments.

12 Gail Presley with Cheryl Jones on deck.

13 Ms. Presley, you are recognized for a
14 minute.

15 GAIL PRESLEY: Thank you. Good afternoon
16 to each and every one of you, Chairman, and also to
17 Mr. Randolph Bracy. Thank you so very much. It is
18 indeed my pleasure to be here today but in an awe of
19 disbelief.

20 I am very heartbroken as a resident of
21 Congressional District 10, long life resident. I
22 come from a family that marched those march in 1960.
23 I come from a family who knows about how it feels
24 when it comes to voter's right and standing up for
25 the injustice that are done to the people who are

1 black and brown. I come from a family who was very
2 proud to know that it is your -- your vote and your
3 voice that matters.

4 And today I come to you very disappointed.
5 I oppose C-0109 (sic) because I feel that it is a
6 disparity on the black and brown people, and I come
7 from a congressional district where I want to see --

8 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it --

9 GAIL PRESLEY: -- someone --

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- in for a close.

11 GAIL PRESLEY: -- who looks like me and
12 represent and know how we feel. So with that being
13 said, it is your right. You took the oath. You
14 said that you would serve us, and we're looking here
15 now and listening to statistics. And I don't
16 understand where those statistics are coming from
17 because I am a proud resident of Orange County,
18 Florida.

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
20 comments.

21 GAIL PRESLEY: And I thank you for this
22 time, Chairman, and you all have a wonderful day.

23 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you.

24 Cheryl Jones with Pastor Marcus McCoy on
25 deck.

1 I do not see Cheryl. She is against the
2 bill.

3 We have Pastor McCoy on the way. After
4 Pastor McCoy, we'll have Barney Roberts on deck.

5 You are recognized for a minute.

6 PASTOR MARCUS MCCOY: Thank you. Blessings
7 to all with special recognition to my own Senator,
8 Senator Bracy. My name is Marcus McCoy, Junior. I
9 serve as the senior pastor of the Historic Greater
10 Refuge Memorial Church, which sits in Congressional
11 District 10, exiting now over 150 years.

12 I stand on behalf of my community to
13 strongly urge this committee to vote no on the
14 proposed map C-0109 by Governor -- by our Governor
15 that removes black representation in Congress.

16 Currently, Florida has four black access
17 seats of twenty-seven. If the map were to be
18 approved, that number would reduce to 50 and would
19 leave Florida with less than 10 percent of the
20 congressional districts represented by members in
21 black access seats. It is disheartening to see that
22 with already such low representation, this Governor
23 wants to dilute representation even more.

24 And while I and those that I represent do
25 not fully agree with the decision made to offer a

1 two-map solution during this year's legislative
2 session, at least it was the decision of this
3 Legislature. The map being --

4 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
5 a close.

6 PASTOR MARCUS MCCOY: -- considered today
7 is not your own. I stand here urging you to reject
8 political games and partisanship in drawing
9 Florida's new congressional districts. Thank you.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
11 comments.

12 Barney Roberts. And on deck will be
13 Rosemary McCoy.

14 Mr. Roberts, you are recognized for a
15 minute.

16 BARNEY ROBERTS: Hi. I'm Barney Roberts.
17 I -- I stand opposing the Governor's bill. I think
18 that it is another disheartening thing to consider
19 in Florida.

20 In -- in 2010, the Florida voters added
21 amendments to the state Constitution in the Article
22 III, Sections 20 and 21. These amendments
23 prohibited line drawing that intentionally favors or
24 disfavors a political party or an incumbent. The
25 amendment also afforded protection to racial and

1 language minorities.

2 Districts may not draw -- districts may not
3 be drawn with the intent or resulting in denying or
4 abridging the equal opportunity of racial or
5 language minorities to participate in the political
6 process or to diminish their ability to elect
7 representatives of their choice.

8 Finally, unless it would conflict with the
9 standards described above, amendments require that
10 district populations be as neatly equal as
11 practicable and that districts be compact, where
12 feasible, follow existing political, geographical
13 boundaries.

14 Ladies and gentlemen --

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
16 a close.

17 BARNEY ROBERTS: -- I would beg and ask if
18 you'll consider that the things we do today, our
19 children are going to have to live with it. And for
20 me, as a veteran and a man in the U.S., I love it
21 when kids see us, and they're proud about what we
22 do. We should make our kids proud, and we should
23 bring them together, not divide them on all facets.
24 Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your

1 comments and thank you for your service.

2 Rosemary McCoy. And on deck is Troy
3 Squire.

4 ROSEMARY MCCOY: Thank you so much --

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are recognized for
6 a minute.

7 ROSEMARY MCCOY: -- Chair and thank you so
8 much for, Senator Audrey Gibson, for allowing us to
9 be here, and I respect all of you. But I want to
10 prick your hearts. This is not about just signing
11 off because of your party. This is about real-life
12 situations.

13 There's a war going on, Ukrainians and
14 Russians. We do not want that here in the United
15 States, nor do we want it in the state of Florida.
16 But if we keep on -- and it starts from you, all
17 right. Everything trickles down. From your
18 leadership, it comes down. And if we have a war
19 here among you all against your people, we have
20 Ukranian (sic) and Russia. I don't want that.

21 So I'm asking you to check your own hearts
22 out. I'm asking you to just look at it. If it's
23 fair, then go with it. But if you check your hearts
24 out and you find out that it isn't fair, then I'm
25 asking you to vote no.

1 See this? It's blue. But you know what
2 they have? Pink. Act like this is pink. And if
3 you fail to vote correctly, you need a pink slip.
4 Do your job. That's all we asking you to do. You
5 want me to do my job. So I can pay taxes.

6 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
7 a close.

8 ROSEMARY MCCOY: Guess what? The people
9 want you to do your job. That's all we ask. I
10 think that's fair. Do you think it's fair? I do.
11 Do your job.

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: thank you for your
13 comments.

14 Troy Squire. And we'll have Tameka Hobbs
15 on deck.

16 I don't see Mr. Squire. He is against the
17 map.

18 Tameka Hobbs.

19 I don't see Tameka. She is against the
20 map.

21 Ebony Hardy-Allen, also against the map.

22 Hazel Gillis. And on deck will be Myrtle
23 Lucas (phonetic).

24 Thank you, Ms. Gillis. You have a minute.

25 HAZEL GILLIS: Thank you. Good afternoon.

1 My name is Hazel Gillis. I am a member of the James
2 Weldon Johnson Branch of the ASALH, Association for
3 the Study of African American Life and History, and
4 I live in Congressional District 5 in Jacksonville,
5 Florida.

6 Governor Ron DeSantis' rejection of the
7 Florida Legislature's drawn political map is a
8 direct attack on black representation and our
9 democracy. By proposing a congressional map that
10 reduces Florida's black representation in Congress
11 by 50 percent, the Governor is attempting to silence
12 the voices of hundreds of thousands of black voters.
13 We oppose any map that has been drawn by Governor
14 Ron DeSantis.

15 In 2010, Florida passed the Fair Districts
16 Amendments 5 and 6 that prohibits politicians from
17 drawing districts to favor themselves and their
18 parties and to ensure minority voters have equal
19 opportunity to participate in the political process
20 and have a fair opportunity to elect representatives
21 of their choice, their party. We must end this
22 manipulation at all costs to protect our democracy
23 and black vote. Thank you so much. Thank you, Your
24 Honor.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your

1 comments.

2 Hazel Gillis. Oh, that was you. Thank
3 you.

4 Myrtle Lucas. And then on deck is Ingrid
5 Montgomery.

6 MYRTLE LUCAS: Good evening. My name is
7 Myrtle Lucas. I'm -- I am a member of the James
8 Weldon Johnson Branch of the ASALH, the Association
9 for the Study of African American Life and History.

10 I oppose any map that has been drawn by
11 Governor Ron DeSantis, and let's see. We vote to --
12 let me see. I'm sorry. We vote for -- to draw maps
13 from fair districts, and we want them to do their
14 job and not for Governor Ron DeSantis to be a
15 dictator and a bully. That's it.

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
17 comments.

18 Ingrid Montgomery with Walter Smith, Junior
19 on board.

20 Ms. Montgomery, you are recognized for a
21 minute.

22 INGRID MONTGOMERY: Good afternoon. My
23 name is Ingrid Montgomery, and I live in Duval
24 County. I'm here today to voice my condemnation of
25 this redistricting plan for Northern Florida. This

1 plan splits black communities across three different
2 congressional districts, which personally impacts me
3 because it results in the loss of my congressional
4 district, CD 5, which has been the "black
5 opportunity district" linking Jacksonville and
6 Tallahassee.

7 SB 2-C, also C-0109, is intentionally and
8 unconstitutionally designed to make it ever more
9 challenging for us black voters to elect black
10 Democratic members of Congress. You elected took
11 the oath to stand up for equal ground. "If we merge
12 mercy with might and might with right, then love
13 becomes our legacy and change our children's
14 birthright." Amanda Gorman, The Hill We Climb. Do
15 the right thing. Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
17 comments.

18 Walter Smith, Junior. And on deck is Lee
19 Harris.

20 Are you Mr. Smith?

21 WALTER SMITH, JR.: Yes. Good --

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: You are --

23 WALTER SMITH, JR.: -- afternoon.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- you are recognized
25 for a minute. Thank you.

1 WALTER SMITH, JR.: Good afternoon again.
2 I am Commander Sergeant Major Walter Smith, Junior,
3 retired U.S. Army, 30 years of military service for
4 this country. I oppose this proposal by the
5 Governor. This proposal reminds me of what took
6 place after Reconstruction. Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
8 comments.

9 I've been told that Lee Harris is not here.
10 We'll have the record show that he is against the
11 bill.

12 Next up, Jonathan Webber with Florida
13 Conservation Voters.

14 Mr. Webber, you are recognized for a
15 minute.

16 JONATHAN WEBBER: Thank you so much. My
17 name is Jonathan Webber. I'm the deputy director of
18 Florida Conservation Voters, and just for the
19 record, I am a resident of CD 5, Al Lawson's
20 district, here in Tallahassee, just south of
21 Apalachee.

22 We at Florida Conservation Voters, we
23 strongly believe that the health of our environment
24 is directly tied to the health of our republic. And
25 just as we monitor our water for pollution, we

1 monitor our government for signs of sickness. Fair
2 representation is one of the best metrics we have to
3 measure the health of our government. The census
4 and ensuing redistricting process is the test.

5 Today, we are asking ourselves questions
6 like was this map drawn with complete transparency?
7 Does it respect the rules set forth in the Voting
8 Rights Act and in the State and Federal
9 Constitutions? Were the people of Florida given
10 ample opportunity to participate and comment on this
11 map? And most importantly, considering the profound
12 legacy of state-sponsored oppression in Florida,
13 does it protect or diminish the right of black
14 Floridians to elect leaders of their choice?

15 You all know the answers to these
16 questions, and while fair representation is vital,
17 fear of doing the right thing is the ultimate
18 terminal sickness in democracy. Our republic is
19 only as strong as the right of minority groups to
20 participate. I love this country not so much for
21 its history but for its promise.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for
23 a close.

24 JONATHAN WEBBER: That promise must be
25 guaranteed to everyone, not just the powerful, the

1 monied, or the ruling class. We stand in solidarity
2 with our friends and allies across the state in
3 opposition to these maps. Thank you and thank you
4 to everyone who showed up today.

5 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
6 comments.

7 Cecile Scoon with the League of Women
8 Voters of Florida.

9 CECILE SCOON: Good afternoon. My name is
10 Cecile Scoon with the League of Women Voters, and
11 I've been here a few times. I am very disappointed,
12 as many people are, that we are in this position.
13 When this whole thing started, there was many
14 promises made to adhere to all of the laws, and it
15 was interesting that Mr. Kelly did not mention that
16 the Tier 1, which is the citizens initiative of the
17 Fair Districts, not only has an intent provision, it
18 has an impact provision.

19 So it doesn't matter if he came here and
20 drew the maps, and he did not intend anything.
21 That's irrelevant to the other half, which says, if
22 you have this impact that harms the ability to
23 select the representative of your choosing if you
24 are a racial or language minority, that's a problem
25 under our law. And so what they have done is

1 completely violated Tier 1 of our Constitution,
2 which was found lawful and correct by our Florida
3 Supreme Court.

4 So that is the status of the law as we
5 stand, and anything that comes now that rebukes that
6 or does anything like that is looking for a new
7 court to make a different decision. But the law
8 right now says --

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in --

10 CECILE SCOON: -- that is illegal.

11 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- for a close.

12 CECILE SCOON: And we would ask you to
13 adhere to the law as we all know it, Fair Districts
14 and the Voting Rights Act. Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your --

16 SENATOR GIBSON: Chair --

17 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- comments.

18 SENATOR GIBSON: May I ask a question?

19 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: We still have another
20 --

21 SENATOR GIBSON: Quickly.

22 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- speaker. And we --

23 SENATOR GIBSON: It's just --

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: -- are doing a hard
25 stop at 4:30.

1 SENATOR GIBSON: It's a 30-second answer.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I'm not going to
3 recognize it at this time.

4 Matthew Isabel (phonetic).

5 SENATOR GIBSON: Well, may I ask you a
6 question, Mr. Chair?

7 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: What's that?

8 SENATOR GIBSON: May I ask the question of
9 you? Maybe our staff may know the answer.

10 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Yes.

11 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you. I'm just
12 wondering if we know how many hundreds of thousands
13 of votes across this state did the Fair Districts
14 Amendment pass by.

15 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: I don't know. We'll
16 have staff look into that and get back to you.

17 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Mr. Isabel, you are
19 recognized for a minute.

20 MATTHEW ISABEL: Members of this
21 committee, for months, a vast majority of you
22 pledged your support to preserving districts that
23 gave African Americans the ability to elect a
24 candidate of their choice. You defended seats that
25 were in some form or fashion drawn three decades ago

1 to correct centuries of injustice. The laws and
2 cases from the late 20th century saw an explosion of
3 minority representation. Since the passage of the
4 1982 Voting Rights Act, the number of African
5 American Congresspeople has gone from 18 to 60.
6 Florida is part of this very tradition.

7 Redistricting in Florida began with such
8 promise. Draft maps from both chambers had anywhere
9 from three to four seats designed to give African
10 Americans a chance to elect a candidate of their
11 choice. Efforts for alt-right Twitter activists to
12 dismantle districts like CD 5 and 10 were ignored by
13 you lawmakers for the longest time, but now with the
14 Governor's intervention, you have backtracked on all
15 of these principles in the name of party unity.

16 And for what reason? To appease a Governor
17 who sees his path to the Presidency by acting like a
18 modern-day George Wallace. We see the private
19 grumblings that many of you have fed to the press,
20 expressing your off-the-record concern. Most of you
21 openly admitted in private to being afraid of the
22 Governor. He's threatened primaries to you, to your
23 colleagues, and he's threatened to black -- to veto
24 --

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Please bring it in for

1 a close.

2 MATTHEW ISABEL: -- budget items. He's --
3 I'm closing. Why don't you just come out and say
4 he's blackmailing you? Instead of coming up with
5 fake legal justifications, why don't you at least
6 admit that you're afraid of him, and you want him to
7 like you? Why don't you just admit that you're
8 cowards.

9 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Thank you for your
10 comments.

11 SENATOR STARGEL: Mr. Chair?

12 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: That concludes public
13 testimony.

14 Is there debate?

15 SENATOR STARGEL: Mr. Chair?

16 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Stargel, you
17 are recognized.

18 SENATOR STARGEL: Mr. Chair, I move that we
19 -- this committee vote in SB 2-C on or before 4:27.

20 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: That motion is made.
21 Show it adopted without objection.

22 We're now in debate.

23 Senator Gibson.

24 SENATOR GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

25 First, I want to start with the whole idea

1 that the state of Florida's Constitution doesn't
2 cover Tier 1, and it absolutely does, which is why I
3 was trying to determine approximately the hundreds
4 of thousands of votes that -- from our constituents
5 that supported the Fair Districts Amendment to the
6 -- to our state Constitution, which is also a part
7 of our first packet that we got on the Florida
8 Redistricting packet, which I, of course, thank the
9 staff again for. I have papers all over the place.

10 And so -- in that, in the Fair Districts
11 Amendment to the Constitution -- and I wrote a note
12 that I don't believe that the Constitutional
13 Revision Commission in 2018 made any changes or
14 changed at all the Fair Districts Amendment, which
15 speaks to the fact that districts may not be drawn
16 with the intent or result of denying or abridging
17 the equal opportunity of racial or language
18 minorities to participate in the political process
19 or diminish their ability to elect representatives
20 of their choice.

21 And there are other parts of this, but I
22 want to hasten so that others get to debate. And I
23 don't lose some other important points that I wanted
24 to make. One of those is if you've never been
25 denied anything, then you have no context as to why

1 representation is important. And so -- and why it
2 is important that the representative understands the
3 community that they're representing in totality.

4 And so what's on the line? First of all,
5 CD 5 came about as a large representing minority
6 population because of a lawsuit years ago, and that
7 is why that congressional district existed as a
8 minority access district in Jacksonville. The suit
9 was filed by our previous member of Congress -- I
10 don't know. It was 19-whatever it was -- '70, '60s,
11 in order for there to be representation to include
12 representation of people of color.

13 And so in a conversation I had the other
14 day, when, you know, when people try to figure out,
15 oh, it's about race. Well, it's more than about
16 race. It's also about need. And so in order for
17 those folks with health -- more health disparities
18 than -- or health disparities -- I don't know how
19 you can have any more -- neighborhoods that have
20 been crumbling historically, infrastructure needs,
21 cleaning of Brownsville and communities of color
22 that weren't anywhere else, who represents those
23 communities matter?

24 Yes. There's growth in -- in upward
25 mobility as well, but there are still healthcare

1 disparities. There's still holes in things that
2 need to happen. And so when a member doesn't
3 understand in totality that population, the funding
4 requests that have been put forward over the years
5 disappear. The blend of everyone takes the focus
6 off of some of those who are the neediest of
7 particularly healthcare and improvement in their
8 neighborhoods, education, those kinds of things.

9 While it's getting better, it's been behind
10 for so many years that catching up becomes difficult
11 without a representative that doesn't understand
12 exactly all of the people they are representing.
13 And I think every individual in any district is just
14 as important as the -- as the neighbor next door or
15 across the street. Everyone is, and that's the way
16 I've always done my job. But unfortunately the maps
17 in front of us, CD 5 is one of them, where there's
18 such a split unnecessarily, cut the community right
19 down the middle, the community of color.

20 And so without having to do that and making
21 sure that all resources are delivered to all parts
22 of the community, it would be great if we all lived
23 in health disparity districts, and then we'd all get
24 the same attention. But we don't. It would be
25 great if we all lived in low income communities, but

1 we don't. And so those who do need representation
2 to speak to that issue.

3 And so I just think that the purpose of the
4 maps was to make two Republican forming -- it has
5 nothing to do with race -- there are black
6 Republicans, Hispanic Republicans -- but has
7 everything to do with party as well. So there's a
8 double whammy in Duval. We have a separation of
9 culture, and then we also have two seats that no --
10 that will perform for Republican members of
11 Congress.

12 And I don't -- I don't know if -- I don't
13 know if we can even sit here and -- and call that
14 the right thing to do. And also in CD 10 as well.
15 So what seems to be -- what -- what wants to be put
16 forward to us as innocence is -- is not there, and I
17 hope that people will remember that this is not for
18 tomorrow or next week. It's not -- it doesn't
19 change for 10 more years.

20 And I refuse to believe that the people of
21 color population in Duval shrunk in the past census,
22 or if it didn't shrink, people are now living all on
23 top of each other. That is definitely not the case.
24 And so I -- I'm done, Mr. Chair. Thank you.

25 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Bracy.

1 SENATOR BRACY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 You know, this clearly violates Fair
3 Districts. It clearly violates the federal law, the
4 federal Voting Rights Act, and I don't even think
5 it's worth debating. I mean, I think that's clear,
6 and the fact that Alex Kelly would get in front of
7 us and say he had no idea that he was taking a swath
8 of black folks and putting -- putting them in the
9 same district with -- with the villages and not --
10 and saying he didn't know that it would affect their
11 ability to elect the candidate of their choice is a
12 joke. It's a joke, and it's insulting. So I'm not
13 going to even go there.

14 What I will say to you, members, is that
15 what the Governor is doing in bullying you all, in
16 dictating what you're going to do, you are
17 essentially losing the power and the independence of
18 the Senate. And you are making the Governor the de
19 facto President from now on, because with a bully,
20 once you give in, it doesn't stop. He's going to
21 continue this, and you will not be able to defy him
22 again.

23 He's threatened to -- he's threatened to
24 primary you all. He's threatened to primary
25 endorsed candidates from the President, and he's not

1 going to stop. And you laying down, you are setting
2 the stage for this to happen over and over again.
3 And if that's what you want, you want him to be the
4 House Speaker, the Senate President, and the
5 Governor, so be it.

6 But I just want to lay out what we're
7 actually doing today, and I love you all. I've
8 served with you. You all are friends, and so I'm
9 speaking to you genuinely. And this is how I feel,
10 and if this is what we're going to do, so be it.
11 But I at least want to be on record to say I don't
12 think it's right.

13 And I don't think this is in tradition of
14 what the Senate stands for. We have been an
15 independent body, and we made a decision before.
16 And now we are caving. We are folding, and I think
17 we're better than that.

18 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Senator Stewart for
19 two minutes.

20 SENATOR STEWART: Thank you, Chair.

21 Frankly, I never thought we'd be here
22 today. I know that when we had months and months of
23 meetings and we came up with a map that was
24 extremely fair and we gave that map to the Governor,
25 we didn't expect to have any consequences. But

1 today we see that I was really, really wrong, and
2 that we sit here today.

3 This map that was produced -- and we were
4 able to see it a few days ago, and, you know, I
5 didn't like it. I don't like being here because I
6 think we did a really good job when we had the
7 opportunity to do it. But this map has no
8 connection to Tier 1, and everything stated by the
9 Governor's map drawer and perhaps some of the
10 attorneys that helped him, all the paperwork is on
11 Tier 2. Well, Tier 2 is not nearly as important as
12 Tier 1.

13 And so when you've got them totally
14 ignoring Tier 1, for whatever their reasons were
15 stated, I think we might as well just leave here and
16 go straight out that door and get our attorneys
17 because we're going to be going to court anyway.

18 So I just think this is the wrong approach
19 to what we have signed on to do, and we did a really
20 good job. And I want to thank everybody here, how
21 hard they worked, and I -- I don't -- I'm just not
22 in favor of overturning the nearly perfect map that
23 we put together. Thank you.

24 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: It's now 4:27, time
25 certain.

1 Dana, please call the roll on Senate Bill
2 2-C.
3 THE CLERK: Senator Bean.
4 SENATOR BEAN: Yes.
5 THE CLERK: Senator Bracy.
6 SENATOR BRACY: No.
7 THE CLERK: Senator Bradley.
8 Senator Brodeur.
9 SENATOR BRODEUR: Yes.
10 THE CLERK: Senator Burgess.
11 SENATOR BURGESS: Yes.
12 THE CLERK: Senator Gibson.
13 SENATOR GIBSON: No.
14 THE CLERK: Senator Harrell.
15 SENATOR HARRELL: Yes.
16 THE CLERK: Senator Rodriguez.
17 SENATOR RODRIGUEZ: Yes.
18 THE CLERK: Senator Rouson.
19 SENATOR ROUSON: No.
20 THE CLERK: Senator Stargel.
21 SENATOR STARGEL: Yes.
22 THE CLERK: Senator Stewart.
23 SENATOR STEWART: No.
24 THE CLERK: Vice Chair Broxson.
25 VICE CHAIR BROXSON: Yes.

1 THE CLERK: Chair Rodrigues.

2 CHAIRMAN RODRIGUES: Yes.

3 By your vote, Senate Bill 2-C is reported
4 favorably.

5 Is there any other business before the
6 committee?

7 Seeing none, Senator Rouson moves we
8 adjourn.

9 Show the motion adopted.

10 (END OF AUDIO RECORDING)

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1 CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIPTIONIST

2 I certify that the foregoing is a true and
3 accurate transcript of the digital recording
4 provided to me in this matter.

5 I do further certify that I am neither a
6 relative, nor employee, nor attorney of any of the
7 parties to this action, and that I am not
8 financially interested in the action.

9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Julie Thompson, CET-1036

A	115:6	adopted 17:10	76:13,19 80:17	allowed 4:12 50:1
abdicate 112:4	achieve 11:23	18:10 27:21	86:5 95:23	56:5,6 80:22
ability 30:5 61:18	15:5 43:24	35:10,11 36:12	agenda 4:23,25	allowing 86:20
64:7 71:4 125:6	53:21	36:23 37:16	ago 6:9 18:9	126:8
133:22 135:23	achieved 76:20	47:15 49:15	107:3 135:25	allows 54:17
138:19 142:11	achievement 19:7	58:22 79:14	139:6 144:4	115:14
able 54:12 55:14	acquiesce 111:18	137:21 146:9	agree 123:25	alt-right 136:11
55:15 56:24	acquiesced	adopting 25:24	agreed 35:12	Amanda 130:14
69:1 71:11,17	109:17	advance 117:16	agreement 16:6	amendment
83:7 94:5	Act 71:2,14,23,24	advanced 106:23	ain't 117:13	11:21 15:3 25:9
142:21 144:4	72:4,15 85:19	aesthetic 64:15	al 1:2 131:19	26:10 78:19
abomination	85:21 86:2,3,9	aesthetically 53:2	Alachua 110:23	85:17 86:25
97:5 98:20	86:13 98:4	63:21	Alex 5:3,7,8	87:2,4,11,12,19
Abraham 121:4	100:2 107:23	affect 13:6	13:17 14:9,23	87:23,25 88:12
abridging 30:3	110:1 111:8	142:10	14:25 15:9	88:14,16,25
125:4 138:16	113:24 116:13	afford 105:14,16	22:20 24:20	89:10,14,18,19
absence 16:6	127:2 132:8	105:17	25:11 27:10	89:21 99:22
absent 25:25	134:14 136:4	afforded 124:25	28:13 29:2,4	100:6 107:23
28:19	142:4	afraid 136:21	30:9,11 31:1,17	110:3 116:13
absolutely 138:2	acting 136:17	137:6	32:22 34:20	117:11,22,22,25
academically	action 147:7,8	African 15:23	36:4 37:4 41:9	118:5 124:25
100:5	activists 136:11	38:7 39:4 47:7	41:11 42:11,15	135:14 138:5
accept 15:18	actual 63:17	48:1 79:6 93:25	43:10 44:4 46:9	138:11,14
25:20 27:18	Adam 6:21 7:1	97:15 106:25	47:13 48:10,21	amendments
111:21	Adams 99:8	121:2 128:3	49:5 51:9 52:6	101:6 107:20
access 26:14	adaptation 48:4	129:9 135:23	53:7 58:5,19	124:21,22
30:24 32:5,16	added 124:20	136:4,9	59:8 60:5,25	125:9 128:16
34:15 36:9,10	addition 12:17	African-Ameri...	62:8,21 63:10	America 119:9
40:12 41:25	additional 16:19	8:6	64:13 65:7,25	American 15:23
44:22 59:25	91:12	Africans 120:18	67:11,21 69:21	38:7 39:4 47:7
75:3 83:16	Additionally	afternoon 92:15	70:25 71:21	48:1 79:6 94:8
87:13,20,21	23:2	93:22 95:1	74:5 75:6,10	97:15 106:25
97:13 98:8,10	address 8:4 10:6	96:25 100:15	76:9 77:11	108:8 128:3
123:16,21	82:19 106:3	101:18 106:13	78:15 79:11	129:9 136:5
139:8	addressed 23:2,4	115:2 118:22	80:10 81:11	Americans 93:25
accompanied 4:1	addressing 46:23	120:4 121:15	84:23 85:23	135:23 136:10
11:11	adds 105:20	127:25 129:22	86:16 142:6	amount 93:25
accompanying	adhere 133:14	130:23 131:1	aligning 55:23,24	ample 132:10
14:11 43:12	134:13	133:9	aligns 9:24 13:10	analysis 3:21,22
accomplish 41:2	adhered 17:6	age 38:16 39:3	13:14 15:12,15	3:25 22:23
accomplishes	58:13 69:3	58:7 63:17 68:7	26:4	25:21,23,24
56:22	107:4	68:14 69:3,16	allies 133:2	26:11 27:12,18
accountable	adjourn 146:8	70:1,2,6,7,8,12	Allison 91:22	27:20,21 31:2,4
101:2	adjusts 12:24	70:12,20,21	allow 50:21 73:10	31:8,18 33:9,19
accurate 147:3	admit 137:6,7	72:11,25 73:21	88:25 94:7	35:6,9,10,12,13
accusations	admitted 136:21	75:21,22,25	101:2,10	36:13 37:13,14

37:15 38:13 39:24 40:5,9 44:18,20,23 45:6,14 61:5,10 61:11,12 62:5,5 62:16,24 67:15 72:13 73:22 Anastasia 91:20 ancestors 100:19 100:23 120:22 121:4 answer 4:6 12:7 28:14 40:14 42:16 46:24 51:8 76:6 85:9 135:1,9 answered 30:11 32:11 34:7 36:11,22 answers 94:10 96:10 132:15 Anthony 67:2 anticipating 39:21 Antonio 55:10 anybody 84:13 103:17 anyway 52:2 144:17 Apalachee 131:21 apologize 34:21 74:6 75:6 99:9 106:17 apology 58:17,19 62:8 Apopka 68:24 apparently 41:24 appeals 108:4 appear 83:1 appearance 3:5 88:12 89:23 92:6,7 appeared 99:16 appears 83:2 85:18 116:16	appease 136:16 applicable 72:8 apply 86:17 appreciate 5:9 21:10 26:18 73:6,15 118:19 approach 17:15 56:4,13 144:18 approached 95:24 appropriate 4:14 70:15 approve 111:4,7 111:25 112:3 approved 46:12 109:12 111:22 111:23 123:18 approximately 138:3 April 1:12 2:1 3:14 area 12:11,25 55:15 56:6 58:15,21 66:12 66:24 77:9 79:4 80:19 87:15 areas 87:21 argument 98:3 Arlington 50:20 Arm 107:11 arms 107:12 Army 104:6 131:3 Article 109:9 124:21 articulate 17:13 18:11 24:18 27:15 77:13 articulated 15:19 27:23 37:6,14 48:12 55:18 69:6 articulation 17:11 ASALH 128:2 129:8	asked 3:20 61:25 82:14 119:12 asking 36:19 37:20 60:6 76:11 83:6 84:6 105:8 106:1 126:21,22,25 127:4 132:5 assigns 11:22 15:4 27:6 Association 111:11 128:2 129:8 attack 117:12 128:8 attempt 82:15 98:18 attempting 32:10 44:11 76:21 128:11 attempts 27:14 42:19 44:7 attend 4:8 attention 73:5 107:24 140:24 attorney 12:4,5 88:3 95:7 147:6 attorneys 144:10 144:16 AUDIO 1:10 146:10 Audrey 126:8 author 20:5 authored 7:9 authoring 9:7 20:6 authoritarian 108:9 authority 93:6 111:19 autonomous 108:11 available 10:23 average 39:7,9,14 aware 65:21 70:16,20	107:21 awe 121:18 <hr/> B <hr/> back 3:11 6:17 26:22 47:4 48:25 83:12 85:15 96:10 99:23 100:9,9 103:11 104:9 104:16 107:7 135:16 backbone 115:9 background 5:15 backroom 107:10 backtracked 136:14 backwards 20:10 Baker-Rian 90:5 balance 41:16 Baldwin 119:5 Baptist 92:23 bar 25:1 barcode 87:2 89:20 Barney 123:4 124:12,16,16 125:17 based 15:4 27:6 28:16 35:25 38:11 39:5 41:4 52:22 58:12 61:11,21,22 62:14,17 63:1 63:20,25 64:14 74:14 76:6 77:13 114:12 120:16 basic 88:22 105:17 basically 34:5 basis 11:22 16:4 16:9 97:14 98:6 120:12 bay 12:25 54:8 55:14 56:5,6,14 56:15,19	Bean 2:8,9 145:3 145:4 beg 125:17 began 10:19 59:15 136:7 behalf 5:3 6:22 6:24 105:25 123:12 believe 18:22 24:14 28:9 32:11 38:3 41:4 41:14,17 73:19 76:1 95:14 97:19,19 99:19 116:5,22 131:23 138:12 141:20 believes 111:9,21 Belle 68:21 benchmark 8:8 15:22 23:7 27:13 31:3,3,5 31:13 32:23 33:3 34:23,24 34:25 38:4,9 42:18,20 44:7,8 67:24 68:6 70:3 70:6 78:21 80:8 80:12 86:10 benefit 74:6 104:12 benefited 101:5 Berry 115:1,19 best 12:6,22 25:14 41:20 42:1,8,13 43:1 43:6 132:2 bet 112:14 better 21:16 56:14 103:24 105:7 140:9 143:17 beyond 47:11 big 96:1,1 bigger 102:9 bill 3:19 4:25
--	--	---	---	--

5:19 6:1 9:11 11:14 43:21 45:21 46:12,13 49:16 89:1,3,24 90:1,4,6,8,10,12 90:15,17,19,21 90:24 91:1,5,7 91:9,11,13,15 91:17,19,21,23 91:25 92:2 96:7 96:18 110:18 114:7,15,21 123:2 124:17 131:11 145:1 146:3 birthright 130:14 bit 25:13 34:22 50:10 54:3,5 56:18 64:25 66:10 73:20,20 black 37:10 38:16 57:24,25 58:7 61:13 63:17 65:17 66:21 68:7,14 69:2,16 70:1,6 70:11,20 71:15 72:1,2,11,24 73:20 75:25 76:13,19 80:17 83:3 87:21 97:15 101:4 102:3 117:8,12 117:14,17 120:16,16,17,22 122:1,6 123:15 123:16,21 128:8,10,12,23 130:1,4,9,9 132:13 136:23 141:5 142:8 blackface 67:3 blackmailing 137:4 blacks 114:10 blatant 106:24	blatantly 110:7 blend 140:5 Blessings 123:6 blue 127:1 blurring 60:10 60:14 board 100:20 106:22 129:19 boarded 100:22 body 101:2 111:19 119:17 143:15 book 119:12 boots 99:13 born 100:19,21 Boston 120:24 boundaries 17:1 17:9 18:7,14 50:3 55:5,6,8 56:1,3 57:15 66:5 68:5,17 125:13 boundary 13:8 17:3 21:4 29:9 49:18,24 50:5 50:24 56:17 57:11 63:23 64:18 81:3,24 bow 94:13 boxes 8:17 33:17 33:23 Bracy 2:10,11 22:7,9,11 23:21 23:25 24:7,16 25:5,7 26:6,9 30:14,16,19 31:10,12 32:1,4 32:12,20 34:2,4 35:23 36:6,12 36:15,17,23,25 37:17 38:15 39:7,13,20 40:7 51:2,4,19 59:3 59:6,7,11 65:14 65:15 66:13,18 69:11,13 70:16	70:19 71:1 72:17,18,24 79:24,25 80:1,2 80:3 81:6 82:10 121:17 123:8 141:25 142:1 145:5,6 Bradley 2:12 145:7 Branch 128:2 129:8 branches 108:11 break 54:12 62:23 bridges 50:20 Bridget 113:1,9 113:11,11 brief 5:17 14:10 87:11 briefed 3:14 briefing 4:5 bring 51:20 93:8 96:14 98:12,14 108:21 118:6 119:20 121:5 122:8 124:4 125:15,23 127:6 132:22 134:9 136:25 bringing 12:21 brings 41:19 79:19 Brodeur 2:13,14 145:8,9 Brooks 91:10 brought 6:15 29:22 41:12,13 41:17 71:25 114:9 117:22 Broward 54:1,9 brown 47:19 97:16 109:2 110:13,15,17 117:8,14,17 122:1,6 Brownsville	139:21 Broxson 2:7 40:19,21 88:1,2 145:24,25 Buchanan 90:16 budget 107:11 137:2 build 57:9 builds 20:8 built 57:12,13 bullied 94:13 bully 119:16 129:15 142:19 bullying 142:15 Burgess 2:15,16 90:18,20 145:10,11 bus 100:20,22 business 105:22 146:5 butchering 106:19 Byrd 1:6	card 92:6 Cardona 116:9 117:1,3,4 118:8 118:18 care 19:15 104:19 career 117:16 Carla 94:23 95:1 95:4,4 96:13,16 Carmen 113:9 114:18,20,20,24 Carolina 114:9 Carolynn 103:3 105:4 case 107:25 114:9 141:23 cases 25:25 136:2 cast 118:10 catching 140:10 cause 1:2 94:17 caving 143:16 CD 38:4,17 47:5 47:9,25 48:4 57:22,22 59:21 60:18 75:2,24 75:25 80:8 82:15 130:4 131:19 136:12 139:5 140:17 141:14 Cecile 133:7,9,10 134:10,12 census 113:20 116:18 132:3 141:21 census-designa... 17:1 centered 52:24 central 13:9 15:10 16:13,15 16:16,18 52:19 centrally 80:20 centuries 136:1 century 136:2 certain 59:11,12 144:25
--	--	--	--	--

certainly 20:9 34:22 49:23 64:6 73:14 CERTIFICATE 147:1 certified 106:22 certify 147:2,5 CET-1036 147:23 Chair 2:5,7 3:1 5:7,20 11:9 13:20 14:9,19 14:23 22:7,20 23:25 24:20 25:7,11 27:10 28:7,13 29:2,4 29:19 30:9 31:12,17 32:2 32:22 34:20 36:4 37:4 40:21 41:22 42:11 43:10,17 44:4 44:17 45:18 46:9,17 47:2,24 48:10,17,23 49:5 51:2,9 52:6 58:5 59:19 60:5,12,25 62:3 62:12,22 63:4 63:10 64:3,13 64:24 65:7,25 67:11,18 69:21 70:19 71:21 73:13 74:5,11 74:22 75:20 77:5,11 78:9,15 79:1,9,11 80:10 81:11 82:6 84:23 85:13,23 86:16,20 87:6 92:20 101:18 126:7 134:16 135:6,17 137:11,15,18,24 141:24 143:20 145:24,25	146:1 Chairman 2:2,6 3:2 13:19 14:2 14:7,18,21 15:7 22:9,18 23:23 24:7,17 25:6,10 26:6,19,25 27:9 28:3,6,8,12,21 28:22 29:3,18 30:10,14,17,25 31:11,16 32:3,8 32:19,21 33:25 34:3,19 36:3,11 36:16,22 37:2 37:25 38:2,21 38:23 39:12 40:1,19,22 41:9 41:21 42:2,10 42:24 43:8,16 44:3,15,24 45:8 45:10,17,23 46:8,15,24 47:3 47:10,23 48:6 48:18,24 49:2 51:3,7,18 52:5 53:5 57:18,21 58:4,25 59:3,5 59:10,14 60:3 60:13,23 62:2,7 62:11,19 63:5,9 64:2,11,22 65:6 65:10,14,16,24 66:16,18 67:10 67:20 69:11,12 69:19 70:18,24 71:19 72:17,22 73:2,12 74:4,9 74:16,19,21,23 75:5,16,19 76:8 76:25 77:3,10 78:7,13,25 79:10,22,24,25 80:2,9 81:6,10 81:25 83:9,25 84:4,8,19,21 85:11,22 86:15	86:22 87:24 88:6,9,18 89:13 89:16,18 92:17 94:21 95:2 96:12,14,20 98:12,22 99:1,6 99:9 100:11,16 101:12 102:25 104:22 105:2,5 106:6,15,17,19 108:17,21 109:1 110:11 110:21 112:5,7 112:24 113:7 114:16,22,25 115:17,25 116:24 118:6 118:16,19,23,24 118:25 119:4 119:18,20,25 121:5,10,16 122:8,10,19,22 122:23 124:4 124:10 125:15 125:25 126:5 127:6,12 128:25 129:16 130:16,22,24 131:7 132:22 133:5 134:9,11 134:15,17,19,22 134:24 135:2,7 135:10,15,18 136:25 137:9 137:12,16,20 141:25 142:1 143:18 144:24 146:2 challenge 71:25 72:6 challenging 130:9 chambers 136:8 chance 56:14 73:8 94:20 118:10 136:10	change 18:1 21:16 50:8 51:16 102:14 130:13 141:19 changed 6:4,7 10:10 21:7 69:17 119:6,7 138:14 changes 5:21,23 6:2 7:9 10:21 13:4 16:12,15 16:17 19:6 20:21,23 21:1 21:15,22 51:14 53:9 55:15 70:22 78:4 138:13 character 93:15 Charles 88:20 Charlotte 55:23 charter 100:20 100:22 cheap 107:8 check 8:17 33:17 33:22 126:21 126:23 Cheryl 121:12 122:24 123:1 chicken 46:20 Chief 5:16 95:6 children 95:22 96:10 125:19 children's 130:13 choice 15:25 28:1 30:6 31:8,14,23 35:5 37:12 59:23 61:15 64:8 71:5,12,16 71:18 74:3 89:3 101:10 109:24 125:7 128:21 132:14 135:24 136:11 138:20 142:11 choosing 133:23 chose 76:2	church 92:23 93:4,5,6 123:10 circles 73:2 circular 19:3 21:3 circumstances 59:12 cities 19:8,9,19 29:9 55:9 58:15 68:21 citizens 83:3 97:8 97:22 98:16 108:5 110:3 133:16 citizenship 88:24 117:21 Citrus 13:1 17:20 21:18 53:10 54:22 55:5,20 city 17:7 18:13 19:12,16,23 20:3 49:20,22 52:23 55:8,10 56:2 57:5 58:19 58:20,21 68:16 87:16,17 claim 71:22 clarification 76:10 clarify 31:1 36:25 37:2,22 72:7 clarity 14:5 69:20 Clark 91:22 class 133:1 Clause 11:20 27:6 78:18 Clay 50:5 52:9 clean 57:7,10 58:12 cleaning 139:21 clear 17:11 21:3 26:18 46:3,19 57:10 107:16 142:5 clearly 22:16 29:9 33:3,4
---	--	--	--	--

57:15 63:22	combined 79:15	26:18 30:1	79:3,5,8,12,19	10:2 11:12
64:17 71:13,14	79:20	36:13 37:6,15	79:21	12:19 20:6
82:20 83:19	come 2:3 20:7	59:9,13 79:23	comparable	concentration
84:14 142:2,3	26:22 45:20	82:1,3 92:20,20	76:16,18	102:22
CLERK 2:5,7,10	50:12,15 70:13	120:5,5 123:13	compare 77:18	concept 17:13
2:12,15,17,20	73:15 97:9	135:21 137:19	compared 51:17	concepts 9:18,21
2:23 3:1 145:3	100:24 104:9	146:6	79:13	12:22
145:5,7,10,12	104:16 121:22	Committee's	compares 7:10	concern 17:7
145:14,16,18,20	121:23 122:1,4	35:8	67:23	136:20
145:22,24	122:6 137:3	committeewom...	comparing 18:18	concerned
146:1	comes 43:6	99:11	19:10 52:14	110:25
Climb 130:14	121:24 126:18	common 1:2 93:8	56:7,8	concerning 9:4
close 68:11 70:4	134:5	115:4,14	compelling 11:24	concerns 10:6
88:16 89:11	coming 22:4 40:9	communities	15:5 16:5,9	conclude 4:16
96:15 118:7	122:16 137:4	42:9 52:20 53:1	25:25 27:7	73:9
119:21 122:10	Commander	55:25 62:16	28:10,17,24	concluded 38:9
124:5 125:16	131:2	63:1 64:5,19	29:23 33:8 34:6	48:1,3
127:7 132:23	commend 99:15	87:21 106:25	34:12 35:17	concludes 86:23
134:11 137:1	113:16	117:8 130:1	42:16,21 43:25	86:23 116:2
closely 13:10	comment 69:22	139:21,23	44:1,9,12 61:23	137:12
15:12 17:6	87:10 114:23	140:25	98:16	conclusions 39:5
closer 21:6	132:10	community 27:24	compensated	concurrences
117:22	comments 12:6	31:7,21,23 33:1	92:7,10 116:4	29:21
closing 137:3	22:12 60:7 61:3	35:3 37:10 53:4	complete 3:5	condemnation
Coast 13:1 16:18	85:17 94:22	61:13 72:2,3,10	108:12 132:6	129:24
54:17	96:21 98:23	79:7 86:6,12	completely 67:6	configuration
Coleton 118:20	100:12 101:13	118:1,11	134:1	11:2 50:1,20
118:22,24	103:1 104:23	123:12 139:3	compliance 17:5	52:13 55:1,22
119:2,3,5,22	106:7 109:2	140:18,19,22	17:12,15 18:11	58:1 62:6 79:5
collaborated 7:1	110:12 112:7	compact 8:6,7	80:23 109:21	configurations
collaboration	112:25 113:8	12:15 18:21	compliant 18:14	32:24 51:15
9:13	114:17 115:18	19:4 33:21	20:3 69:9	78:17
collaborative	116:25 118:17	52:25 53:2,3	complicity	configured 27:3
10:16	120:1 121:11	56:15,25 58:13	108:13	27:5
collateral 21:14	122:20 124:11	63:21,22,22	complied 8:12	confirm 9:1
colleagues	126:1 127:13	64:15 68:3,15	81:22	conflict 125:8
136:23	129:1,17	68:17 69:1,4,9	complies 41:14	conform 41:5
collectively 77:6	130:17 131:8	79:16 80:21	41:18	confusing 114:5
Collier 54:22,22	133:6 134:17	81:23 125:11	comply 41:16	confusion 34:22
Colman 90:25	137:10	compactly 33:12	composed 23:13	46:19
color 98:7 113:22	Commission	81:2	compound 79:3	congregations
139:12,21	138:13	compactness	comprise 9:7	93:10
140:19 141:21	committee 1:11	13:5 18:17,21	52:17	Congress 60:18
columnist 119:8	2:2 3:4,8 4:4,9	20:3,17,18,25	compromise 5:14	123:15 128:10
combination	4:14 6:9 7:7	22:12 29:8 50:2	9:11 33:18 85:2	130:10 139:9
16:17	11:17 25:22	64:16,16 66:4	compromised	141:11

congressional 3:9 5:1,12 6:21 9:23 11:3,4,13 11:18 12:24 13:12 14:25 15:13,18 27:2,4 35:8 37:7,11 41:3 43:23 49:21 52:11 60:8,8 61:3,5,6 61:8,10,14,16 61:20 67:21,25 68:2,6 75:23 86:10 88:4 92:24,25 93:19 97:3 100:25 103:8 109:8,24 110:23 117:13 120:7,9,15 121:21 122:7 123:10,20 124:9 128:4,9 130:2,3 139:7 Congressman 88:21 Congresspeople 136:5 Congresswoman 47:19 71:9 connection 72:3 144:8 connects 57:2 conscious 102:16 consent 105:23 consequences 21:15 143:25 Conservation 131:13,18,22 consider 7:21 20:10 30:22 81:4 93:1,2 100:1,7 107:19 124:18 125:18 consideration 67:15 76:22 121:9	considered 18:23 30:8 32:25 65:3 71:6 75:2 78:23 107:19 114:13 124:6 considering 9:5 67:9 132:11 consistent 12:12 consists 93:12 constituents 106:4 107:15 138:4 constitution 8:12 8:13,13 11:21 15:3 16:8 23:15 27:16 29:6,14 35:19,21,22 41:14,15 67:12 78:20 99:22,24 105:9,11 106:1 108:19 109:10 116:14 124:21 134:1 138:1,6 138:11 Constitution's 15:21 constitutional 3:12 10:6 12:18 26:4 120:23 138:12 constitutionally 119:19 Constitutions 132:9 consultant 9:2 consultation 9:12 consulted 8:21 contact 7:4 contain 15:23 99:21 contained 80:8 contains 43:21 content 20:14 contents 46:12 47:11 contested 41:4	context 6:8 21:25 23:2,5 60:16 67:17 68:6 138:25 contiguity 23:4 81:13 contiguoussness 114:2 continue 53:6 90:22 120:21 142:21 continued 57:8 continues 87:22 contract 6:14,14 6:16,20 8:23,24 contributing 8:19 contribution 5:13 control 38:6,10 39:2,4,14,17 conversation 3:16 82:17 83:11 139:13 conversations 84:12 85:2 converse 103:17 copy 26:7 Coral 19:12 Cord 1:6 Cordova 91:16 correct 27:8 30:24 36:2,5 39:24 45:4,11 46:7,23 60:2 62:6,18 63:3 70:23 77:9 78:11,14 83:6 134:2 136:1 correctly 14:16 38:3 41:13 47:19 50:14 65:5 127:3 costs 128:22 counsel 3:17,20 6:14 8:23,25	11:11 12:8 14:12 25:13 43:12 72:7 counties 13:2,2 16:18 17:21,24 21:18,24 22:4 29:8 33:4 52:9 52:10,18,25 53:9,11,12,12 54:1,5,18 55:18 111:12 countries 104:15 country 88:23 109:15 131:4 132:20 county 11:6,6 13:6 17:6,20,23 18:1,2,3,13 19:20,21,23,23 20:3 21:17,22 22:3,5 35:1 37:10 47:18 48:15,22 50:7 52:24 54:12,16 54:22 55:1,3,15 55:16,19,20,24 55:25 56:1,19 56:21 57:17 61:13 66:8,20 66:21,23 68:19 71:8,10 80:21 110:24 113:12 122:17 129:24 couple 21:5 30:12 50:13 84:17 95:23 112:13 courage 119:13 119:14,23 course 16:1 25:19 29:22 41:17 47:13 49:8 53:3 138:8 court 8:14 47:14 107:25 114:8,9 134:3,7 144:17 cover 138:2	covered 45:1 cowardice 119:15,23,24 cowards 137:8 create 10:15 13:3 56:24 77:8 109:8 created 108:10 109:11 creates 12:10 54:10 110:6 creating 43:6 109:18 Cristian 116:9 117:1,3,4 118:8 118:18 criteria 29:21 33:13,16 34:9 61:21 critical 89:8 cross 51:1 crossed 19:23 crosses 19:20 crossing 50:17 crowd 82:5 crumbling 139:20 crushing 106:4 culture 141:9 current 41:6 58:1 120:14 currently 6:23 27:3,4 47:9 48:14 101:25 114:1 123:16 curves 55:11 cut 101:25 116:21 140:18 cutting 102:23 cycle 39:18 47:16 cycles 38:6
---	--	---	--	---

D

D.C 1:24
Dade 55:10
Dailey 90:9
Dan 3:20

Dana 2:4 145:1	134:7 143:15	demising 102:2	37:21 38:11	128:8
data 7:22,23 8:3	decision-making	democracy 98:21	determine 8:3,5	directed 7:17
8:9 10:23 24:2	65:23	117:12 128:9	8:10,10 32:5,6	direction 46:7
31:19 32:5,9,13	decisions 54:16	128:22 132:18	32:15 34:11,16	directly 131:24
32:14,17,17	54:18 89:9 96:2	Democratic 38:7	36:7 46:2 72:20	director 6:10
37:18,20 38:4	110:5	39:5 67:1 97:25	72:25 93:25	44:25 131:17
45:20 58:10	deck 94:23 96:22	130:10	138:3	directs 29:25
59:21 60:16,17	99:2 100:14	Democratic-m...	determined 3:17	disadvantage
60:22,24 61:6,7	101:14 105:3	110:7	8:16 38:5,19	75:16
61:12 66:1	106:9,12 109:3	demonstrates	39:10 40:11	disagreement
70:11 73:17,17	110:14 112:9	110:8	82:12	16:3
73:23 74:7,18	113:2,10	denied 138:25	devices 3:3	disappear 140:5
74:21 75:11,11	114:19 115:1	denies 97:13	devil 120:19	disappointed
75:13,22 76:6	116:8 117:2	deny 120:22	devolved 115:5	95:20 101:22
77:4	118:21 120:3	denying 30:3	Dickenson	122:4 133:11
daughter 104:8	121:12 122:25	125:3 138:16	115:22,23	disappointment
David 100:13	123:4 124:12	departs 35:14	dictating 142:16	99:14 102:9
101:14,18,20	126:2 127:15	departure 109:20	dictator 129:15	disbelief 121:19
Davis 91:6 116:8	127:22 129:4	deputy 5:16	difference 58:3	disclaimers 7:17
116:10,11	130:18	131:17	69:2 77:8	discriminate 98:6
day 109:13 118:4	decreasing 39:19	dereliction 112:1	differences 19:9	120:12
118:14 122:22	deepen 89:5	DeSantis 98:19	different 11:15	discriminates
139:14	defend 26:12	128:14 129:11	30:12 31:4,24	97:14
days 119:13	100:23 105:10	129:14	32:24 35:18	discuss 5:13
144:4	defended 135:24	DeSantis' 116:12	38:5 47:5 56:10	82:16 115:10
de 142:18	defer 25:13	128:6	58:2 67:7 68:16	discussed 9:19
dealing 62:15	deference 24:22	descendants	77:9 78:3,17	discussing 74:13
debate 4:13,13	defers 16:11	120:18	80:17 114:8	discussion 49:9
73:8 84:5 88:13	definable 63:23	describe 9:25	117:6 130:1	65:2
88:14,15 116:6	define 42:17,22	13:13	134:7	discussions 9:2
137:14,22	68:4	described 125:9	difficult 140:10	115:5
138:22	defines 71:3	description 87:10	difficulty 91:3	disenfranchise...
debates 113:15	definitely 20:16	Desert 104:14	digital 1:23 147:3	106:24
debating 142:5	51:16 63:14	deserve 98:18,20	dilute 98:19	disfavor 7:18,20
Deborah 90:5	141:23	110:4	123:23	85:5
decade 6:9	definition 63:7	designed 130:8	diminish 30:5	disfavoring
decades 87:22	63:12 71:13	136:9	101:4 125:6	22:24 81:15
135:25	defy 142:21	despite 55:11	132:13 138:19	disfavors 124:24
decide 34:17	degree 106:23	detail 21:19	diminished 60:21	disheartening
103:18	113:14	detailed 11:8	83:17	123:21 124:18
decided 102:7	deliberative	20:13	diminishment	dismantle 136:12
decision 54:1,2	50:19	details 25:16	15:22 23:16,17	disparities
94:6,9 101:3	delivered 140:21	107:11	26:4 74:1 75:2	139:17,18
102:16 104:4	demands 108:19	determination	78:10,23 81:21	140:1
114:8,9,12	Demings 66:25	32:7,15 34:5	89:3	disparity 122:6
123:25 124:2	71:9	35:24 36:1,20	direct 117:11,25	140:23

disregard 103:22 103:22	61:16,17,20,21 61:25 62:13	11:3,4,4 12:11 12:11,14,25	56:23 81:7 100:7 102:13	80:22 81:4 101:7 102:17
dissimilar 67:24	63:13,15,18,19	16:4,20,20 17:9	104:10 116:15	124:8,23
distinct 108:11	63:19,25 65:19	18:3,4 19:3	132:17 134:24	128:17
distinction 13:13 15:14	66:7,8,14,14,19 66:19,22 67:4	21:3,6,23,24 22:6 26:3 27:12	142:15 143:7	drawn 6:22 7:25 16:4,14 29:15
distinguishable 57:10,15	67:19,22,25 68:2,3,6,10,20	29:10,14 30:2 43:2,7 44:19	dollars 97:6 door 140:14 144:16	30:2,8 33:4,12 47:11 48:14
distribution 56:9	68:20 69:1,5,22	49:7 50:3,11	double 141:8	53:23 57:22
district 8:6,8,11 11:14,18 12:2	69:23 70:2,3,10 70:23 71:10,25	51:15 52:11 53:11 56:15	doubt 111:6	58:8,9 61:21,23
15:1,18,20,22	72:4,8,9,10,14	62:25 63:1,2,3	downloading 10:20	62:25 69:6 75:23 77:15
16:7,8,13,14	72:23 74:13,13	63:20,21 64:14	Dr 90:3 92:11,14	78:17 79:6 115:4 120:10
18:21,24 20:15	75:3,7,7 76:12	64:15,20 66:2,3	92:16,18,21	125:3 128:7,13
20:23 21:9 22:1	76:13,15,16,16	66:5 73:4 74:14	96:22 99:1,3,5	129:10 132:6 135:25 138:15
22:3 23:7,13,13	76:18,18,23	75:23 77:7,14	99:6,8,10 103:2	drew 10:22 24:19 46:6 50:18
25:8,8,20,20	77:1,13,17,19	77:15 78:11	104:24 105:4	51:11,13 63:2,3
26:13,13 27:2,4	77:21,22 78:2,3	79:4,15,20 80:7	106:8,11,13,14	63:13,19 64:14
27:13,14,17,19	78:16,22 79:17	81:23 87:20	106:16,18,21	69:4,8 77:14,18
28:16 29:14	80:12,13,15,19	89:4 93:19	108:18,23	77:20,23 78:3 79:17,18 80:14
30:22,23 31:3,4	80:22,24,25	97:23 98:8,10	Draft 136:8	80:19 81:23 103:21 133:20
31:5,19,25 32:9	81:22 82:8,12	101:5,7 107:22	dramatic 109:18	drive 48:21
32:10,14,23,24	85:15,16,20	109:25 110:2,6	draw 7:19 8:5,11	driving 63:13
33:3,5,12,20,22	86:1,6,7,10,10	110:7 113:20	26:3 28:15	drop 68:13
34:23,24,24,25	86:11,14 87:12	117:11 120:9	29:10,13 32:10	drove 111:1
35:1,13,14,14	87:14,17,18	120:10 123:20	33:21 42:8,18	due 24:22 36:17
35:15,25 36:1,7	92:24,25 94:1,2	124:9 125:2,2	42:18 44:6,8	duties 112:1
36:8 37:11 38:9	97:3,21 99:10	125:11 128:15	51:11 56:15	Duval 33:4 52:8 129:23 141:8 141:21
38:13 40:11	99:11 100:25	128:17 129:13	63:21,24 64:20	
42:18,20 43:23	101:21 103:7,8	130:2 133:17	69:1 76:21 81:2	E
43:23 44:7,8	110:23 111:20	134:13 135:13	81:2 88:4 97:9	earlier 4:6,18 6:11 8:16 9:16
45:7,15 47:14	113:23 114:11	135:22 136:12	101:1 111:19	22:22 32:8 50:18 53:10
47:17 48:14,22	114:13,14	138:5,10,14,15	125:2 129:12	56:11 63:15 85:25
49:21 50:12,15	116:13 120:7	140:23 142:3	drawer 6:6,15,16 6:20 7:4 8:24	early 6:18 8:3 33:9 108:7
50:22,23,23	121:21 122:7	diversity 28:10 28:25 88:19,19	12:4 42:17 44:6	early-to-mid 47:20
51:5,6,11,12,20	123:11 125:10	divide 49:24,25 125:23	54:3,6,7 61:25 62:4 144:9	
51:22,24 52:3,4	128:4 130:4,5	divided 18:3 96:4	drawing 6:24 7:20 8:18,19	
52:11,16,22,24	131:20 139:7,8	divides 49:22	9:25 16:23 24:4	
53:1,4 54:23,24	140:13 142:9	dividing 100:8	26:15,15 27:2,3	
54:25,25 55:3,7	district's 12:15 86:4	division 23:10	41:25 48:1,2	
55:7,9 56:25	districting 115:4	divisions 89:5	52:22,24 58:12	
57:1,2,7,7,9,12	districts 5:1,24 5:25 6:4,7 7:20	doctor 106:22	63:8 64:14 66:2	
57:13,16 58:1,7	7:25 8:1 9:16	doing 21:21 33:8	68:15,17 69:7	
58:10,12 59:25	10:1,2,4,10			
59:25 60:8,9				
61:3,5,7,8,10,14				

ears 99:19	38:6 39:17,17	58:21 66:10	19:18 21:16	fact 51:24 93:17
easier 21:9	47:16 60:24	78:18 79:4	54:21	93:22 111:21
easily 19:4	elections 37:8,9	80:16 88:24	examples 54:20	114:10 138:15
east 48:4 51:6,25	39:1,8,8,9	97:13 98:2,3	exchange 55:18	142:6
53:12 56:23	59:21 60:1	120:11,11	excluded 20:23	facto 142:19
57:9,25 58:23	75:13	125:4,10	excluding 21:7,8	factor 63:13,14
easy 108:2	electoral 35:4	128:18 130:11	excuse 66:14	64:8 95:16 96:1
Ebony 127:21	39:15 61:12	138:17	executive 5:4,10	fail 127:3
economic 89:6	113:20	equalize 50:13	8:22 101:3	fails 35:18,18
Edgewood 68:21	electronic 3:3	55:25 113:19	existed 47:14	89:18
education 89:7	element 35:20	equally 49:22	139:7	fair 24:13 97:21
140:8	eliminate 85:20	equivalent 18:18	existing 125:12	97:22,24 98:1
effect 9:6 21:4	93:18	especially 82:22	exiting 123:11	101:5 102:19
33:14 71:6	eliminates 11:12	Essential 105:14	expect 110:4	102:20 104:19
78:20	89:4 120:15	essentially 8:7,17	143:25	107:22 110:2
effective 33:22	eliminating	11:5 19:16	expedite 73:10	113:23 116:13
effectively 17:21	83:15 109:24	21:14 27:23	expense 108:5	117:10 126:23
effectiveness	117:10	35:11 41:12	117:16	126:24 127:10
33:1	emergencies	53:18 54:2,7,10	experience 6:8	127:10 128:15
effort 10:15 93:7	106:4	54:12 55:17,25	117:18	128:20 129:13
Efforts 136:11	employee 147:6	56:24 57:12	expert 71:22 93:2	132:1,16
egg 46:20	enacted 11:19	63:12 80:24	explain 21:19	133:17 134:13
eight 97:25	15:2 19:11	119:18 142:17	26:12 43:13	135:13 138:5
either 40:10 56:2	encourage 85:3	establishing 5:1	44:1 52:2,3	138:10,14
68:4 83:24 85:4	encouraged 17:2	et 1:2	58:3 71:15	142:2 143:24
93:13 119:14	endorsed 142:25	ethical 93:13	75:18 78:3 87:4	fairly 87:11
119:23	ends 82:23	ethicalness 93:12	explained 26:17	fairness 110:5
elect 15:24 27:25	engaged 9:6 93:5	ethics 93:14	explains 11:25	fake 137:5
30:6,20 31:8,14	engagement 8:21	ethnic 60:15	25:17	fall 64:9 96:4
31:23 35:4	enslaved 120:18	ethnicity 120:13	explanation	families 105:13
37:12 59:22	121:2	evaluate 45:14	13:22 43:5	105:15,25
60:4,18 61:15	ensuing 132:4	evening 129:6	explosion 136:2	family 117:20
61:18 64:7 71:5	ensure 19:15,17	everybody 104:1	expressed 83:13	118:1 121:22
71:11,17 74:2	101:8 128:18	144:20	expressing	121:23 122:1
89:2 97:8,8	ensuring 89:11	everybody's	136:20	far 51:5,25 65:2
101:9 109:23	entire 13:21	103:20	Expressway	107:6
125:6 128:20	49:20 50:23	EVIDENCE 1:23	50:21	farce 107:18
130:9 132:14	52:17 53:22	Evie 96:23 99:1,5	extending 4:21	fashion 135:25
135:23 136:10	entirely 10:22	99:5,6,8,10	extremely 143:24	father 104:8
138:19 142:11	55:9,10 56:2	evil 93:7	eyeball 21:2	Fathers 108:10
elected 47:7,25	87:16	exact 11:2 47:21	eyeballing 32:6	favor 7:18,19
66:24 67:6 71:8	environment	70:5		84:13,15 85:4
82:7 83:8 94:15	103:25 131:23	exactly 20:11	F	89:13 101:7
130:10	equal 11:20 19:7	21:19 50:4,7	faced 119:6,7	112:22 114:21
electing 67:2,7	21:16 27:5 30:3	107:25 140:12	facet 71:23	128:17 144:22
election 37:18	50:12 51:1	example 17:25	facets 21:12 33:2	favorable 89:12
			125:23	

favorably 146:4	financially 147:8	Florida's 105:9	108:19 135:25	17:22 97:18
favoring 22:23	find 33:17 105:14	108:5 117:7,14	formed 108:8	<hr/> G <hr/>
81:15 82:16	105:16 119:10	124:9 128:10	former 119:11	Gadsden 33:4
83:20	126:24	138:1	forming 141:4	47:18 48:15,22
favors 124:23	fine 107:12	Floridian 97:4	forms 88:12	Gail 99:2 100:13
fear 119:24	first 4:9 6:17	Floridians 110:9	89:23 92:8	100:15,18
120:16,16	10:11,15 17:18	116:12 118:4	forth 11:8 83:12	120:2 121:12
132:17	18:22 46:20	132:14	132:7	121:15 122:9
feasible 125:12	67:9 83:21 84:3	focus 140:5	forward 24:8	122:11,21
Feather 66:11	84:10 87:12	focused 12:6	41:13,18,19	gain 51:1
February 6:18	92:8 102:3	focusing 21:6	44:10 140:4	gained 117:21
fed 136:19	111:3 112:14	22:15	141:16	Gainesville
federal 10:6	137:25 138:7	folded 107:8	fought 104:14,15	110:24
12:17,18 22:16	139:4	folding 143:16	found 134:2	gaining 55:19
23:15,18 26:2	fit 52:10	folks 102:3	Founding 108:10	83:18
29:25 33:14	Fitzpatrick 105:3	105:16 139:17	four 18:4 19:19	gains 54:14,19
65:3,9 71:2	floor 5:6	142:8	52:10 73:4	115:13
88:4 100:1	Florida 6:10 8:7	follow 17:2 63:22	102:1,23	games 124:8
109:21 120:10	8:12,13,14 11:3	75:14 81:23	123:16 136:9	Garden 68:24
132:8 142:3,4	12:10 13:9	105:8 106:1	fourth 97:4	Gardner 99:2
feedback 16:24	15:10,21 16:13	111:15,16	framed 4:13	100:13,15,18
81:18	16:15,16,18	125:12	Frances 99:2	gathered 117:6
feel 24:11 25:8	19:19 21:8 29:1	follow- 28:3	100:13,15,18	gathering 65:1
34:7 122:5,12	29:6,14 41:1	33:25 65:10	frank 58:6	general 3:20 6:13
143:9	52:8,14 69:4	74:9 85:11	Frankly 143:21	10:12 11:10
feeling 105:20	81:1 87:13 90:6	follow-up 23:24	frequently 5:18	14:12 43:12
feels 121:23	90:8,12,14,19	36:24 38:15	17:8	49:10 51:12
felt 118:2	90:21 91:5,7,9	42:23 43:15	friends 118:1	71:23 72:14
Fernandez 92:1	91:10,22 92:16	44:14 46:14	133:2 143:8	86:1
Ferrin 38:2,23	92:23 95:5,7	47:1,22 59:1	front 49:11	generally 7:12,14
39:13 40:3	97:21 99:12,25	60:12 63:5 64:1	105:13 140:17	29:13 31:20
44:25 45:3,10	100:8 101:21	66:17 85:14	142:6	52:21 72:6
45:13	105:11,25	followed 5:19	fulfill 3:12	85:24
fight 104:16	107:4 109:5,9	29:16 64:15,16	full 73:21 88:21	generation 97:4
117:5	110:2,24 111:5	81:1,14 103:2	88:23	generations
fighting 101:23	111:11 113:12	following 60:19	fully 11:25 77:25	100:24
104:13	115:15 117:5	68:25	123:25	gentlemen
figure 70:15	117:20 122:18	follows 57:4,6	functional 44:18	125:14
139:14	123:16,19	Foltz 6:21	44:20,23 45:6	genuinely 143:9
filed 3:19 5:11	124:19,20	force 101:4	45:13 62:5,15	geographic 13:8
89:20 139:9	126:15 128:5,7	forces 54:7	62:24	geographical
filled 92:6	128:15 129:25	foregoing 147:2	funding 140:3	56:17 63:23
final 49:11	131:12,18,22	forget 70:5	further 43:13	64:18 81:3,24
finally 118:10	132:9,12 133:8	108:25	56:18 72:13	125:12
120:25 125:8	134:2 136:6,7	forgotten 108:24	147:5	geography 77:19
Financial 95:6	138:7	form 3:5 4:13	Furthermore	George 108:9

136:18 gerrymander 33:5 35:16 48:16 51:21 83:24 gerrymandered 11:13 43:23 48:3,5 61:20 62:13,17 114:12,13 gerrymandering 82:13 85:18 110:8 114:10 115:12 getting 47:10 78:1 84:5 102:22 140:9 Gibson 2:17 13:16,18,20 14:4,14,19,24 15:6 41:21,22 42:2,5,13,23,25 43:15,17 44:14 44:16,24 45:3,5 45:9,12,16,18 45:24 46:14,16 47:1,4,22,24 48:8,17,19,23 49:1 59:6,18,19 60:4,12,14,24 62:1,3,10,12 63:4,6 64:1,3 64:12,21,25 73:12,13 74:11 74:16,18,20,22 74:24 75:9,15 75:18,20 76:23 77:1,5 78:6,8 78:14,24 79:1 80:3 126:8 134:16,18,21,23 135:1,5,8,11,17 137:23,24 145:12,13 Gillis 127:22,24 127:25 128:1	129:2 give 6:8 10:11 26:20 47:12 49:10 53:14,24 54:20 63:11 70:4 87:8 99:14 105:1 136:9 142:20 given 25:14 84:18 111:19 118:18 132:9 gives 41:6,18 giving 43:14 99:15 glimmer 99:20 go 19:1 20:9,21 26:10,21 34:6 36:6 39:22 47:4 48:25 51:6 52:3 56:5,6 59:5 67:14 77:8 85:15 99:22 100:8,9 107:24 126:23 142:13 144:16 goal 54:4 56:20 56:22 57:14 God 121:3,8 Godwin 91:24 goes 51:22 68:20 71:13 73:24 89:10 going 12:4 24:8 26:21 31:24 44:21,25 47:17 48:25 49:24 50:25 51:25 52:17 53:15 62:23 65:1 73:1 82:25 89:23,25 90:13,22 92:5,7 92:11 102:6,16 111:25 112:12 112:12,20 116:4,6,6 119:13,23	125:19 126:13 135:2 142:13 142:16,20 143:1,10 144:17,17 good 54:4 69:6 92:15,15 95:1 96:25 100:15 101:18 106:13 115:2 118:22 120:4 121:15 127:25 129:6 129:22 130:21 131:1 133:9 144:6,20 Gorman 130:14 Gov 107:6 government 7:5 88:22 103:25 108:8,12 109:19 111:10 111:13 132:1,3 Governor 5:4,11 5:16 8:23 10:7 12:9,19 38:19 38:25 46:6,13 97:12 98:19 99:25 101:3,25 102:8,24 107:5 107:21 109:14 109:18 115:9 116:11,21 117:15 119:16 123:14,14,22 128:6,11,13 129:11,14 131:5 136:16 136:22 142:15 142:18 143:5 143:24 Governor's 3:15 3:22,24 4:3 6:17 10:18 11:11 12:1 13:23 23:8,11 25:17 36:19,20	40:8 43:20 45:21 46:7,22 46:23,25 48:2 73:7 95:12 103:15,23 105:21 106:2 109:6,20 110:5 124:17 136:14 144:9 grade 108:7 great 29:1 88:20 140:22,25 greater 18:24 21:3 123:9 grew 100:20,21 ground 99:13 130:11 group 1:23 67:5 71:15 94:6 98:7 113:24 groups 132:19 growth 116:18 139:24 grumblings 136:19 guaranteed 132:25 guess 26:11 28:20 30:21 37:19 41:23 42:5 59:24 127:8 guidance 6:13 guidelines 29:24 65:2,8 guides 29:14 Gulf 12:25 16:18 53:9 54:17 Gwendolyn 90:25	happened 107:9 happening 106:23 115:15 happy 14:23 115:8 Haraska 91:4 hard 100:5 105:17 107:4 134:24 144:21 hardworking 83:3 Hardy-Allen 127:21 Harlem 88:21 harms 133:22 Harrell 2:18,19 145:14,15 Harris 130:19 131:9 Harvard-educ... 107:21 hasten 138:22 Hazel 127:22,25 128:1 129:2 He'll 77:3 head 48:8 100:20 health 89:6 131:23,24 132:3 139:17 139:17,18 140:23 healthcare 105:19 139:25 140:7 hear 13:22 14:16 96:6 115:9 heard 22:13 29:25 30:7 45:19 59:20 61:17 93:21 94:3 98:21 109:13,22 Hearing 88:15 heart 23:9 heartbroken 121:20
--	---	---	--	---

hearts 104:20 126:10,21,23 heavily 57:11 66:4 Hedder 120:2,4,6 121:7 help 31:22 67:19 69:17 94:19,19 helped 21:4 103:18 144:10 helping 80:24 helps 20:16 77:13 Hernando 55:6 Hi 114:20 124:16 high 9:8 25:1 68:9 highlights 10:13 highly 28:15 95:20 101:21 highways 82:23 Hill 130:14 Hillsborough 18:2,2 57:24 Hippocratic 108:15 Hispanic 70:1,7,8 70:12,21 72:2 141:6 Hispanics 97:17 Historic 123:9 historical 59:23 59:24 historically 139:20 history 7:24 37:8 37:10 101:10 108:7,8 120:19 128:3 129:9 132:21 Hobbs 127:14,18 hold 24:25 101:1 holes 140:1 Holloway 94:24 96:22,25 97:1 98:14,24 Homeowners	105:15 honestly 73:4 Honor 128:24 hope 99:15,20 141:17 hours 48:16,20 house 6:10,14 9:14,25 13:11 15:13,16 16:2,6 16:24 17:2,10 18:10 25:22 26:11,17 27:21 27:23 36:12,13 36:21,24 37:5 37:18 38:4,25 39:15 41:1 46:21 61:4,9 69:6,24 70:14 72:19 73:18 109:11 113:15 120:15 143:4 House's 9:22 15:19 16:12 25:20 27:18 35:7 36:18 37:1 37:5 38:12 40:5 46:3 houses 105:24 hundreds 128:12 135:12 138:3 hybrid 13:3 53:19	illustrates 53:25 image 59:23 imagined 89:5 imbalance 109:18 impact 60:15 65:22 117:25 133:18,22 impacted 16:20 impacting 13:2 impacts 130:2 implemented 8:15 implicated 86:2 86:13 implication 86:9 implore 120:21 important 7:17 20:24 22:16 40:13 67:17 69:25 89:8 117:19 118:11 138:23 139:1,2 140:14 144:11 importantly 132:11 improve 10:7 13:5 50:2 improved 50:19 56:16 improvement 79:20 140:7 improvements 5:18 10:13,19 12:14,20 16:16 16:19 17:18 20:8,10,19 21:11 53:16,21 improves 18:20 in- 6:13 in-between 16:22 57:4 include 62:5 102:18 139:11 included 3:8,23 4:1 11:14 43:22	47:8 includes 74:14 80:20 including 7:22 9:5,6 16:14 33:20 income 140:25 incorporated 21:21 incorporates 9:14,18,21 increase 13:7 17:3 increasingly 89:8 incumbent 7:18 22:24 81:15 85:5 124:24 independence 142:17 independent 143:15 indicated 4:20 27:1 indicates 16:9 116:19 indiscernible 13:19 26:23 individual 39:16 140:13 individually 39:18 individuals 90:13 90:23 information 40:13,17 45:25 46:1 infrastructure 139:20 Ingram- 105:2 Ingram-Fitzpa... 106:8,10 Ingrid 129:4,18 129:22,23 initially 6:12 initiative 133:16 injustice 121:25	136:1 inland 13:2 53:12 innocence 141:16 insight 38:1 instructed 22:25 insulting 142:12 insurance 105:16 intend 23:1 81:17 133:20 intended 22:14 82:24 85:6 intent 7:19 29:11 29:11 30:2 41:5 58:8 82:21 83:14 84:25 85:2,4,7 87:19 88:4 103:16 125:3 133:17 138:16 intentionally 22:23 81:15 124:23 130:7 interact 21:23 interest 11:24 15:5 26:1 27:8 28:10,18,24 33:8 34:6,12 35:17 41:25 42:1,8,14,17,21 43:1,6,25 44:2 44:9,13 61:24 62:17 63:1 64:5 64:19 79:7 98:17 interested 4:7 147:8 interesting 133:15 interpretation 114:14 interpreted 8:14 Interstate 50:21 intervention 136:14 introduce 82:4 introduced
--	---	--	--	---

105:23 introduction 5:17 invited 4:7 Iraq 104:6,15 irrelevant 133:21 Isaac 121:4 Isabel 135:4,18 135:20 137:2 Isle 68:21 issue 23:4 27:17 117:19 141:2 issues 61:18,19 113:21 items 137:2 iteration 50:17	Joe 90:3 John 91:18 115:1 115:19,20,20 119:12 Johns 49:19 50:7 52:9,12 Johnson 128:2 129:8 joined 82:3 joke 142:12,12 Jonathan 90:20 131:12,16,17 132:24 Jones 94:23,25 95:1,4,5 96:13 96:16 121:12 122:24 Joy 90:18 JR 130:21,23 131:1 judgment 35:11 Judy 106:11 109:2,4,4 Julie 147:23 jump 10:1 Junior 123:8 129:18 130:18 131:2 justice 89:7 121:3 justification 27:22 justifications 137:5 justify 61:25 80:6	keeps 57:17 79:6 87:16,17 Kelly 5:3,6,7,8 13:17,23 14:5,9 14:23,25 15:9 22:18,20 24:15 24:20 25:11 27:10 28:13 29:2,4 30:9,11 31:1,17 32:22 34:20 36:4 37:4 41:11 42:6,10 42:11,15 43:9 43:10 44:3,4 46:9 47:13 48:10,21 49:5 51:9 52:6 53:7 58:5,19 59:8 60:3,5,23,25 62:8,21 63:10 64:13,21 65:7 65:25 67:11,21 69:21 70:25 71:19,21 74:5 75:5,6,10 76:8 76:9 77:11 78:15 79:11 80:5,10 81:11 83:13 84:11,22 84:23 85:23 86:16,24 97:18 133:15 142:6 Kemper 91:18 Kennedy 119:12 kept 19:12 68:23 68:24 key 17:17 19:14 19:19,20 21:12 kids 125:21,22 killed 104:2 kind 40:23 41:7 64:10 77:25 79:2 kinds 140:8 king 108:9,13 know 3:9 5:22,22	7:23 19:18 20:6 23:21 24:3,23 24:24 27:11 31:19 34:11 37:21 40:14 42:19 49:19 51:10 59:11 70:3 71:24 72:3 72:19 73:1 75:11,13 77:12 81:12 82:19 83:5,22 85:8 93:22 94:2 95:9 95:10,11 96:8 102:20,20 103:24 104:20 104:20 106:24 107:11 108:3 109:13 118:14 120:18,19 122:2,12 127:1 132:15 134:13 135:9,12,15 139:10,14,18 141:12,13 142:2,10 143:22 144:4 knowledge 47:13 58:11 68:7 72:7 72:8 known 67:3 knows 121:23 Kuwait 104:7	14:2,5 30:4 42:7 43:20 71:4 75:12 78:20 97:16 98:7 125:1,5 133:24 138:17 languages 83:6 laptop 103:10 laptops 103:12 large 15:24 139:5 largely 18:18 larger 12:25 18:1 49:21 52:23,23 53:3 70:8 Larry 118:20,22 118:24 119:2,3 119:5,22 LaShonda 94:24 96:22,25 97:1 98:14,24 Lastly 16:22 19:6 late 6:18 47:15 88:20 119:11 136:2 Latinos 94:1 102:4 Lauren 115:20 115:22,23 Lavashal 91:4 law 22:17 23:18 26:2 29:25 33:14,14,24 41:6 65:3,9,9 67:13,13 69:4 81:1 97:20,22 98:2 109:22 120:10 133:25 134:4,7,13 142:3 lawful 80:13 134:2 lawfully 69:9 lawmakers 29:25 136:13 laws 97:9,21 99:17 117:9
<hr/> J <hr/> Jackson 91:20 Jacksonville 47:17,18 48:14 48:21 49:19,24 77:25 78:1 79:4 90:14,18,20,23 90:25 91:4,6,8 91:10 99:12 109:5 128:4 130:5 139:8 Jacksonvillian 97:4 Jacob 121:4 jagged 119:10 James 119:5 128:1 129:7 January 6:11,18 Jasmine 92:1 Jay 37:25 38:2,21 38:23 39:12,13 40:1,3 44:25 45:3,10,13 Jean 90:7 Joanne 91:10 job 112:4 127:4,5 127:9,11 129:14 140:16 144:6,20 jobs 104:18	<hr/> K <hr/> keep 4:19 12:5 19:22 54:1,5,22 55:14,16 63:6 82:10 87:10 105:14 126:16 keeping 17:20 19:21 21:18 29:8,8 54:9 55:20,20,22 64:5 68:22 99:17 102:22	<hr/> L <hr/> L.J 97:1 labels 20:15,23 21:9 lack 29:11,11,12 lacking 16:10 Ladies 125:14 laid 27:20 Lake 66:23 71:10 Lakeland 19:14 landing 98:13,15 108:22 121:6 language 13:24		

Lawson's 131:19	46:11 49:15	68:19 101:1	logic 37:14,15	Lore 91:16
lawsuit 139:6	50:4,6,8 51:11	124:23 139:4	logical 49:23	lose 138:23
lawsuits 108:4	51:17 53:25	linear 54:24	112:16,21	losing 105:19
lay 24:12 113:18	58:22 67:23	lines 13:8 17:7	logically 50:25	142:17
143:6	77:14,18 78:18	18:14 19:20,24	lone 49:20	loss 130:3
laying 24:9 143:1	79:14,16,18	21:4,23,24	long 89:10	lot 73:3 84:16
lead 93:5 111:7	105:24 109:7	47:11 49:11	110:13,16,19,21	87:7 95:19
leader 117:4	116:20 124:3	50:24 55:11	110:22 112:6	113:12,12,16,17
leaders 93:11	Legislature's	56:17 57:10,11	121:21	love 125:20
132:14	7:11,13 10:17	58:13,13 63:23	Longboat 19:14	130:12 132:20
leadership 9:13	10:20,22 11:2,7	64:9,18 68:4,17	19:19,20	143:7
93:3,12,14	12:23 13:4	81:3,24 97:10	longer 75:2 78:12	low 123:22
117:7 126:18	17:14 18:19	101:1 105:13	105:16	140:25
League 133:7,10	19:7,11 23:10	111:20 112:20	longest 136:13	Lucas 127:23
leaned 66:4	33:20 42:19	linking 130:5	look 7:22 8:1	129:4,6,7
leaning 57:11	44:6 51:14	Lisa 90:11	32:4,17,23	Lucie 11:6
learned 108:7	53:19 56:9,20	list 92:4	39:14 52:18	luxury 104:11
learning 40:17	77:20 78:2	listening 82:9	56:12 61:6,7	
leave 50:22	128:7	96:19 100:10	70:11,11 77:17	M
123:19 144:15	Legislatures 6:23	122:15	82:24 83:19	M 1:24 92:12,14
led 24:18	109:15	literally 50:21	84:13 97:24	92:16,18,22
Lee 13:1 53:10	lend 93:6	56:22	100:1,3 102:21	ma'am 86:22
55:25 56:1	length 48:22	little 6:8 21:5,9	107:2,12	100:17 116:10
130:18 131:9	lengthy 49:9	21:19 25:13	115:11 120:25	main 79:17 89:1
left 49:14 77:17	Leo 55:10	34:22 50:10,25	126:22 135:16	95:16
104:3	Leonard 119:8	54:2,5 56:18	looked 24:2 37:8	maintain 20:25
legacy 87:22	let's 36:6 67:20	64:25 66:10	37:9 39:15,16	98:24
130:13 132:12	87:2 101:10	73:20,20,22	39:18 40:25	maintains 10:25
legal 3:21,22	129:11	77:24 112:20	45:20 62:4	Maitland 68:22
11:16 12:1,8	letter 3:24 26:7	live 24:24 92:24	72:23,24 82:15	80:20 91:22
137:5	26:21 30:15,16	94:1,1,5 100:19	93:24 95:20	major 17:4 18:12
legislative 101:2	43:9,11,13	105:15 110:22	103:18,20	56:2 58:13,14
105:22 111:19	level 38:6	111:23,24	looking 15:11	58:23 68:4,19
116:12 120:9	lied 96:13,17	112:2,3,16	22:2 32:13 41:2	131:2
124:1	lies 28:23	125:19 128:4	51:5,22 52:7,13	majority 55:1
legislators 97:9	lieu 17:21 19:23	129:23	58:10 68:10	64:6 72:9 86:4
109:7,17	life 93:8 100:4	lived 101:21	71:2 74:7,8	86:5,7,11
116:15	102:13 121:21	140:22,25	78:21 95:17	135:21
Legislature 3:10	128:3 129:9	livelihood 104:14	99:12 103:10	making 10:21
6:25 7:11 8:15	lift 56:12	livelihoods 104:5	103:12 114:1	21:15 53:16
8:24,25 9:15,17	likelihood 109:23	lives 103:13,14	122:14 134:6	70:22 100:3
9:20 10:4 11:20	limitation 54:3,6	living 25:3 96:4	looks 51:22 91:2	107:4 108:2
12:2,16,21 15:2	54:6	117:23 118:3	91:3,14 99:18	116:16 140:20
18:16,23 20:5,9	line 20:2 31:20	141:22	112:15,15	142:18
32:25 41:19	33:12 57:3,7,14	local 111:10	115:12 122:11	man 125:20
42:22 44:10	60:10 66:8	located 80:21	looming 105:18	Manatee 57:17
				mandates 108:19

manipulation 29:12 128:22	144:9,22	147:4	memo 25:16	32:16 33:22
manner 9:7 26:3	map's 18:13	matters 88:20	memorandum 11:9,17,25	34:8,10,14,15
33:11,24 104:3	maps 3:10 6:22	98:17 122:3	43:12 48:13	35:3,25 36:8,9
map 3:15,17,25	6:24 7:5 9:18	Matthew 135:4	Memorial 123:10	41:25 42:9 43:7
4:6,10 5:5,10	11:19 12:3,12	135:20 137:2	mention 24:6	44:22 45:6,15
5:11,22,25 6:3	12:16,21,23,23	McCoy 122:24	133:15	59:25 60:18
6:6,15,16,17,20	13:4 15:1 16:25	123:3,4,6,8	mentioned 18:9	72:10,20 73:1
7:2,2,4,8,10	18:15 23:11	124:6,13 126:2	34:4 60:1 69:14	75:3 80:6 83:16
8:24 9:22,25	41:3 42:5,8	126:4,7 127:8	84:16 107:20	86:6,12 87:13
10:19 12:3,6	45:2 46:4,5,6	mean 18:17 20:1	mercy 130:12	87:15,20,22
13:11 15:12	46:11,21,22,23	21:20 24:3	merge 130:11	89:4 98:7,8,10
16:23 17:6	47:8 48:1,2	26:11 29:4	message 4:1	98:17 99:18
18:22,23 19:2	50:18 51:12	53:24 63:11	10:18 11:12	109:25 111:4
20:18 23:3,12	53:19 73:23	67:4 142:5	14:11,12,13	113:24 116:14
24:4 26:12,15	77:6 82:22 83:1	meaningful 21:25 54:13,16	23:8 25:18 42:6	116:18,20
30:7 36:18,19	88:5 98:24	means 54:13,21	43:4	128:18 132:19
41:13,18 42:17	102:17 103:18	83:15 96:9	met 19:18	133:24 136:3
43:21,22 44:6	103:21 107:4,5	measure 132:3	methodology 17:3	139:5,8
45:22 46:3,25	107:22 108:20	Mecca 91:24	metric-driven 54:14	minority/majo... 11:1
48:3,25 49:11	109:6,8,12,20	medical 106:22	metrics 10:8,14	minute 18:9
51:5,17 53:16	109:22 110:9	meet 27:7 33:7	12:20 19:17	116:7 119:1
54:3,6,7,14,19	111:7,22,22,23	34:5,8,17,18	132:2	121:14 123:5
55:17,20 56:7,9	111:25 112:2	41:24 63:24	middle 140:19	124:15 126:6
56:21 61:25	114:1 129:12	meeting 3:8,23	Midtown 57:25	127:24 129:21
62:4,14 63:25	133:3,20 136:8	4:8,16,21 37:6	miles 51:21,23	130:25 131:15
65:3 66:3 67:23	140:16 141:4	37:7	52:3	135:19
67:25 69:8	march 121:22	meetings 143:23	military 131:3	minutes 10:9
73:18 74:12,15	marched 121:22	meets 9:8 61:23	millions 118:4	92:13 93:17
76:1,12,13,15	Marcus 122:24	member 3:6	Milton 90:8	95:3 96:24 99:4
76:18,18 78:2	123:6,8 124:6	60:18 82:2	mind 94:15 111:6	100:16 101:16
85:8 94:11	marginalize 93:20	120:6 128:1	mine 100:24	103:5 106:20
97:13 101:1	marginalized 99:18	129:7 139:9	minor 12:13	110:20 112:10
102:6,7 106:2	Marion 113:12	140:2	minorities 30:4	113:3 116:5
107:19 111:4	Marsha 116:8,10	members 3:9 4:4	30:20 31:13	143:19
112:15 114:11	116:11	4:6,9,11,14 5:7	71:4 75:12 89:2	missed 102:12
115:8,10,14,21	Martin 92:12,19	11:16 48:24	95:18 97:16	Missionary 92:22
115:24 116:12	match 57:15 78:5	79:23 82:1	98:19 101:8,24	Mister 13:16
117:11,14	materials 3:23	92:21 101:19	102:3 109:23	mobility 139:25
120:14 123:14	4:2	109:24 116:6	125:1,5 138:18	modern-day 136:18
123:17 124:3	Matt 90:9 112:8	119:17 120:5	minority 16:7	modified 10:5
127:17,20,21	112:11	123:20 130:10	26:14 27:20,24	moments 19:2
128:7,9,13	matter 93:2	135:20 141:10	30:23,23 31:7	monied 133:1
129:10 132:6	103:9,13	142:14	31:21,23 32:5	monitor 131:25
132:11 143:23	133:19 139:23	membership 98:7		132:1
143:24 144:3,7		105:24		

Monroe 11:6	120:5 123:8	neutral 12:14	49:13 53:10	offer 30:13
Montgomery	128:1 129:6,23	62:18 63:3,8	56:11 63:14	123:25
129:5,18,20,22	131:17 133:9	73:23 83:23	69:22 78:16	offering 21:2
129:23	136:15	never 64:4,8 85:1	80:11 81:12,16	offhand 40:4
months 105:19	Nancy 106:9,13	85:3 118:15	84:24 85:1	office 3:6,15,24
107:3,10 118:9	106:14,16,18,21	138:24 143:21	noticed 39:1,19	4:3 5:4,10,11
135:21 143:22	108:18,23	new 7:10 12:11	notwithstanding	6:12 7:21,25
143:22	narrowly 11:23	21:23 50:1 82:2	97:11	8:23 9:4,13,21
moral 93:6,13,14	27:7 28:17	108:13 115:12	number 4:25	12:13 36:20
morally 93:17	35:17 43:24	120:8 124:9	10:25 17:19,23	40:8 51:13
94:4	44:12	134:6	17:23 45:22	62:24 73:7
morning 92:15	Nassau 52:8	newly 82:7	52:25 54:17,18	95:12 103:15
95:8	Naturally 52:16	news 65:12	70:5 123:18	103:23
mother 95:22	nature 115:10	nice 57:6 58:12	136:4	office's 5:13 7:2
motion 4:18	nay 89:16	104:3	numbers 7:24	8:20 11:10
137:20 146:9	nays 89:17	Niceville 90:5	77:8 78:4 83:17	12:23 13:4
motivated 83:2	near 67:14	nominee 67:1	94:2	16:23 17:13
move 4:24 40:15	nearly 49:22	non- 15:21	nurse 113:13	25:3 53:20
71:7,9 88:13	80:15 120:11	non-attorney	NW 1:24	Officer 95:6
89:23 90:13	144:11,22	63:11		official 9:3
92:9 116:4	neatly 125:10	non-Committee	O	oh 49:1 129:2
137:18	necessarily 43:5	4:11	o'clock 4:17	139:15
moved 65:18	93:23	non-compensat...	oath 59:8 108:15	okay 14:18 15:6
66:22 81:22	necessitating	92:8 116:3	108:15,24	24:16 32:12
112:17 117:20	108:3	non-diminishm...	112:1 122:13	35:23 36:6,6,25
movements 117:6	necessities	23:6	130:11	37:17 39:20
moves 146:7	105:18	noncompact	oaths 111:15,16	40:7 48:24
Moving 55:13	need 16:7 29:23	79:18	objection 23:11	51:18 67:18
Mt 92:22	45:5 50:12 75:3	nongeographic	89:21 137:21	70:16 71:1
multiple 33:2	93:9 96:9,12	18:6	objections 12:1	74:20 76:9 77:1
89:15,17	102:15,18,21	nonpolitical 18:6	12:18	81:25 83:14
municipal 57:11	106:22 107:13	Nordby 3:21	obligated 26:3	84:2,9,11 85:15
68:5	127:3 139:16	north 53:12 56:4	obligation 3:13	86:19 89:24
municipalities	140:2 141:1	56:13 57:13,14	41:16 44:5	90:22 96:16
68:22	neediest 140:6	58:24 66:11	80:11,13 81:21	106:21 112:11
municipality	needs 104:1	100:19 114:9	observing 33:20	116:2 119:4
52:23	139:20	Northeast 8:7	obviously 22:13	once 22:13
Myrtle 127:22	neighbor 140:14	12:10 52:7	35:20 41:15	142:20
129:4,6,7	neighborhoods	northern 57:1	49:8 54:4,4	ones 52:1
	139:19 140:8	66:6,6 87:13	77:21 81:13	open 4:20
N	neighboring	129:25	occur 19:13	opened 24:9
name 5:8 6:21	21:24	note 7:14 10:21	occurred 19:17	55:16
92:21 95:4 97:1	neighbors 118:2	12:3,7 22:22	Ocoee 68:24	opening 53:10
99:5 101:20	neither 76:16	138:11	Odwan 101:14	78:16 81:12,16
103:6 106:14	147:5	noted 9:16 10:2	103:6,7 104:25	84:25 85:1
109:4 113:4	net 13:5 55:19	11:1 22:25	off-the-record	openly 136:21
114:20 117:3			136:20	

operative 9:3	86:14,19	part 14:14 21:17	123:6,9 124:6	perform 42:9
opinion 88:3 96:8	ought 94:19	22:22 44:5 49:6	path 120:21	141:10
103:20	outcome 82:18	52:19 55:2 57:1	136:17	performance
opportunity 5:9	outcomes 69:16	57:3 65:8 66:7	pay 95:18 127:5	45:14
30:3,15 89:2	outline 81:1	66:8 81:13,14	paying 73:5	performing 8:6
101:9 105:6	outlined 29:5,6	136:6 138:6	people 60:15 64:9	10:25 25:21
125:4 128:19	29:20	participate 30:4	65:18 66:21	27:19
128:20 130:5	outright 38:10	94:8 125:5	67:6 71:7,16	period 87:8
132:10 138:17	98:18	128:19 132:10	73:3,5,8,10	permits 4:11 92:9
144:7	outset 7:16 12:8	132:20 138:18	83:7 91:12 93:1	Perry 90:11
oppose 110:9	outside 8:22,22	participation	93:20 94:6,20	person 89:2
122:5 128:13	107:17	88:21	97:2,16 98:2	100:4 111:9,17
129:10 131:4	outstanding 23:9	particular 8:13	99:18,23,24	111:20 113:18
opposed 89:16	overall 12:15,19	55:22 72:9	102:5,9,10	personally 33:10
109:5	13:5 50:2 54:15	86:12 98:3	107:14 115:9	130:2
opposing 124:17	56:7 58:21	particularly 33:9	120:16,17,17,22	persons 97:20,20
opposition 111:2	79:19 82:25	43:7 140:7	121:1,25 122:6	perspective 25:3
133:3	overcome 121:8	parties 101:8	126:19 127:8	33:14,15 40:23
oppression	overreliance	128:18 147:7	132:9 133:12	persuasive 101:3
132:12	16:25	partisan 9:2 66:1	139:12,14	pertained 60:7
options 56:12	oversight 6:13	110:8	140:12 141:17	perused 30:16
Orange 19:12	overturning	partisanship	141:20,22	Pete 57:5,23,25
35:1 37:10	144:22	124:8	people's 104:5	58:16 66:11
61:13 66:20,21	overview 10:12	parts 138:21	percent 18:7,8,8	Petersburg 19:14
71:8 80:21	25:15	140:21	38:8,18 39:11	87:17 90:11
122:17	overwhelmingly	party 7:18,22,24	39:22,24 68:8,9	PhDs 113:12
order 2:3 4:18	110:4	9:3 22:24 81:16	68:12,13 70:4,5	phonetic 90:7,16
50:23 53:20	<hr/>	82:17 83:16,21	70:8 72:1,1,2	91:4,6,14,16,24
59:17 139:11	P	84:13,15 85:5	73:22,23,24	96:23 101:15
139:16	P000C0109 3:16	116:17 119:8	76:1,3,14,20,20	112:9 113:2
organize 118:2	packed 57:24	120:24 124:24	76:24 77:2	114:19 115:1
organizing	packet 13:21,24	126:11 128:21	78:12 104:1	115:22 117:2
117:24	14:3 26:7 44:19	136:15 141:7	111:6 117:15	118:21 127:23
original 50:17	74:12 75:17	Pasco 55:1,6	123:19 128:11	135:4
Orlando 34:25	138:7,8	pass 135:14	percent-plus	physically 53:2
47:18 80:6	packets 11:10,17	passage 136:3	72:11	physician 105:12
87:15 91:13,15	pain 105:20	passed 3:10 6:1	percentage 31:15	108:14
91:16,18,20,24	painfully 107:16	7:11 9:15,17	34:17 40:2	physicians
92:1,5,12,16,23	Panhandle 11:3	10:3 12:2,16,21	68:12 69:2	113:13
95:5 101:20	21:7 52:15,16	13:14 18:15	80:16	Pick 49:4
112:17 117:5	papers 138:9	46:21 51:17	percentages 40:4	piece 68:20
117:20	paperwork	67:23 76:2	69:15 72:19	Pierre-Joseph
Osceola 54:1,9	144:10	110:2 128:15	74:14 75:1 76:7	120:2,4,6 121:7
Osgood 82:6,7	parameters	passing 117:8	perfect 100:3	Pinellas 56:19,21
83:11 84:2,7,9	24:10,12	pastor 92:22	144:22	57:4,23 65:18
84:20 85:13	Park 68:23	122:24 123:3,4	perfectly 78:5	Pinellas-Hillsb...
	Parramore 90:3			

<p>57:3 66:7 pink 127:2,2,3 pinkish 55:7 Pitts 119:8 place 17:1 47:15 105:15 131:6 138:9 places 54:2,5 plain 31:5 33:6 78:20 plainly 19:3 27:18 plan 5:12,14,19 5:20 6:2,7,19 6:21 7:9,10,12 7:13,15 8:18 9:5,7,10,11,15 9:23 10:2,3,11 10:17,20,22,24 10:24 11:7,15 11:16 12:10,19 12:24 13:9,12 13:14 15:11,11 15:14,15,17 16:11,23,24 17:10,19 18:5 18:19,19,20,20 19:6,8,10,11,13 20:5,6,7 21:7 21:13 23:14 45:25 46:10,10 49:14,15,16 54:11 75:24 77:15,15 79:12 79:13,14,14,16 79:20 110:6 111:2,2 112:22 112:22 113:6 115:3,4 116:22 129:25 130:1 planned 95:10 plans 8:20 9:4 17:13 53:20 116:21 Plant 19:12 play 12:5 64:4</p>	<p>95:13 plays 96:1 please 2:4 14:22 15:7 37:3 48:7 49:4 53:5 82:4 83:10 96:7,7,17 96:17 98:12 106:1 108:17 108:21,23,23 110:8 118:6 119:20 121:6 122:8 124:4 125:15 127:6 132:22 134:9 136:25 145:1 pleasure 121:18 pledged 108:14 135:22 point 16:3 25:13 26:2 40:16 50:9 50:11,15 59:16 67:5,9 68:13 69:2 80:4,16 94:4 points 17:17 31:2 49:10 138:23 political 7:18,22 8:2,9 9:2,3 13:7 22:24 29:11 30:5 31:19 32:9 32:13,14 33:1 56:16 61:6,7 63:23 64:17 66:1 81:3,16,24 82:17 83:16,20 84:13,15 85:5 89:6 97:14 115:5,13 117:16 124:8 124:24 125:5 125:12 128:7 128:19 138:18 politically 33:22 83:2 politician 92:25 politicians 101:6</p>	<p>128:16 politics 112:18 Polk 17:21 21:17 21:22 22:3,4 54:1,9,12,16 55:15,21 pollution 131:25 Polsby-Popper 18:24 population 15:23 22:6 38:16 39:3 49:21 50:12 51:1 52:16 56:1 56:9 58:7 63:17 66:10 68:7,14 69:3,17 70:1,2 70:6,7,9,12,13 70:21,21 72:12 72:25 73:21 74:2 75:22,25 76:13,19 77:19 77:22 80:6,18 86:4,5 120:11 139:6 140:3 141:21 populations 78:4 113:19 125:10 Port 19:12 portion 22:5 77:24 portions 9:15 18:2 position 3:7 15:18 26:17 36:24 37:1,5,19 37:22,23,24 41:6 133:12 possible 8:5,10 8:17 58:15 possibly 67:2 potential 26:1 66:25 86:3 power 109:18 142:17 powerful 118:2 132:25</p>	<p>practicable 125:11 practices 98:5 preamble 24:9,18 predicate 40:24 predominant 63:14 predominantly 55:12 61:21,22 preferred 17:3 17:11,15 18:10 premise 75:4 preparation 74:25 prepare 3:21 prepared 11:10 74:19 presence 121:1 present 3:1 5:10 presentation 20:13 22:22 49:4 73:6,9 86:24 presentations 59:16 presented 9:4,19 presenting 20:4 preserving 135:22 Presidency 136:17 president 4:20 66:25 67:1 111:11 119:11 142:19,25 143:4 Presley 120:3 121:12,13,15 122:9,11,21 press 136:19 prevent 116:15 previous 48:4 77:6 105:8 114:13 139:9 previously 6:22 9:19,20 12:12</p>	<p>18:9 47:8 56:8 76:1 prick 126:10 primaries 136:22 primarily 11:22 15:4 65:4 primary 6:1 7:12 7:13 10:17 11:7 11:15,19 12:3 15:1 18:20 19:8 23:14 38:6,7,10 38:18 39:2,4,5 39:17 43:21 46:4,10 49:15 59:21 60:1,17 60:22,24 61:12 73:18 74:3 77:14 79:14,16 142:24,24 principles 16:15 68:25 69:4 136:15 Prink 80:20 prior 47:16 53:20 private 136:18,21 probably 17:25 23:9 25:12,12 25:13,14 38:13 41:3 52:17 72:7 116:19 problem 52:1 133:24 procedures 98:6 proceed 4:23 15:8 20:12 process 4:22 6:5 8:3,16,21 9:6 19:18,21 24:4 24:23 26:15 28:15 29:15 30:5 33:21 35:12 44:11 53:17 56:20 83:13 94:10 95:14 97:14 111:10,14,18,21</p>
--	---	--	--	---

120:8 125:6 128:19 132:4 138:18 proclamation 105:21 produced 144:3 product 9:12 10:16 41:19 professional 7:3 7:6 9:9 15:19 24:25 35:7 61:4 professionally 100:5 profiles 119:12 119:14,15 profit 101:6 profound 132:11 prohibited 113:25 124:23 prohibits 98:5 128:16 project 9:12 projection 75:24 promise 105:10 121:2 132:21 132:24 136:8 promises 133:14 property 95:19 105:16 proposal 11:12 131:4,5 proposed 4:10 5:10,12 9:7,10 10:11,24 16:11 17:18,18 18:5 18:20 21:13 22:3 46:23 49:11 50:5,6,8 107:5 109:6 111:2 123:14 proposing 117:13 128:9 prospect 105:18 protect 87:19 98:8,10,21 105:10 112:21	116:14,16 128:22 132:13 protected 16:8 26:13 30:23 34:10 36:10 38:19 40:12 93:9 protection 11:20 27:6 78:18 88:24 98:2,3 120:11 124:25 protections 117:10 protects 71:3 prototype 41:5 proud 122:2,17 125:21,22 prove 24:6,13 proved 24:5 proven 24:14 provide 4:4 69:19 85:9 provided 14:3 25:16 26:8 35:6 147:4 provides 117:11 providing 6:13 provision 133:17 133:18 public 35:6 73:14 87:10 93:1 103:19 137:12 publication 113:20 publicly 10:23 published 3:16 12:13 pun 22:14 purported 62:13 purpose 40:16 45:13 141:3 purposes 21:1 51:16 push 85:3 94:6 put 14:15 24:13 39:9 40:23	44:10 67:16 68:5 79:2 140:4 141:15 144:23 Putnam 50:6 putting 81:8 142:8,8 <hr/> Q <hr/> question 8:4 14:8 22:8,21 23:10 24:8,10,11,13 24:21 25:5 26:22 28:14,23 30:12,18 32:11 32:25 33:2,7,10 33:11 34:7 35:15 36:23,24 38:3 40:15 41:12 42:3,12 42:16 43:20 45:1 51:4 57:19 59:4,18 60:6,11 61:1,17,19,24 62:9 64:23 75:14 76:4,6 78:24,25 79:3 79:23 81:7 82:5 83:6,10,14 84:1 84:3,8,10 85:10 86:3,8,21 94:14 134:18 135:6,8 questioning 49:14 questions 4:6,10 4:12,12,22,24 12:7 13:22 49:3 80:5 82:1 83:12 85:25 86:23 87:24 88:10,11 132:5,16 quickly 109:17 134:21 quite 29:20 89:24 quorum 3:1 quoted 69:16 <hr/> R <hr/>	race 11:23 12:14 15:4 16:4,9 24:2 27:7 61:22 62:14,17,18 63:3,7,12,25 66:1 73:23 76:21 81:4 82:11 83:23,24 95:13 96:1 97:15 98:6 113:21 114:3,5 120:12 139:15 139:16 141:5 race-based 64:20 race-neutral 16:14 racial 28:16 29:11 30:4 33:5 35:15 48:16 51:21 58:8,10 71:4 75:12 82:12 83:23 85:18 124:25 125:4 133:24 138:17 racially 11:13 43:22 racist 96:8,9,18 radical 109:20 railways 17:4 18:12 raise 118:3 raised 10:6 12:18 Randolph 121:17 range 68:9 Rangel 88:20 rate 108:2 rational 13:25 19:22 25:23 rationale 27:1 ray 99:15 read 26:20 30:15 99:23 103:19 reading 67:12 91:3 real 89:5 106:3	115:12 real-life 126:11 reliably 15:24 reality 33:19 52:21 really 5:24 6:3 8:19 20:19,21 20:22 23:8 24:22 40:10 42:16 53:17,21 54:17 56:11 57:11 66:3 69:3 69:9 73:4,10 75:10 76:16 77:20 94:5 99:17 100:2 102:22 105:7 144:1,1,6,19 reapportion 3:13 reapportionment 1:11 2:3 5:12 97:7 111:20 reason 6:5 16:5 44:22 51:19 58:11 60:21 79:17 100:23 136:16 reasonable 19:22 reasons 11:8 28:16 69:7 111:3 144:14 rebukes 134:5 recall 40:1,3 47:19 50:14 51:13 received 4:5 16:24 74:15 recess 4:18 recognition 123:7 recognizable 49:23 58:14 64:17 recognize 62:16 135:3 recognized 17:8
---	---	--	---	---

20:6 22:10,19 23:23 25:6,10 27:9 28:8,12,22 29:3 30:10,17 30:25 31:11,16 32:3,21 34:3,19 36:3 38:22 40:20 41:10 42:24 43:16 44:15 45:8,17 46:8,15 47:3,23 52:5 57:19 58:4 60:13 62:2,7 63:9 64:2,11 65:6,24 66:16 67:10 69:12,23 70:18,24 71:20 74:4 77:10 78:7 78:13 79:10 80:9 81:10 85:22 86:15 87:3 88:1,7,16 92:13 95:2 96:24 99:3 103:4 106:20 110:19 112:10 118:25 121:13 123:5 124:14 126:5 129:20 130:24 131:14 135:19 137:17 recognizing 20:4 recommending 85:20 recommends 20:7 reconfigure 42:20 56:13 reconsider 96:7 96:17,18 Reconstruction 131:6 reconvene 4:17 record 27:21 90:2 103:19 110:17 131:10	131:19 143:11 recording 1:10 146:10 147:3 records 3:8 redistricting 6:9 9:23 13:12 15:13 29:5,7 33:13,16 35:7,9 37:7 47:6 95:10 95:13,21,24 97:7 100:25 106:2 109:8 110:5 113:14 113:19 120:8 120:14 129:25 132:4 136:7 138:8 redraw 27:14 42:19 44:7,8,11 80:12,13 redrawn 78:22 109:14 reduce 109:23 111:4 123:18 reduced 17:24 reduces 17:19 18:5 89:1 117:14 128:10 reducing 13:6 refer 5:18,21 6:2 6:2 7:13 29:7 44:25 reference 6:20 8:2,9 20:20 80:15 referenced 11:9 61:10 76:2 referencing 61:2 75:11,13 referred 9:22 13:11 15:12 referring 5:24 6:3 7:15 23:19 43:8,11 76:12 refers 61:2 reflect 28:10	reflecting 61:4 reflects 3:18 28:25 Refuge 123:10 refuse 141:20 regard 31:6 regarding 10:24 16:25 17:17 24:2 27:13 31:3 31:5 75:12 97:6 97:7 Regardless 74:24 region 11:5 13:1 13:9 15:10 16:13,17 49:6 53:18,20,22,22 54:8 55:14 56:12,23 67:22 registration 7:22 7:24 regular 3:10 reject 124:7 rejection 128:6 relate 27:12 related 21:22 66:2 relating 4:10 relative 12:20 147:6 reliance 18:6 remaining 10:4 22:3 remedy 10:18 remember 47:21 94:17 108:10 108:23 120:24 120:25 121:8 141:17 remembered 100:6 remind 105:9 115:11 120:23 reminds 131:5 removes 123:15 Reock 18:24 reorder 93:8	repeat 13:25 14:20,21 48:18 98:9 101:10 reported 146:3 represent 66:20 83:8 97:2 102:10,10 107:14 122:12 123:24 representation 28:11,25 47:9 87:23 88:19 98:15,17,18 104:17 105:1 111:5 116:20 116:21 117:12 117:15 120:15 120:23 123:15 123:22,23 128:8,10 132:2 132:16 136:3 139:1,11,12 141:1 representative 64:7 65:20 67:2 71:12 95:11 103:15 133:23 139:2 140:11 representatives 6:10 30:6 71:5 101:9,19 107:1 125:7 128:20 138:19 represented 47:8 66:22 86:11 123:20 representing 65:20 139:3,5 140:12 represents 115:14 139:22 republic 131:24 132:18 Republican 65:20 97:25 117:7 141:4,10	Republican-m... 110:6 Republicans 141:6,6 request 4:3 requests 140:4 require 31:18 125:9 required 4:18 72:13 119:19 requirement 23:17,17 requirements 81:8 resembles 76:17 reserved 4:13 resident 50:22 110:25 121:20 121:21 122:17 131:19 residents 22:2,4 50:14 55:2 resist 93:7 resolution 70:15 resolving 12:17 resonating 94:15 resources 93:7 140:21 respect 7:10 12:20 15:16,17 24:22 36:17 87:8 126:9 132:7 respond 83:7 response 108:9 responses 82:10 responsibilities 119:19 responsibility 109:7 112:4 rest 102:4 restate 42:4 48:6 62:11 83:9 84:1 restores 87:12,14 result 16:16,19 30:3 82:23
---	---	--	--	--

138:16	86:9,12 95:19	46:15,24 47:3	125:15,25	Russians 126:14
resulting 125:3	98:4 100:2,24	47:10,23 48:6	126:5 127:6,12	Rylan 91:14
results 83:15	107:23 110:1	48:18,24 49:2	128:25 129:16	
84:14 85:7,8	111:8 118:18	51:3,7,18 52:5	130:16,22,24	S
130:3	132:8 134:14	53:5 57:18 58:4	131:7 132:22	Sabatini 67:2
retains 11:1	136:4 142:4	58:25 59:5,10	133:5 134:9,11	sake 50:11
retired 131:3	river 49:19,22	59:14 60:3,13	134:15,17,19,22	Samille 91:6
retrogression	50:13,16 51:1	60:23 62:2,7,11	134:24 135:2,7	San 55:10
71:3,6,14 87:20	road 57:4,6	62:19 63:5,9	135:10,15,18	sand 20:2 31:20
89:1 98:9,11	roads 55:12	64:2,11,22 65:6	136:25 137:9	Sarasota 17:21
111:8	roadway 68:16	65:10,14,24	137:12,16,20	19:21 21:18
Reverend 90:3	roadways 17:4	66:16 67:10,20	141:25 143:18	55:16,21,23
92:11,14,15,18	18:12 56:2	69:12,19 70:18	144:24 146:1,2	satisfied 109:12
92:21	57:16 58:13,14	70:24 71:19	Rodriguez 2:5,20	satisfy 21:1
review 3:24	58:23 65:4 68:4	72:17,22 73:12	145:16,17	save 73:14
29:23	68:19	74:4,9,16,19,21	role 5:22,23 6:5	saw 136:2
reviewed 38:4	Robert 90:16	74:23 75:5,16	6:12 12:5 95:13	saying 19:25 35:2
39:1 62:16	92:14,16,18,21	75:19 76:8,25	roll 2:4 145:1	65:21 67:8 71:7
73:17,17	114:18,25	77:3,10 78:7,13	Ron 128:6,14	142:10
revised 17:10	115:2	78:25 79:10,22	129:11,14	says 42:7 43:18
revision 99:24	Roberts 123:4	79:25 80:2,9	room 107:17,17	43:21 84:14
138:13	124:12,14,16,16	81:10,25 83:9	121:1	133:21 134:8
revisions 17:14	125:17	83:25 84:4,8,19	Rosalind 82:7	SB 45:24 111:2
18:18 19:10	rocks 119:10	84:21 85:11,22	Rosemary 124:13	113:6 115:3
revisit 53:22	Rodney 110:13	86:15,22 87:24	126:2,4,7 127:8	130:7 137:19
right 6:24 45:12	110:16,21,22	88:6,9 89:13,16	Rouson 2:21,22	schedule 4:19
49:16 66:9 71:1	112:6	89:18 92:17	26:22,24 28:2,5	scheduled 4:16
75:22 79:13	Rodrigues 2:2,6	94:21 95:2	28:7,9,20,23	schemes 83:1
84:19 88:22	3:2 13:19 14:2	96:12,14,20	29:5,17 57:18	Schmidt 114:18
93:18 94:12,16	14:7,18,21 15:7	98:12,22 99:1,6	57:20 58:18,25	114:25 115:2
94:17 101:22	22:9,18 23:23	99:9 100:11,16	59:2 65:17 87:1	science 113:14
102:2,8,13	24:7,17 25:6,10	101:12 102:25	87:3,5 88:6,8	Scoon 133:7,9,10
104:16,17,18,21	26:6,19 27:9	104:22 105:2	88:15,17 99:15	134:10,12
112:2,6 116:17	28:3,6,8,12,22	106:6,15,17,19	145:18,19	score 18:21,24
116:22 117:13	29:3,18 30:10	108:17,21	146:7	scores 18:17
118:8 120:23	30:14,17,25	109:1 110:11	Rucker 100:14	screams 89:3
121:24 122:13	31:11,16 32:3,8	112:5,7,24	101:14,16,18,20	screen 55:4
126:17 130:12	32:19,21 33:25	113:7 114:16	rule 59:16	scrutinized 28:15
130:15 132:13	34:3,19 36:3,11	114:22,25	ruler 108:9	seat 25:21 27:20
132:17,19	36:16,22 37:2	115:17,25	rules 132:7	30:24 32:6,16
134:8 140:18	37:25 38:21	116:24 118:6	ruling 133:1	34:10,15 36:9
141:14 143:12	39:12 40:1,19	118:16,19,23,25	running 95:6	36:10 38:20
rightfully 107:6	41:9,21 42:2,10	119:4,20,25	rural 22:4 52:14	40:12 44:22
rights 71:2,14,23	42:24 43:8,16	121:5,10 122:8	52:17,20,25	47:20 55:1
71:24 72:4,15	44:3,15,24 45:8	122:10,19,23	53:1	56:21 57:4
85:19,21 86:2,3	45:17,23 46:8	124:4,10	Russia 126:20	68:15,17 69:8
				69:10 72:20

73:1 80:14,21 80:24 81:5 87:13,15 89:9 seats 11:1 26:14 41:25 81:2,2 83:15 97:24,25 97:25 102:1 123:17,21 135:24 136:9 141:9 second 7:2 16:23 16:25 17:6 18:5 20:14 111:6 secondary 11:16 11:19 12:3 15:1 23:14 43:22 46:4,10 Secondly 87:14 secretaries 59:12 Section 98:4 99:22 Sections 124:22 see 13:24 19:2 20:21,22 21:10 21:17 37:18 43:18 44:19 49:14 54:23 68:18,19 77:24 106:23 112:19 115:12,20 119:14 121:2 122:7 123:1,21 125:21 127:1 127:16,19 129:11,12 136:18 144:1,4 seeing 4:24 82:2 88:11 108:12 146:7 seeking 10:18 57:9 seeks 88:25 seen 120:19 sees 136:17 seismic 115:15 select 3:6 133:23	Seminole-Oran... 68:18 Senate 1:11 3:17 3:18,19 4:17,25 5:19,25 9:10,14 11:14 13:14,15 15:15 16:2,6,25 26:14,15 39:14 40:25,25 45:21 46:2,12 49:16 69:25 70:14 76:2 82:3 109:11 112:22 113:15 142:18 143:4,14 145:1 146:3 Senate's 9:25 17:2,11 18:10 Senator 2:8,9,10 2:11,12,13,14 2:15,16,17,18 2:19,20,21,22 2:23,24,25 13:16,18,20 14:4,10,14,19 14:24 15:6 22:7 22:9,11 23:21 23:25 24:7,16 25:5,7 26:6,9 26:21,24 28:2,5 28:7,9,20,23 29:4,17,18,19 30:14,16,19 31:10,12 32:1,4 32:12,20 34:2,4 35:23 36:6,12 36:15,17,23,25 37:17 38:15 39:7,13,20 40:7 40:19 41:21,22 42:2,5,13,23,25 43:15,17 44:14 44:16,24 45:3,5 45:9,11,12,16 45:18,24 46:14 46:16 47:1,4,22	47:24 48:8,17 48:19,23 49:1 51:2,4,19 57:18 57:20 58:18,25 59:2,3,5,6,7,11 59:18,19 60:4 60:12,14,24 62:1,3,10,12 63:4,6 64:1,3 64:12,21,22,24 64:25 65:8,11 65:12,14,15,17 66:13,18 69:11 69:13 70:16,19 71:1 72:17,18 72:24 73:12,13 74:11,16,18,20 74:22,24 75:9 75:15,18,20 76:23 77:1,5,12 78:6,8,14,24 79:1,24 80:1,2 80:3,3 81:6 82:6,7,10 83:11 84:2,7,9,20,24 85:13,24 86:14 86:19,25 87:3,5 88:1,2,2,6,8,15 88:17 99:15 103:9 123:7,8 126:8 134:16 134:18,21,23 135:1,5,8,11,17 137:11,15,16,18 137:23,24 141:25 142:1 143:18,20 145:3,4,5,6,7,8 145:9,10,11,12 145:13,14,15,16 145:17,18,19,20 145:21,22,23 146:7 Senators 4:7 83:12 103:11 104:18 105:5	senior 123:9 sense 20:16 49:10 53:15,24 115:4 115:14 sent 3:24 separate 80:7 separation 141:8 Sergeant 131:2 Sergeant's 3:6 serious 83:4 103:9,13 servant 93:1,3,11 93:12 servants 93:10 serve 5:15 37:17 122:14 123:9 served 6:12 104:6 111:10,12 143:8 service 104:23 105:1 126:1 131:3 session 3:11,12 4:19 6:1 46:5 106:3 107:18 113:16 124:2 sessions 108:6 set 9:8 11:8 132:7 setting 143:1 shape 53:2 shapes 19:4 Sheckland 106:12 Sheila 91:8 Sheklin 109:2,4,4 shifting 49:6,7 shifts 115:15 ship 119:9 shook 48:8 short 43:14 87:8 93:17 shot 47:12 show 32:17 54:15 89:21 131:10 137:21 146:9 showed 59:21	60:1,17 61:12 133:4 showing 53:14 118:13 shown 47:9 60:16 115:9 shrink 141:22 shrunk 141:21 sic 92:12 111:3 122:5 126:20 sickness 132:1,18 side 112:13 121:3 sighted 31:5 33:6 signed 144:19 significant 22:5 35:3 significantly 13:6 25:17 52:15 signing 126:10 signs 132:1 silence 3:3 117:7 128:11 silenced 115:7 Simbaneller 90:7 similar 61:18 69:5 85:25 similarities 15:16 simply 56:10 single 31:24 49:20 63:25 singled 51:24 Singleton 91:8 sir 92:13,13 sister 104:9 sit 141:13 144:2 sits 123:10 situations 126:12 six 95:22 skip 67:19 slide 10:12 20:14 20:20,22 21:8 49:8 50:10 51:8 53:25 54:21 55:13 56:4 slides 5:17 10:1 17:16 20:1,13
--	---	---	--	--

21:5 53:8,8 slip 127:3 slipping 38:8 Smith 113:1,9,11 113:11 129:18 130:18,20,21,23 131:1,2 social 89:6 society 88:22 solely 63:20 solidarity 133:1 solution 124:1 somewhat 60:7 son 104:7 sorry 13:18 18:8 45:24 48:17 54:22 62:10 75:9 79:24 83:5 83:25 97:8 99:6 129:12 sort 13:3 21:15 23:9 25:14 29:12 33:15,17 Soto 113:9 114:18,20,20,24 sound 35:10 37:15,15 66:12 sounds 84:4 south 53:13 55:8 55:13 56:5,14 57:25 100:21 131:20 Southeast 21:8 southeastern 11:5 southern 50:3 52:12,19 55:2 57:3 66:8,9 southwest 77:25 78:1 speak 3:4 33:16 33:23 38:14,24 40:4,10,17 73:8 73:11 87:9 105:6,13 111:1 112:14 141:2	speaker 105:8 134:22 143:4 speakers 92:4,5 speaking 3:7 7:12 29:13 85:7 115:3 117:24 143:9 speaks 138:15 special 3:12 4:19 46:5 106:3 107:18 108:6 123:7 specific 35:2 54:20 69:22 specifically 15:17 19:11 34:13,16 98:5 specifics 37:20 spent 100:4 split 13:6 17:24 19:9,20 21:17 50:7 58:14,16 58:20 66:6 77:7 140:18 splits 17:20,23 19:13,16 20:3,4 57:7 58:21 130:1 splitting 19:8 55:19,21 80:6 spoke 110:4 spoken 24:1 Spoony 92:12,14 92:16,18,22 spouted 93:21 spread 51:21 square 21:2,3 112:15 squared 19:3 squared-up 54:24 56:24 Squire 126:3 127:14,16 St 11:5 19:14 49:19 50:7 52:9 52:12 55:10	57:5,23,25 58:16 66:11 87:17 90:11 Staats 106:9,11 106:13,14,15,16 106:18,21 108:18,23 Stacy 117:1 118:20 staff 5:16 6:9 7:3 7:6 8:25 9:9 15:19 16:25 24:25 26:9 35:8 37:5,21 44:25 74:17,18,19,25 135:9,16 138:9 staff's 61:4 stage 143:2 stake 103:14,14 stand 94:12 95:25 96:4 97:12,12 110:8 123:12 124:7 124:17 130:11 133:1 134:5 standard 15:22 23:6 25:4 26:5 41:1 64:19 81:20 85:7 97:19 118:3 standard's 84:25 standards 3:18 9:8 24:23 29:5 29:7 57:12 66:4 125:9 standing 96:6 104:13 121:24 stands 49:23 143:14 Stargel 2:23 137:11,15,16,18 145:20,21 start 84:2,7,9 89:25 116:8 137:25 started 40:24	52:12 56:22 133:13 starting 6:11 76:11 starts 35:14 126:16 state 3:13 5:2 7:5 11:5,24 15:5 16:8 25:25 26:4 27:8,13 28:10 29:1 33:8,14 34:5,12 35:17 35:20 40:25,25 41:15 42:1,9,14 43:2,6,25 44:2 44:12 49:20 52:19 53:19 54:11 55:12 57:4,6 61:23 65:9 67:12 83:3 88:23 95:7 97:21 98:16 100:7 104:1 109:19,21 110:3 111:1,5 113:24 116:14 119:9 120:9 124:21 126:15 132:8 133:2 135:13 138:1,6 state's 26:2 41:24 108:18 state-sponsored 132:12 stated 16:12 41:7 84:11 97:18,22 144:8,15 statement 41:23 43:1,9 86:17 statements 90:1 states 11:21 15:3 27:16 78:19 97:20 104:6,10 105:11 115:11 126:15 statewide 20:15	statistical 20:2,25 64:16 statistically 63:22 79:15 statistics 93:21 104:2,19 122:15,16 status 134:4 statutes 100:1 107:4 stayed 19:6 steering 119:9 step 117:22 Stewart 2:24,25 29:18,19 64:22 64:24 65:11,12 143:18,20 145:22,23 stipulates 120:10 stood 95:12 stop 83:21 134:25 142:20 143:1 Storm 104:14 straight 144:16 street 1:24 140:15 strength 27:25 30:21 31:7,22 34:8,10,15 35:4 35:25 36:9 38:17 stretching 13:1 48:15 strictly 64:8 strong 18:13 61:22 118:12 132:19 strongly 123:13 131:23 struggling 75:14 105:13 Study 128:3 129:9 subcommittee 9:23 13:12 15:14,20 35:9
---	---	---	---	---

37:7 61:9 subject 15:21 93:2 submission 3:22 16:22 submitted 6:17 7:2,21 9:20 subsequent 27:14 subsequently 10:21 substantiate 84:17 substituting 18:11 successful 94:18 sudden 26:16 suddenly 107:8 sufficient 31:6 37:11 sufficiently 15:24 suggest 20:1 suggested 58:2 suit 107:8 139:8 Suite 1:24 summary 11:18 14:25 25:14 43:14 super 102:11 support 3:18 6:15 89:12 105:10 113:5 114:7,15 115:3 115:21,23,25 135:22 supported 6:16 138:5 supposed 114:3 suppression 117:9 Supreme 8:14 107:25 114:7,8 134:3 sure 14:16 21:13 21:22 24:20 25:2,11 28:13 28:14 30:13	37:4 42:3,11 46:3,18 60:9 62:8 65:4 74:7 75:7,10,19 76:9 84:5 100:6 107:12 116:16 140:21 surpassed 18:15 swap 17:22 21:17 swath 142:7 sworn 111:15 symbolizing 88:23 synopsis 14:11 system 94:8 108:11 <hr/> T tab 4:25 table 89:9 tailor 44:12 tailored 11:23 15:5 27:7 28:17 35:17 43:24 take 4:25 19:15 35:20 53:1,17 70:4 77:3 81:18 83:3 87:2 92:19 96:9 takes 140:5 talk 5:23 83:22 83:23 93:16 103:17 talked 23:22 42:6 63:15 65:17 84:16 114:4 talking 14:6 49:7 60:20 75:7 86:1 talks 83:20 107:10 Tallahassee 90:9 130:6 131:20 Tameka 127:14 127:18,19 Tampa 12:25 54:8 55:13 56:5 56:6,14,15	57:23 58:1 87:16 taught 93:14 taxes 95:18 127:5 taxpayer 97:6 103:7 Tea 120:24 technically 103:20 tell 63:16,16 85:19 95:14 117:18 telling 67:5 Ten 5:25 10:1 tension 23:12 25:15 69:24 70:14 terminal 132:18 terms 5:22 23:6 39:2,3 41:23 43:2 59:20 64:5 79:3,12 80:17 111:12 test 21:2 35:18,19 63:24 132:4 testified 25:22 testimony 16:2 16:12 35:7 36:13 61:2 69:24 70:14 73:15,25 92:10 103:19 116:2,7 137:13 Texas 6:23,24 thank 3:2 5:7 13:20 14:23,24 15:6,7,9 22:11 22:20,21 23:25 24:20,21 25:7 25:11 26:24 27:10 28:2,5 29:17,19 31:12 31:17 32:22 34:20 37:4 38:2 40:18,21 41:11 41:22 42:11,12	42:15 43:10,17 44:4,16 45:16 45:18 46:16,16 47:1,24 48:10 48:23 49:5 51:9 52:6 53:5,7 57:20 58:5 59:7 59:19 60:5,25 62:3,12,21,22 63:10 64:3,13 64:21,24 65:7 65:12,15,15,25 66:13,18 67:11 69:13,21 70:19 71:21 73:13 74:5 75:20 76:9 76:10 77:5,11 78:8,8,15 79:1 79:9,11 80:3,10 81:6,11 82:6,8 84:21,23,24 85:23 86:16,19 86:20,24 87:5 88:17 92:12,14 92:17 94:20,21 95:4 96:18,20 98:22,25 100:9 100:11 101:11 101:12,16 102:24,25 103:6 104:22 104:23,25 105:4,5 106:5,6 106:15,16,21 108:25 109:1 110:10,11,21 112:5,11,23,24 113:4,6,7 114:15,16,22,24 115:16,17 116:1,10,23,24 117:3 118:13 118:16,23 119:25 121:9 121:10,15,17 122:19,21,23	123:6 124:9,10 125:24,25 126:1,4,7 127:12,24,25 128:23,23,25 129:2,16 130:15,16,25 131:6,7,16 133:3,3,5 134:14,15 135:11,17 137:9,24 138:8 141:24 142:1 143:20 144:20 144:23 theirs 100:24 thing 14:6 93:18 94:13,16,17 112:2,6 124:18 130:15 132:17 133:13 141:14 things 24:19 29:7 82:22 87:7 93:11 101:22 102:14,15 104:21 112:21 119:14 125:18 140:1,8 think 13:23 14:14 24:8,12 30:11 34:21 36:11 40:8,12 45:19 47:6,10 48:9,10 52:7 59:20 60:6 61:1,16 62:21 67:16 70:7 73:3 73:19 76:10 77:12 95:16 96:1 102:8,21 103:24 107:13 124:17 127:10 127:10 140:13 141:3 142:4,5 143:12,13,16 144:6,15,18 third 5:11 18:17
--	--	--	---	--

52:11	103:16 133:16	totality 8:20	trying 17:12	126:13
Thirdly 111:9	134:1 138:2	139:3 140:3	37:23 38:24	Ukrainian 126:20
Thompson	144:8,11,11,12	totally 60:9	41:2 63:6,20	ultimate 23:11
147:23	144:14	144:13	67:4 82:9 83:22	132:17
thought 53:15,17	time 3:7 4:11,15	touting 40:9	85:16 117:7,15	ultimately 8:15
143:21	5:9 8:2,9 26:20	trade 19:22 58:16	138:3	35:18
thousand 50:13	33:2 36:16 38:5	58:20	Tuesday 3:14	unaware 58:6
thousands	39:1,18 49:3,25	traded 58:18	turn 38:18 93:19	unchanged 5:25
128:12 135:12	57:13 59:14	trades 19:16	turned 94:12	10:3
138:4	67:9 73:7,14	tradition 136:6	tweaked 73:20	unclear 73:16
threatened	87:8 92:9	143:13	Twenty 97:24	unconstitutional
136:22,23	103:10 117:21	traditional 29:6	twenty-seven	116:23
142:23,23,24	118:14 121:8	33:13,15	123:17	unconstitution...
three 8:18 18:3	122:22 135:3	transacted	twisting 107:11	130:8
48:15,20 73:4	136:13 144:24	105:22	Twitter 136:11	underlying 89:3
108:11 111:3	times 84:17	transcript 147:3	two 7:20 12:10	understand 14:7
130:1 135:25	133:11	TRANSCRIPT...	12:14 20:13	14:15 16:1
136:9	today 4:4,7,23	1:10	25:15 31:9	26:16 35:24
three-quarters	5:9,18,19 6:6	TRANSCRIPT...	39:19 46:11	37:19,23,24
54:10	7:8,12 8:1,18	147:1	49:18 50:10	38:20 39:21,25
threshold 34:18	9:5 12:5 13:10	transparency	52:10 55:18	42:3 46:1 62:19
threw 114:11	15:11 17:19	132:6	60:11 79:4,15	63:7 66:14
tie 53:12	41:7 48:14	traveled 87:9	79:19 80:5,7	69:18,25 76:11
tied 93:14 131:24	49:12,16 52:13	traverse 50:23	83:15 89:4	82:9 83:22
Tier 10:7,13	60:20 62:15	treat 16:7	92:13 93:17,18	85:16 93:11
12:20 13:7	68:1,11 73:15	trend 39:2,22,23	95:3 96:24 99:3	102:1 111:12
16:16,19 17:5,8	73:25 77:16	trending 39:23	100:16 101:16	111:14,17
17:12,15,17	93:4 94:3 95:25	trends 39:15,16	101:25 102:24	112:18 113:23
18:11,14 19:17	96:7,21 99:19	trickle 102:4	103:4,11	122:16 140:3
20:2,25 21:10	100:22 103:8	trickles 126:17	106:20 107:3,9	140:11
21:16,21,25	104:10,13	tried 50:24 77:18	109:25 110:19	understandable
22:12,13,13,14	108:12 109:22	Trish 109:2	111:12 112:10	19:5 34:23
22:15,15,22	111:1 113:21	110:13,15,17	113:3 119:14	understanding
23:2,4,9,16,17	114:4 115:7,16	troubling 40:8	141:4,9 143:19	38:3,12,16,25
29:22,24 49:23	117:6 121:18	109:19	two-for-one	44:21 70:13
53:16,21 54:13	122:4 124:6	Troy 126:2	17:22	86:1 113:17
54:16,18 56:16	125:18 129:24	127:14	two-map 124:1	understands
57:12 60:20,20	132:5 133:4	true 52:18 93:23	two-thirds 22:2	40:10 111:18
63:24 64:4 65:2	143:7,22 144:1	96:10 147:2	105:23	139:2
65:5,8 66:4,5	144:2	truly 9:10	type 58:8,9 72:6	understood 25:2
67:13 68:3	today's 3:23 4:2	trumps 22:14,14	85:3	40:6 41:13 48:9
80:23 81:8,9,13	4:21,23 115:5	trust 74:25		62:9 85:16
81:14,20,22,22	told 32:20 131:9	try 39:14 41:16	U	unequivocally
82:14,14 83:19	tomorrow 141:18	58:14 70:13	U.S 8:12 35:19,21	48:13
84:14,16,18,25	top 141:23	79:8 81:19	41:4,14 66:9	unfair 102:5
85:7 97:19	topic 45:1	112:20 139:14	125:20 131:3	110:9 116:22
			Ukrainians	

unfortunate 95:17 107:1	vast 135:21	visualize 53:9	70:12,20,21	87:9 96:10,11
unfortunately 40:3 96:2	vein 97:17	visually 10:10	71:2,13,23,24	96:16 100:8,23
119:17,24	version 8:8	19:1,4 56:15	72:4,11,15,25	102:3,24 116:6
140:16	versions 11:13	vital 132:16	73:21 75:22,22	118:13 122:7
unincorporated 55:24 66:11	12:1	voice 93:6 98:19	75:25 76:13,19	126:9,14,15,20
unintended 21:14	versus 52:24	102:17 113:5	80:17 85:19,21	127:5,9 129:13
union 100:3	97:25	115:7,8 118:12	86:2,3,5,9,12	137:6,25
117:5	veteran 104:6	122:3 129:24	95:23 98:4,5	138:22 143:3,3
United 11:21	125:20	voices 98:20	99:11 100:2,24	143:6,11
15:3 27:16	veto 4:1 10:18	128:12	101:24 102:12	144:20
78:19 96:4	11:11 13:24	vote 71:16 94:20	107:23 109:25	wanted 21:1,13
104:6,10	14:2,11,13 23:8	95:18 99:10	111:8 113:25	25:1 46:18 52:2
105:11 126:14	23:11 25:17	101:4 102:2,13	120:17 132:7	97:22 101:25
unity 136:15	26:7,21 30:15	104:16 106:2	134:14 136:4	113:5 138:23
unlawful 28:19	42:6 43:4,9,11	117:21 118:4	142:4	wants 24:17
unnecessarily 140:18	43:13 136:23	118:10,12	vulnerable 93:9	102:8 107:24
unprecedented 109:15 115:10	vetoed 3:11 46:13	122:2 123:13	W	107:24 108:1
uphold 108:14,16	94:11 107:7	126:25 127:3	wage 117:23	123:23 141:15
upward 139:24	109:14	128:23 129:11	Wagner 91:14	war 126:13,18
urban 53:4	vetted 94:10	129:12 137:19	waiting 13:21	warriors 99:13
urge 123:13	Vice 2:7 40:21	146:3	waive 3:7 112:12	Washington 1:24
urging 124:7	66:25 145:24	voted 46:4 99:23	115:23 116:11	wasn't 32:25
usage 13:7 17:3,4	145:25	116:13	Waives 115:25	73:17
18:13,14 21:3	video 103:19	voter 75:21	waiving 89:25	wasting 97:6
56:16	view 20:15	102:11 117:8	90:4,6,8,10,12	watching 103:12
use 17:1 32:9,12	villages 71:10	117:19	90:14,16,19,21	water 131:25
35:21 50:24	142:9	voter's 121:24	90:23 91:1,5,7	waterways 17:4
64:18 66:5	violate 23:14,18	voters 11:22 15:4	91:9,11,13,15	18:12
69:15 82:11	35:22 81:20	27:6 38:7,9	91:17,18,20,23	way 8:11 18:10
102:7,7 106:3	84:18 85:19,21	39:4 43:7 57:24	91:25 92:1	20:9 22:25 23:1
utilities 105:18	88:3 98:1	57:25 102:11	114:21	23:13 24:6 27:2
utilize 57:10 81:3	107:22	116:15 117:17	wake 95:7	27:4 29:13,15
utilized 23:18	violated 67:13	124:20 128:12	walk 5:4 10:9	33:17,21 35:16
58:22 73:19	85:6 134:1	128:18 130:9	17:16 68:16	38:20 39:21
V	violates 11:20	131:13,18,22	walked 25:19	41:24 42:6
v 1:4	15:2 25:9 26:10	133:8,10	walking 23:19	53:14 57:8,22
Val 66:24 71:8	27:5 78:18	votes 135:13	wall 54:10,12	58:23,24 61:23
Van 112:8,11	83:20 111:8	138:4	Wallace 136:18	63:3 66:1 71:24
various 10:5,7	142:2,3	voting 7:23,24	Walter 129:18	76:21 78:20
74:14	violating 33:23	30:21 31:6,22	130:18,21,23	80:12,14 81:4,8
	35:19 109:25	34:8,10,14,14	131:1,2	81:18 86:13
	violation 26:1	35:25 36:8	want 6:18 12:7	89:10 94:7
	27:15	38:16,17 39:3	14:16 34:6	101:22 102:5
	visible 17:25 21:4	58:7 63:17 68:7	40:15 46:2 47:4	123:3 140:15
	visual 13:5 20:13	68:14 69:3,16	50:9 51:8 53:17	ways 9:24 10:5
	20:16,17 77:12	70:1,2,6,7,8,12	69:19 84:5 87:8	11:15 17:23

29:10,10 30:12 54:14 67:14 80:23 we'll 8:1 19:2 20:17 26:22 54:15 59:5 88:13 94:23 106:11 116:8 123:4 127:14 131:10 135:15 we're 13:21 24:5 25:24 34:21 40:16 46:3 47:10 48:24 49:6 52:13 54:11 55:15 60:20 62:14 73:1 74:13 75:11,13 82:22 83:15,24,24 84:4,6 89:23 90:13,22 92:4,5 92:7,11 93:10 94:18 96:3,3,3 101:23 114:2 116:4,6 119:13 122:14 137:22 143:6,10,17 144:17 we've 7:4,25 35:12 41:12,13 41:17 49:8 73:2 82:11 94:15 109:13,22 114:4 115:1 116:5 Webber 131:12 131:14,16,17 132:24 website 10:23 week 4:5 105:22 141:18 weeks 7:3 weighing 33:10 weighting 33:9 weird 112:19,21	Welch 96:23 99:1 99:3,5,7,8,8,10 Weldon 128:2 129:8 well-thought-out 25:23 went 14:12 23:7 39:10 47:15,18 48:4 65:4 weren't 60:19 99:17 139:22 west 48:5 51:6,25 56:23 66:20,21 71:8 whammy 141:8 whatsoever 65:22 Whitfield 101:15 103:2,4,6,7 104:25 Whitney 112:8 113:1,4,5 wholly 56:21 Williams 117:2 118:20 119:2 willingness 97:11 win 121:8 Winter 68:23,23 80:20 Wisconsin 6:23 wise 77:22 wishing 3:4 withdrawn 89:22 Wogen 112:9 113:1,3,4,5 Women 133:7,10 wonder 93:23 wonderful 122:22 wondering 107:9 135:12 word 77:4 words 7:23 9:1 18:9 43:3 44:1 72:10 112:13 work 6:3,15,16	7:19 10:20 20:8 21:12 24:25,25 40:6 41:19 56:6 57:8 66:10 82:21 worked 7:5 10:16 24:10 56:8 58:23,23 69:7 107:3 144:21 worker 117:4 workers 105:14 118:12,14 working 56:23 100:5 105:12 105:17 107:10 works 111:13 world 89:7 94:19 118:10 worlds 89:7 Wormer 112:8 112:11 worries 106:18 worth 142:5 worthwhile 53:21 wouldn't 72:15 76:15,17 writer 119:5 written 43:4 wrong 24:5 96:1 144:1,18 wrote 43:13 119:8,12 138:11	131:3 139:6 140:4,10 141:19 yeas 89:15 yelling 118:9 yield 24:15 yielding 55:1 York 115:12	134:1 138:2 144:8,12,14 1-2 11:4 1.5 18:7 10 9:16 15:18 16:7,14 25:9,20 25:20 26:13 27:4,17 30:23 31:4 34:24,25 35:14 36:1,7,8 37:11 38:4,17 40:11 60:8,17 61:3,5,7,8,11,14 66:15,19 67:19 67:22,25 68:2,6 68:20,23 69:1 69:23 70:23 72:23 75:8 80:8 80:12,15,19 82:25 86:1,14 86:18 92:24,25 101:21 110:23 120:7 121:21 123:11,19 136:12 141:14 141:19 102 6:1 11:14 45:22 46:12 109 12:10,24 45:23,24,24 54:11 75:24,24 79:12 112:22 113:6 115:3 10th 87:14 94:2 11 16:21 68:24 80:25 11.5 18:8 12 54:23,25 55:7 55:11 73:24 75:25 77:2 12.5 18:7,8 12th 3:14 13 57:1,7,22,22 63:19 66:2,7,8 87:18 14 53:8 57:2,7,9
			Z	
			Zephyrhills 55:9 Zion 92:22 Zonia 103:3 104:24 105:4 zoom 20:17 21:5 zooming 50:10 56:18 ZsaZsa 105:2 106:8	
			0	
			0.2 18:25 0079 6:19,21 9:21 0094 7:2 9:21 16:23 0109 5:20 7:9 9:11 10:22 15:11 16:24 18:19 19:6 45:25 76:15,19 79:13,14,20 115:3 019 111:2	
			1	
			1 4:25 10:2 22:13 22:13,15,22 23:2,4,9,16,17 29:22,24 51:15 60:20 64:4 65:2 65:8 67:13 68:12 81:9,13 81:14,20,22 82:14 83:20 84:14,16,18,25 85:7 103:16 104:1 133:16	
		X		
		Y		
		yea 89:14 Yeah 38:24 48:12 80:1 year 6:11 47:21 year's 124:1 years 39:19 47:7 61:11 101:23 111:11 117:24 120:7 123:11		

57:22,23 58:7 63:15,19 66:2,9 69:23 87:17 99:22 141,000 55:2 14th 11:21 15:2 25:9 26:10 78:19 85:17 15 55:3,7,7,9 66:3 117:5 150 123:11 16 19:8 54:21 57:13,13,16 66:3 17 17:20 55:13 111:10 1730 1:24 1773 120:24 18 5:24 6:4,6 10:10 17:9,20 22:1,3 56:4 136:5 19 1:12 2:1 66:9 100:6 120:7 19-whatever 139:10 1960 121:22 1965 98:4 100:2 102:12 1982 136:4	80:23 81:8,23 82:14 97:19 98:4 99:22 117:22,22 118:5 144:11 144:11 2-adherent 68:3 2-C 3:19 4:25 5:19 9:11 45:24 49:17 111:2 112:22 113:6 115:3 130:7 137:19 145:2 146:3 20 97:24 110:6 124:22 20-25 10:3 200 51:21,23 52:3 20036 1:24 2009 117:20 2010 110:2 124:20 128:15 2015 47:15 2016 24:4 47:16 2017 114:7 2018 138:13 202 1:25 2020 39:8 2022 1:12 2:1 20th 136:2 21 53:9 124:22 232-0646 1:25 25.96 68:11 25.98 68:11 26 10:5 68:9,12 71:25 72:1 26-something 70:4,5 27 10:3 68:8 28 5:24 10:3 70:8 72:2 295 50:21	30-second 135:1 31.66 76:19,20 33 82:8 35 73:22,22 76:3 78:11 35.32 76:14 <hr/> 4 <hr/> 4 12:11,15 50:3 50:12,22 76:18 76:23 77:19,22 79:17 4-5 49:7 4:22-cv-109 1:4 4:27 137:19 144:24 4:30 4:17 134:25 40 116:5 <hr/> 5 <hr/> 5 4:17 8:8 11:14 11:18 12:11,15 15:1 23:7 25:8 26:13 27:2,13 27:14 30:22 31:3,5 32:9,14 32:23,24 34:24 35:14,14,25 42:18,20 43:23 44:7,8 47:5,5,9 47:25 48:4 50:4 51:20,24 52:4 59:21 60:9,17 60:18 61:16,20 66:14 75:2,7,24 75:25 76:12,15 77:1,17,21 78:2 82:15,25 85:15 85:16,20 86:10 86:14,14,18 87:12 99:10 101:6 103:7,8 110:23 114:13 114:14 128:4 128:16 130:4 131:19 136:12 139:5 140:17	5's 76:13 50 38:8,17 39:11 39:22,24 72:11 111:5 117:15 123:18 128:11 57 101:23 58 101:23 5th 97:2 <hr/> 6 <hr/> 6 16:20 101:6 128:16 60 136:5 60s 100:18 139:10 644248 89:20 <hr/> 7 <hr/> 7/10 68:13 80:16 70 139:10 713 99:11 <hr/> 8 <hr/> 8 110:6 8/10 68:13 80:16 8011 9:23 13:12 15:14,17 8015 46:11 8019 6:2 7:15 10:17,20 46:2,3 46:10 76:3,12 76:13 8060 13:14 15:15 812 1:24 <hr/> 9 <hr/> 9 68:20 80:24 90s 47:20 917356 87:2	
---	---	--	--	--

Common Cause, et al.)
)
v.) 4:22-cv-109
)
Cord Byrd)
)

TRANSCRIPTION OF VIDEO RECORDING
HOUSE CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING SUBCOMMITTEE
APRIL 19, 2022

DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP
1730 M Street, NW, Suite 812
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 232-0646

1 APRIL 19, 2022

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: The Congressional

3 Redistricting Subcommittee will come to order.

4 DJ, please call the roll.

5 THE CLERK: Chair Sirois.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Here.

7 THE CLERK: Vice Chair Tuck.

8 VICE CHAIR TUCK: Here.

9 THE CLERK: Ranking Member Skidmore.

10 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Here.

11 THE CLERK: Representatives Benjamin.

12 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Here.

13 THE CLERK: Brown.

14 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Here.

15 THE CLERK: Fabricio.

16 REPRESENTATIVE FABRICIO: Here.

17 THE CLERK: Fetterhoff.

18 REPRESENTATIVE FETTERHOFF: Here.

19 THE CLERK: Harding.

20 REPRESENTATIVE HARDING: Here.

21 THE CLERK: Hunschofsky.

22 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Here.

23 THE CLERK: Joseph. Joseph.

24 Latvala.

25 REPRESENTATIVE LATVALA: Here.

1 THE CLERK: Maggard.
2 REPRESENTATIVE MAGGARD: Here.
3 THE CLERK: Massullo. Massullo.
4 McClure.
5 REPRESENTATIVE MCCLURE: I'm here.
6 THE CLERK: Morales.
7 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Present.
8 THE CLERK: Perez.
9 REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ: Here.
10 THE CLERK: Plakon.
11 REPRESENTATIVE PLAKON: Here.
12 THE CLERK: Silvers has been excused.
13 Trabulsy.
14 REPRESENTATIVE TRABULSY: Here.
15 THE CLERK: Truenow.
16 REPRESENTATIVE TRUENOW: Here.
17 THE CLERK: Williamson.
18 REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAMSON: Here.
19 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Driskell.
20 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Here.
21 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Leek.
22 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: Here.
23 THE CLERK: Quorum is present, Mr. Chair.
24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much, DJ.
25 Members, a few reminders before we begin.

1 Please silence all electronic devices, and if you're
2 here today to give public testimony, please take
3 time now to fill out an appearance form and turn it
4 into the Sergeant staff.

5 As a reminder for our members and speakers
6 today, please turn your microphone on when you are
7 speaking and off when you are finished.

8 Members, welcome back to special session.
9 We have a lot of work ahead of us today. So let's
10 jump right in.

11 For those of you who may be tuning in for
12 the first time and as a refresher for the rest of
13 it, I'd like to first take a moment to recap. We
14 began our redistricting process back in September of
15 2021. Since then, we've debuted a website, a map
16 drawing application, and held numerous committee
17 meetings.

18 On March 4th, the House and Senate both
19 passed Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 102.
20 Now, from there, unlike what happens in our state
21 legislative redistricting maps that receive Florida
22 Supreme Court review, our congressional
23 redistricting maps do not receive court review and
24 instead move like a normal bill, which means they
25 are sent to the Governor for approval or veto.

1 On March 29th, the bill was sent to the
2 Governor, who vetoed it the same day, citing
3 concerns with the United States Constitution. That
4 same day, he issued a proclamation, calling the
5 Legislature into special session to resolve these
6 concerns and established Florida's 28 congressional
7 districts to be used in the upcoming election cycle.

8 Chair Leek and I received a briefing from
9 the Governor's Office about their proposed map. It
10 is my understanding that the Senator received a
11 similar briefing. I'm glad to inform everyone that
12 the Governor's Office is joining us today to provide
13 that same briefing to all Committee members and the
14 public, as well as be available for questions about
15 the proposed map.

16 As the Speaker, as well as the Senate
17 President, have stated, our goal during special
18 session is to pass a new congressional map that will
19 both earn the Governor's signature and withstand
20 legal scrutiny, if challenged. This elected body is
21 responsible to the citizens of Florida to complete
22 our constitutional obligation to pass a
23 congressional map.

24 Now, let's talk about the flow and the
25 roadmap for today's meeting. We have one bill on

1 the agenda for consideration, House Bill 1-C by
2 Representative Leek. I want to assure members and
3 the public that I intend to allow for enough time
4 for members to ask questions, to hear public
5 testimony, and to allow for debate. I'll be
6 tracking our time closely this afternoon and will
7 keep the Committee informed as we move along.

8 Shortly, I will recognize Representative
9 Leek to explain his bill, which contains the
10 proposed congressional map, P-000C0109. As you may
11 be aware, 10 districts of this map are from our
12 previously passed legislative map, and 18 of the
13 districts are being newly proposed by the Governor's
14 Office.

15 Seeing as the House did not have a role in
16 drawing those districts proposed by the Governor, we
17 have invited their team to be present today to
18 explain the map and answer questions from members
19 afterwards. As is normal, we will move into public
20 testimony and member debate before taking a vote on
21 House Bill 1-C.

22 I'd like to take a moment to also address
23 decorum. There's been a lot of chatter,
24 speculation, and name calling over the last several
25 weeks in anticipation of this special session and

1 the new proposed map that we'll be considering
2 today. I want to be very clear. Today's meeting
3 with proceed with professionalism, civility, and the
4 decorum that Floridians expect of this legislative
5 body. Members of this Committee and the public
6 alike will keep their emotions and opinions
7 respectable and thoughtful and not engage in
8 personal or partisan attacks.

9 As we've talked about since last fall,
10 there is no single correct redistricting map. There
11 is no such thing as the best map. We are here to
12 consider the next map that will govern elections in
13 Florida for the next decade, and that is no small
14 feat.

15 The last housekeeping item before we
16 transition into our bill presentation is that,
17 members, in front of you is the data packet for map
18 P-000C0109. Similar to the packet produced for
19 previous maps we reviewed, this packet contains
20 information such as county and city splits,
21 compactness scores, and functional analysis data.
22 The bill text is also here in front of DJ in this
23 binder if you would like to review it.

24 Members, up for consideration today is
25 House Bill 1-C, establishing congressional districts

1 of the state. And as we've done for every other map
2 presentation, I will ask you to hold questions until
3 all districts have been explained to ensure we get
4 through a description of the entire state, and no
5 one region is rushed.

6 Representative Leek, you are now recognized
7 to present House Bill 1-C.

8 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: Thank you,
9 Chair Sirois.

10 Before I dive into the map itself, I want
11 to echo Chair Sirois' comments from earlier. We as
12 legislators should feel a strong sense of
13 responsibility for passing redistricting maps out of
14 this body. A narrative has started to proliferate
15 that the Legislature has somehow ceded its map
16 drawing responsibility to the Governor. I find that
17 to be a false narrative and incorrect on its face.

18 We have not ceded any responsibility. In
19 fact, we have not -- we have done a responsibility
20 once by passing maps during the regular session, and
21 we will complete it again during this special
22 session. The Governor has also fulfilled his
23 responsibility and chose to veto our maps for
24 reasons I believe his team will elaborate on today.

25 Both branches of government have a role in

1 this process just like with any other bill. The
2 only abdication of responsibility would be if we
3 threw our hands up and sent an impasse to the
4 courts, allowing them or third parties, all of whom
5 are unelected, to draw our maps.

6 Instead, we have chosen to stay at the
7 table, continue the conversation, and hear out the
8 Governor and work together because that is not only
9 -- not only our responsibility but what Floridians
10 expect of us as their legislators.

11 Our goal for special session is to produce
12 a work product that is legislatively passed and
13 executively signed. It's through that lens that I
14 hope we will all move forward with today's meeting.

15 Now, on to the presentation. Today, we
16 will be presenting map P-000C0109. This is the map
17 reflected in the data packet in front of you, as
18 well as being posted on
19 www.FloridaRedistricting.gov.

20 As Chair Sirois mentioned, 10 of the
21 districts in this map are exact copies of districts
22 that the Legislature passed during the regular
23 session. Those are Congressional Districts 1, 2,
24 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 28. You can see
25 those here on our screen.

1 The new proposed districts that will be
2 presented by the Governor's Office today consists of
3 Congressional Districts 3-19 and 26, as now seen on
4 the screen. Given the new proposed districts are
5 the focus of today's meeting, I would like to ask
6 Chair Sirois to recognize the Governor's Office to
7 explain these districts.

8 I'm more than happy to take questions on
9 the Legislature's districts after the presentation
10 but don't want to use our limited time redescribing
11 configurations we've all previously heard several
12 times.

13 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much,
14 Representative Leek.

15 Representative Skidmore?

16 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
17 you, Mr. Chair.

18 I'd like to move that the Governor's staff
19 be put under oath while testifying in the
20 Subcommittee today.

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Skidmore,
22 first of all, that procedure would be different from
23 any of the testimony that we received in our
24 Committee thus far, and as far as my length of
25 service in the Legislature, I think that that would

1 be an extraordinary step that I don't feel is
2 necessary and, frankly, I find absurd to seek to put
3 a member of another branch of our government under
4 oath.

5 So that is not well received by me, and as
6 Chair, I will choose to decline your request.

7 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE:
8 Follow-up?

9 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Mr. Chair, point of
10 --

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Skidmore.

12 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
13 you, Mr. Chair.

14 Pursuant to Rule 7.2, we have the ability
15 to move to have members or guests who are testifying
16 in Committee to be put under oath, and I feel that
17 it is a fair motion under the circumstances. And
18 I'd like us to move through that process with a --
19 if we could get a second and a vote on it.

20 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: I second.

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

22 Representative Skidmore, again, I'm going
23 to voice that I think that that is an extraordinary
24 and unnecessary step for us to take. But I will put
25 it to this Committee.

1 But as we move forward, I think it's a good
2 point to point out the tone for today's Committee
3 meeting. This is a state house, not a courthouse,
4 and that's how I intend to proceed with this
5 Committee today. So in the spirit of working with
6 you and moving our process forward, I will put that
7 to the vote of a Committee, and I will ask for a
8 voice vote.

9 Those in favor of putting the witness
10 providing testimony today under oath please indicate
11 so by saying aye.

12 (Multiple yeas).

13 And those opposed, please say no.

14 (Multiple nos)

15 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: In the judgment of the
16 Chair, the nos have it.

17 We'll now proceed.

18 Representative Driskell.

19 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: (Indiscernible)

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: All right. On the motion
21 that we just voted on, seeing two hands on the
22 motion that we just had a voice vote on, DJ, I would
23 ask you to call the roll.

24 THE CLERK: Chair Sirois.

25 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: No.

1 THE CLERK: Representatives Benjamin.
2 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Yes.
3 THE CLERK: Brown.
4 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Yes.
5 THE CLERK: Fabricio.
6 REPRESENTATIVE FABRICIO: No.
7 THE CLERK: Fetterhoff.
8 REPRESENTATIVE FETTERHOFF: No.
9 THE CLERK: Harding.
10 REPRESENTATIVE HARDING: No.
11 THE CLERK: Hunschofsky.
12 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Yes.
13 THE CLERK: Joseph.
14 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Yes for
15 transparency.
16 THE CLERK: Latvala.
17 REPRESENTATIVE LATVALA: No.
18 THE CLERK: Maggard.
19 REPRESENTATIVE MAGGARD: No.
20 THE CLERK: Massullo.
21 REPRESENTATIVE MASSULLO: No.
22 THE CLERK: McClure.
23 REPRESENTATIVE MCCLURE: No.
24 THE CLERK: Morales. Morales.
25 UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Daisy, you have to

1 vote.

2 THE CLERK: Perez.

3 REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ: No.

4 THE CLERK: Plakon.

5 Silvers has been excused.

6 Skidmore.

7 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Yes.

8 THE CLERK: Trabulsy.

9 REPRESENTATIVE TRABULSY: No.

10 THE CLERK: Truenow.

11 REPRESENTATIVE TRUENOW: No.

12 THE CLERK: Tuck.

13 VICE CHAIR TUCK: No.

14 THE CLERK: Williamson.

15 REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAMSON: No.

16 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Driskell.

17 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Yes.

18 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Leek.

19 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: No.

20 THE CLERK: Six yeas, fifteen nays,

21 Mr. Chair.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, DJ.

23 Members, the motion fails.

24 The Governor's Office is recognized, and if

25 you would please identify yourself, sir, for the

1 Committee and the record that would be appreciated.

2 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

3 I'm Alex Kelly with the Executive Office of
4 the Governor, and I'm a deputy chief of staff for
5 the Governor. And I should say apologies for the
6 PowerPoint. Obviously, I made the PowerPoint before
7 House Bill 1-C was filed. So obviously, I'll be
8 speaking to House Bill 1-C and I guess obviously the
9 identical content of Senate Bill 2-C today. But
10 that's it again. Thank --

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly, I'm sorry to
12 interrupt you. If you could pull that microphone a
13 little bit closer and just speak up a little bit.

14 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, my apology.

15 Again, thank you, member -- thank you --
16 thank you, Mr. Chair, members, and thank you for
17 this opportunity to present the views of the
18 Executive Office of the Governor on the -- the
19 proposed congressional reapportionment plan and to
20 discuss our work and our contributions to this
21 compromise plan.

22 Just to give you a very brief introduction,
23 you know. Frequently today, I'll refer to
24 improvements in the plan, and I think obviously the
25 Chair and the -- and the sponsor gave a great

1 introduction to the plan. I'll be really speaking
2 to just the 18 districts that are different,
3 although sometimes I'll very generically refer to
4 the plan as a whole. But I really am really
5 referring to our specific and my specific
6 contributions to those 18 districts.

7 And oftentimes throughout the presentation,
8 I will compare very specifically this plan, Plan
9 0109, to the primary plan the Legislature passed,
10 Plan 8019. Although there are some instances where
11 I'll refer to both, and I'll try to remember to
12 identify both when I'm making a comment that
13 definitely refers to both.

14 So for the purpose of my introduction, so I
15 am the map drawer of the 18 districts in this plan.
16 Obviously, I assumed that context would be helpful.
17 So I am the map drawer of these districts, and to
18 give you just a little bit of background of myself,
19 10 years ago, I was the staff director of the House
20 Redistricting Committee here in the Florida House of
21 Representatives.

22 Starting in January this year, I initially
23 served for our office in a role of just providing
24 guidance and oversight to our in-house counsel and
25 our contract counsel and also a contract map drawer

1 that we brought on board to help initially start our
2 engagement in this process.

3 For reference, that contract map drawer
4 that we brought on board -- his name is Adam Foltz
5 -- the initial map that we submitted on behalf of
6 our office, map 0079, was drawn by -- was authored
7 by Mr. Foltz. For just a little context for his
8 background, he has been a map drawer for state
9 Legislatures in Wisconsin and Texas, and actually
10 currently he's drawing maps for the state of Texas
11 at this present time.

12 Much like your professional staff, myself,
13 our map drawer who drew our original map, map 0079,
14 we've only drawn maps on behalf of state government.
15 Adam Foltz and I collaborated on our office's second
16 contribution, map 0094, and, again, I alone authored
17 the 18 changes -- the 18 districts that are changed
18 in the map before you today and as to how they
19 compare to map 8019.

20 Some additional notes I'll point out at the
21 outset that will be helpful for today, one, no one
22 directed me to favor or disfavor a political party
23 or incumbent throughout this process, and I did not
24 draw any districts or make any districts or make any
25 contributions with the intent of favoring or

1 disfavoring a political party or an incumbent.

2 Two, in drawing any of the districts
3 submitted by our office, I did not consider or even
4 look at political data, including party
5 registration, voter data. In other words, I do not
6 know the voting history or party registration
7 numbers for any of the districts that I have drawn.

8 With that said, the only time I did
9 reference political data in my work was early in the
10 process. I did -- I did reference political data
11 early in the process when we were observing the work
12 of the Legislature and we were identifying whether
13 or not it was possible to draw a compact African
14 American performing district in Northeast -- in
15 Northeast Florida to both try to comply with the
16 U.S. Constitution and the State Constitution and
17 apply -- comply with the State Constitution in the
18 way that the Florida Supreme Court has interpreted
19 it and the way this Legislature has implemented it.

20 So essentially, I took a look at whether or
21 not it was possible to sort of check all the boxes,
22 so to speak, with complying with the U.S.
23 Constitution and the State Constitution in drawing a
24 more compact minority performing district.
25 Ultimately, I determined it was not possible to do

1 so.

2 Three, in drawing the compromised plan that
3 you -- that you have before you here today in this
4 legislation and contributing to office's two prior
5 proposals and in the totality of our office's
6 engagement in this process, I have not in any way
7 consulted with anyone outside the Executive Office
8 of the Governor, our contract counsel, our contract
9 map drawer, the Legislature, and its counsel. So
10 I've only worked within the parties here in the
11 House, Senate, and our office and our contract
12 counsel.

13 In other words, I can confirm -- said
14 differently, I can confirm that I've had no
15 discussions with any political consultant, no
16 partisan operative, no political party official
17 concerning any plans proposed by our office and
18 plans considered by the Legislature. In effect, I
19 have engaged in this process, including authoring
20 this proposed compromise plan, in a manner that
21 meets the same high standards that you set forth for
22 your professional staff.

23 And this plan that you're considering today
24 in House Bill 1-C, Plan 0109, is indeed a
25 compromise. It is the product of consultation and

1 collaboration between our office and House and
2 Senate leadership, and it incorporates portions of
3 the plan passed by the Legislature.

4 As Chair Leek noted, Senate Bill 102,
5 Primary Plan 8019, concepts, of course, from 10
6 districts are included block for block in their
7 entirety in this map. This compromise plan also
8 includes concepts from our two prior office's
9 submissions, Plan 0079 and 0094.

10 It also includes concepts from the map that
11 was actually referred out of this Subcommittee, map
12 -- or Plan 8011 prior to -- or I guess out of this
13 Subcommittee on its way to the full committee and
14 aligns in several other ways that I'll describe with
15 plans considered and the style of the House and
16 Senate's map drawing.

17 As we noted -- in fact, I think, Chair
18 Leek, you did a great job of really summarizing this
19 slide. So I can probably just -- probably just skip
20 this. But, you know, again, in general, the main
21 crux of it is that I'm going to really focus my
22 comments today on the 18 districts that did change.

23 First, in an effort to create a
24 collaborative product, I worked off the
25 Legislature's primary plan 8019. So while I was

1 seeking to remedy the Governor's veto message and
2 make improvements throughout the map, I began my
3 work downloading Plan 8019 and subsequently making
4 changes.

5 Regarding the proposed plan before you
6 today, it maintains the same number of performing
7 majority-minority seats. It retains the
8 Legislature's exact configuration as was shown in
9 the map of the Panhandle districts and also
10 Southeast Florida, essentially St. Lucie through
11 Monroe Counties.

12 For reasons set forth in the detailed
13 memorandum that -- I think it may have been
14 distributed to the members prior to the meeting --
15 the detailed memorandum that our general counsel
16 wrote to accompany the Governor's veto message, the
17 compromise proposal eliminates the racially
18 gerrymandered versions of Congressional District 5,
19 which were included in Senate Bill 102, both the
20 primary plan and the secondary plan. Members, that
21 legal memorandum is included -- again, I think
22 hopefully it's been distributed. That legal
23 memorandum is available.

24 In summary, Congressional District 5 in
25 both the primary and secondary maps enacted by the

1 Legislature violates the Equal Protection Clause of
2 the United States Constitution because it assigns
3 voters primarily on the basis of race but is not
4 narrowly tailored to achieving -- to achieve a
5 compelling state interest.

6 Again, that memorandum otherwise fully
7 explains the Governor's legal objections to both
8 versions of that district in the primary and
9 secondary maps as it passed the Legislature.

10 I will say because I am the map drawer, I
11 am not legal counsel to the Governor. I'm going to
12 be careful to really focus my comments today on the
13 drawing of the map and not venture into that legal
14 world. It's a little beyond -- it's probably a
15 little beyond my training. So I'm really going to
16 -- going to focus on the map itself and those 18
17 districts.

18 Plan 0109 creates two new districts,
19 Districts 4 and 5, in Northeast Florida consistent
20 with maps previously proposed by our office with
21 some minor improvements. These two districts are
22 race neutral and overall more compacts than
23 Districts 4 or 5 in the maps passed by the
24 Legislature.

25 In addition to resolving federal

1 constitutional objections raised by the Governor,
2 the proposed compromise plan makes overall
3 improvements with respect to Tier 2 redistricting
4 criteria relative to the maps passed by the
5 Legislature by bringing together some of the best
6 concepts from the Legislature's prior maps and our
7 office's maps.

8 Plan 0109 adjusts the congressional
9 districts in Tampa, for example, the Tampa Bay area
10 and the larger Gulf Region, stretching from Citrus
11 down to Lee Counties and impacting some inland
12 counties to create a hybrid compromise of the
13 Legislature's and our office's maps.

14 These changes improve overall visual
15 compactness, have a net effect of reducing a county
16 split, and significantly increase the usage of Tier
17 2 political and geographical boundary lines.

18 In the Central Florida region, Plan 0109
19 aligns more closely with the map that was referred
20 out of this Subcommittee, Plan 8011, with one
21 distinction that aligns with Senate Plan 8060 as it
22 passed the Senate.

23 With respect to the similarities with the
24 House's Plan 8011, specifically with respect to
25 Congressional District 10, we accept the position

1 articulated by the House's professional staff in
2 this Subcommittee in that meeting, that this
3 district is not subject to the Florida
4 Constitution's non-diminishment standard because the
5 benchmark district does not contain an African
6 American population sufficient enough, large enough
7 to reliably elect a candidate of their choice.

8 We understand that the House and Senate
9 disagree on this point. However, because districts
10 cannot be drawn on the basis of race unless there is
11 a compelling reason to do so, the absence of
12 agreement between the House and Senate on the need
13 to treat District 10 as a minority protected
14 district under the State Constitution indicates that
15 a compelling basis for using race is lacking.
16 Essentially, the disagreement between the two
17 chambers, as articulated in the testimony, is a
18 reason for a lack of evidence.

19 Accordingly, the proposed plan defers to
20 the House's stated testimony in that Committee
21 meeting or Subcommittee meeting, and my changes to
22 the districts in Central Florida region, including
23 District 10, are drawn on race -- on race neutral
24 principles.

25 Again, these changes in Central Florida

1 result in Tier 2 improvements for the Central
2 Florida region. And the combination of these
3 changes in Central Florida and the Gulf Coast
4 counties result in some additional Tier 2
5 improvements for other impacted districts like
6 Districts 3, 6, and 11.

7 Lastly, in-between the submission of our
8 office's second map, Plan 0094, and my drawing of
9 this plan, 0109, I received feedback from House and
10 Senate staff regarding our second maps overreliance
11 on the boundaries of census-designated places. I
12 was encouraged to follow the House and Senate's
13 preferred methodology of boundary usage to increase
14 our usage of major roadways, waterways, and railways
15 for Tier 2 compliance.

16 Our second map closely adhered to county
17 and city lines. So that was not a concern, although
18 less frequently to the other Tier 2 recognized
19 boundaries. Therefore, throughout these 18 revised
20 districts, I adopted the Legislature's -- the House
21 and Senate's preferred and clear articulation of
22 Tier 2 compliance. So even where I was trying to
23 articulate a general concept from one of our
24 office's prior maps, I made such revisions using the
25 Legislature's preferred approach to Tier 2

1 compliance.

2 In the next few slides, I'll just walk you
3 through some key points regarding those Tier 2
4 improvements. First, the proposed plan reduces by
5 one the number of county splits from 18 to 17 by
6 keeping Citrus and Sarasota Counties whole in lieu
7 of Polk, effectively a two-for-one swap.

8 Furthermore, where there are county splits,
9 the number of ways in which those counties are split
10 is reduced. For example, probably the most visible
11 of those changes in a larger county is reducing the
12 number of districts within a portion of Hillsborough
13 County from four to three.

14 Second, the proposed plan reduced reliance
15 on nongeographic and nonpolitical boundaries from
16 12.5 percent to 11.5 percent, not a significant
17 difference but nonetheless showing that effort to
18 again utilize more frequently, well-recognized
19 political and geographical boundary lines in that
20 Tier 2 manner. In other words, when I mentioned
21 previously that I adopted the House and Senate's
22 preferred way to articulate compliance, this is the
23 result of that.

24 Third, although the mean compactness scores
25 are largely equivalent to each other when comparing

1 my efforts in map 0109 and Plan 8019 as passed by
2 the Legislature, the proposed plan improves the
3 compactness score of the least compact district such
4 that Plan 0109 would be, I believe, the first map
5 considered by the Legislature where every district
6 has a Reock and Polsby-Popper score greater than
7 0.2.

8 I should say, moreover, visually we'll see
9 in a few moments many of the districts are plainly
10 just more circular, squared, more visually compact
11 shapes that are more easily understandable.

12 Lastly, my changes to Plan 0109 stayed
13 equal to the Legislature's achievement of only
14 splitting 16 cities in primary plan 8019. There are
15 some differences about which cities are split when
16 comparing my revisions to the map passed by the
17 Legislature, specifically I keep Cape Coral, Plant
18 City, and Port Orange whole, whereas the Legislature
19 kept Lakeland, St. Pete, and Longboat Key whole.

20 What I did take care to do in each of those
21 cases was first to make sure that if there was a
22 city split in that sort of three cities for three
23 cities swap, to make sure that those cities
24 nonetheless were still only contained within two
25 districts, as the way the Legislature did, as the

1 way you did.

2 And additional -- and additionally, I tried
3 to make sure that those city splits still made
4 meaningful use of other Tier 2 metrics. For
5 example, as you know, Longboat Key is one of four
6 cities in the state that is itself split across two
7 different county lines. When I made the effort to
8 keep Sarasota County whole, that resulted in
9 splitting Longboat Key because both Manatee and
10 Sarasota were kept whole but kept whole in two
11 different districts, although certainly that was an
12 exchange of Tier 2 compliance that was well worth it
13 in order to keep an entire county whole.

14 I should say just as a disclaimer in saying
15 all of this, I don't mean to ever suggest -- and I
16 think, Chair Sirois, you got at this point -- I
17 don't ever mean to suggest there is a statistical
18 line in the sand for what Tier 2 -- Tier 2 compliant
19 compactness or county splits or city splits looks
20 like.

21 But at the same time, in authoring a
22 compromise plan, I recognized that I should author a
23 plan that recommends improvements and builds upon
24 the work of the Legislature, at the very least give
25 you a plan that never goes backwards and at least

1 improves upon the work the Legislature has done,
2 even though it's not necessarily, as you said,
3 Chair, it's not a competition of statistics. And
4 that is exactly what I've done.

5 So with that, I'm just going to proceed
6 then to a more detailed visual explanation of the
7 proposed compromise plan.

Statewide, the next two
8 slides -- really, the next four slides -- give you
9 that view statewide. I don't think I need to cover
10 these as much because you -- Chair, you covered
11 these very much or Chairs, I should say, covered
12 these very much in your opening.

13 But this is the statewide view, and then if
14 you just scroll to pulling back the district labels,
15 it was important for me, not just -- obviously we
16 talked about statistics, not just to improve upon
17 statistical goals in the map, like statistical
18 compactness, but I also wanted these changes just to
19 satisfy the eyeball test and offer some squaring up,
20 circling up of the districts and greater usage of
21 clear and visible boundary lines. And so the look
22 and feel of the map mattered just as much as the
23 statistics.

24 As you zoom in on just the districts that
25 changed, I'll just skip a little bit again because

1 you just looked at something similar. One of the
2 key facets of my work in the proposed plan was to
3 make sure that there was no collateral, unintended
4 consequences to my changes without making some sort
5 of equal or better Tier 2 change.

6 So as I changed one part of the map -- for
7 example, as you see, I split Polk County as part of
8 the swap for keeping Citrus and Sarasota Counties
9 whole. I get a little more in-depth as to exactly
10 how that worked in a little bit. In doing so, I
11 incorporated several Tier 2 changes to Polk County
12 to make sure the new lines were still very
13 meaningful.

14 And in saying that, two-thirds of the
15 residents in proposed District 18 on the right are
16 still coming from Polk County. Clearly, the
17 Legislature was articulating options that centered a
18 district largely around Polk County. And so even
19 though I've split the county in order to pick up
20 Sarasota and Citrus kept whole, I've done so in a
21 way where Polk County is still the predominant two-
22 thirds of the population of a district.

23 Shifting to Districts 4 and 5 on these next
24 couple slides, I already provided some context
25 previously about the newly proposed composition of

1 these two districts. Just some other general points
2 that I didn't say earlier. The boundary lines
3 between the two are mostly the St. Johns River.

4 As you know, Jacksonville is the one city
5 in the state that is larger than a congressional
6 district. So you must split it, and the river,
7 which nearly equally divides the city, stands out as
8 a logical, recognizable Tier 2 boundary. If you
9 have to split the city somewhere, it stands out as
10 maybe the most recognizable boundary to do so.

11 And in doing so, the maps on the right in
12 Plan 0109 were overall the combined -- when you
13 compare the compactness of the Districts 4 and 5
14 there compared to Districts 4 and 5 on the left,
15 combined, they still improve the overall compactness
16 of the two, even making the split through the river.

17 The southern boundaries of District 4 and 5
18 -- I should -- let me go back. The southern
19 boundaries of Districts 4 and 5 are still exactly as
20 the Legislature proposed them. So the use of the
21 Clay-Putnam line is the same as the Legislature
22 proposed it, and where the split occurs in St. Johns
23 County is exactly as the Legislature proposed it.
24 So we didn't change the southern boundary. I didn't
25 change the southern boundary of Districts 4 and 5.

1 The last point about these two districts I
2 want to make sure and show you, make sure you see,
3 is that District 4 does need to cross the river at
4 some point for the purposes of equal population, and
5 that population difference was about 1500, 2000
6 residents. So knowing the district has to cross at
7 some point, cross the St. Johns River, I tried to
8 make that a meaningful crossing of the river.

9 Our original iteration of this crossing, I
10 think, was less deliberate. In this improvement
11 configuration, I used the bridges of the Arlington
12 Expressway and Interstate 295 to literally allow a
13 resident to not have to leave District 4 in order to
14 traverse District 4. So again, just trying to use,
15 even in the zero population work on a district,
16 trying to use those boundaries in some kind of
17 meaningful way.

18 The next few slides, slides 14 through 21,
19 visualize my changes to the Gulf Counties from
20 Citrus down to Lee and how those districts impact
21 the counties inland to the east, north, and south.
22 And I'm showing this in a way that I thought about
23 it, trying to make Tier 2 improvements, how I
24 thought and went through the map to make those
25 changes. And essentially this is again a hybrid of

1 the Legislature's maps and our office's prior plans
2 in this region.

3 In order to achieve worthwhile Tier 2
4 improvements to this region, I did have to revisit
5 how the entire region was drawn. Slide 15, as this
6 slide illustrates, the Legislature's decision to
7 keep Broward, Osceola, and Polk Counties whole --
8 nothing wrong with that decision. Obviously keeping
9 counties whole is a great decision -- but the
10 Legislature's decision to keep Broward, Osceola, and
11 counties (sic) whole places limitations on what
12 could be done in the Tampa Bay region and the
13 counties to the north and south of Tampa Bay.

14 Keeping Broward -- I'm sorry -- Broward,
15 Osceola, and Polk Counties whole creates effect --
16 in effect -- I'm sorry. Go ahead -- in effect,
17 creates a wall across three-quarters of the state.
18 Breaking that wall in Polk County essentially gives
19 the map drawer more flexibility in considering
20 different options for drawing more compact districts
21 and more adherence to political and geographical
22 boundary lines in those Western Gulf Counties in the
23 state of Florida.

24 So in effect, Polk County -- freeing Polk
25 County up then allowed additional considerations.

1 Otherwise, if it's kept whole, it limits what the
2 map drawer can do in along Tampa Bay and north and
3 south of Tampa Bay.

4 Slide 16, for example, this Congressional
5 District 12 now includes all of Citrus County. In
6 the Legislature's configuration, Citrus County was
7 split. So now, Citrus County is kept whole in this
8 district. Of course, obviously, now District 12
9 takes a much more squared-up, linear shape.

10 Just a few details about the district and
11 the district just to the south of it, that pink
12 district, District 15, District 12 is actually still
13 a majority Pasco County seat, yielding about 141,000
14 Pasco County residents to District 15. The
15 boundaries between 12 and 15 are almost entirely
16 defined by state roads and municipal boundary lines.
17 Zephyrhills is entirely included in District 15.
18 Saint Leo, San Antonio, and Dade City are entirely
19 included in District 12.

20 Taking a look then south of the Tampa Bay
21 region, going down to Sarasota County, the changes I
22 began in Polk also allowed keeping Sarasota County
23 whole in District 17, which, like District 12, now
24 includes two whole counties and portions of a third
25 to get equal population.

1 The southern portions of District 17 that
2 extend into Lee County only take unincorporated
3 communities, leaving all municipalities from Lee
4 County whole in District 19. This is how I was able
5 to keep Cape Coral whole in District 19. And the
6 boundaries are almost entirely city lines or
7 significant roadways, again, leaning on these Tier 2
8 principles.

9 Taking this approach to the north and south
10 of Tampa Bay then gave me a better chance to draw
11 visually compact districts in Tampa Bay and make
12 improved usage of Tier 2 political and geographical
13 boundaries.

14 Zooming in a little further on Pinellas
15 County in the bay, it's seen from the Legislature's
16 process that having a seat wholly in Pinellas County
17 was an important goal. So I quite literally worked
18 my way west to east, starting with District 13,
19 while I also built my way south to north with
20 District 16, coming from Manatee County, which is
21 still kept whole in this plan.

22 Really leaning in heavily on Tier 2
23 standards of compactness and use of Tier 2
24 boundaries, I split Districts 13 and 14 in the north
25 with the use of the Pinellas-Hillsborough County

1 line, as the Legislature did, and I largely utilized
2 U.S. 19 as the southern divider. I get my equal
3 population in that middle section of District 13, in
4 the unincorporated Feather Sound area just north of
5 St. Pete.

6 So while I split St. Pete, I'm doing so
7 making a clear use of Tier 2 boundaries. As -- and
8 as I built District 14 eastward and northward in
9 Tampa Bay, again, I sought to ensure that the
10 boundaries of the district were defined by clear,
11 recognizable, Tier 2 boundaries like major roadways
12 and as I was trying to maintain something of a
13 square or rectangular shape to District 14 to keep
14 it compact.

15 You'll see in these next few slides where
16 some of the linkage along predominantly roadways
17 occurs between these districts, in this particular
18 case, between the northern portion of Districts 14
19 and 15 and even District 12 in Pasco County. That's
20 largely the Suncoast Parkway -- that's -- I'm sorry.
21 It's largely the Suncoast Parkway squared off at a
22 county road, as it essentially takes Suncoast
23 Parkway south.

24 You meet up with a county road, and then
25 make a -- I guess if you were traveling south, you

1 make a left at Busch Boulevard, over to the
2 municipality of Temple Terrace. And I have Temple
3 Terrace highlighted on the map. The Legislature had
4 a very similar configuration around Temple Terrace
5 to accommodate the municipal boundaries wholly in a
6 district.

7 And you'll see that I continued on the
8 Suncoast Parkway into Pasco County, so if you take
9 Suncoast Parkway north into Pasco County and then
10 turn on State Road 54, which is a little curvy but
11 nonetheless a state road to divide Districts 12 and
12 13.

13 What you see here in the unincorporated
14 Brandon area is also a point of emphasis that I
15 achieved a few times when three districts would meet
16 at a point. I essentially tried to make use of a
17 clear -- of clearly recognizable roadways in a Tier
18 2 manner to be distinguishable dividers between
19 districts. So in this case, that juncture of U.S.
20 301 North and South and State Road 60 East and West
21 makes a clear boundary when these three districts
22 meet.

23 And as I was drawing District 16 from
24 Manatee County north into Hillsborough County, I
25 really wanted to hold State Road 60 as a clear

1 divider that could later be utilized in Polk County,
2 where Districts 15 and 18 would eventually meet.
3 The resulting District 15 also keeps Plant City
4 whole, and despite going into Pasco and Polk
5 Counties, is still approximately two-thirds
6 populated by Hillsborough County residents.

7 The next five slides visualize my changes
8 to the Central Florida region, again, largely
9 returning to the concepts that this Subcommittee
10 passed in Plan 8011 with one exception.

11 That one exception -- we'll start there.
12 That one exception being that I followed more
13 closely to the Senate's concept for Congressional
14 District 8 in that rather than taking the district
15 into southern Volusia to get the last bit of equal
16 population necessary, I turned the district into
17 eastern Orange. That means this proposed plan only
18 splits Volusia County two ways rather than into
19 three different districts, bringing District 7 down
20 to the Volusia-Broward County line without
21 increasing the number of districts in Orange County.

22 Essentially, there as a turning of the
23 wheel, if you will, as to where these districts'
24 boundaries were to square them up, make them more
25 compact, but not actually have any negative impact

1 on the boundary usage of Orange County but have a
2 positive on the boundary usage in Volusia County.

3 Again, as I mentioned in my opening, I
4 authored District 10 in the House's plan to look
5 more -- I'm sorry -- this plan to look more like the
6 House's plan, Plan 8011, as it passed the
7 Subcommittee, very compactly keeping several cities
8 whole in either Districts 9, 10, or 11.

9 And as you zoom in, I highlighted the
10 municipality -- as you zoom in, I highlighted the
11 municipality of Edgewood, and right next to that is
12 Belle Isle, and both are kept whole in District 9.
13 That explains how District 9 extends upward just
14 slightly, again, utilizing predominantly major
15 roadways, but it's to accommodate these two
16 municipalities and either put them wholly in one
17 district or the other. In this case, puts them
18 wholly in District 9. Winter Park and Maitland are
19 kept whole in District 10, and Ocoee, Apopka, and
20 Winter Garden are kept whole in District 11.

21 The boundaries between these districts are
22 almost -- are also very much defined by Tier 2,
23 either keeping the aforementioned cities whole,
24 utilizing county boundaries -- like you look at
25 District 10. That boundary is the Orange-Seminole

1 boundary line -- or utilizing major, well-recognized
2 roadways and waterways, except where necessary to
3 get equal population.

4 That western boundary, for example, between
5 Districts 10 and 11 is largely the Apopka-Vineland
6 Road, except where the road briefly discontinues
7 about halfway down the western border of the
8 district.

9 And then the southwestern border of
10 District 10 is another clear -- really clear usage
11 of significant roadways to separate Districts 9, 10,
12 and 11 using Interstate 4 and State Road 528, where
13 they all come together. Again, that achieves really
14 giving those districts a clearly recognizable
15 boundary.

16 The combination of moving District 10 back
17 very compactly towards the middle of Orange County
18 along with keeping Citrus County whole in District
19 12 creates a visually improved, more compact
20 District 11, again, essentially turning the wheel,
21 if you will, of District 11, shifting from the
22 angled shape in Plan 8019 to a more circular shape
23 in Plan 0109 and still includes all of Sumpter
24 County.

25 The combination of reshaping District 7,

1 10, 11, and 12 then allowed me to reduce the number
2 of districts in Marion County from three to two.
3 The result is that both Districts 3 and 6's
4 boundaries follow State Road 301 north to south,
5 similar to the way the Legislature defined the
6 boundaries just a little further east -- the
7 Legislature just used different roadways -- 301
8 north to south, loop around the boundaries of Ocala,
9 and then -- which is wholly in District 3, and then
10 continue down Interstate 75, so again just using
11 very clear, Tier 2 boundaries.

12 The borders between Districts 6 and 11,
13 just for your reference, in the Lake County area is
14 mostly defined by city boundaries and waterways with
15 Lady Lake, Eustis, and Mount Dora entirely in
16 District 6, while Fruitland Park, Leesburg, and
17 Tavares are entirely in District 11.

18 The work to get equal population -- I
19 referenced that little piece that's in Lake County
20 of that eastern, northeastern piece of District 11
21 that's in Lake County, the work to get equal
22 population is largely done tracking right there
23 along State Road 46 as it exits Lake County, and
24 that work is largely in the unincorporated Sorrento
25 area.

1 The totality of this and other changes that
2 brought, for example, District 7 down to Volusia and
3 Broward, resulted in District 6 taking a more
4 compact, overall circular shape. When you pull back
5 on the map, it has a much more circular shape.

6 Of course, several of these changes had
7 impacts on Polk County, and I wanted to make this --
8 those impacts beneficial in a -- in a Tier 2
9 context. So I factored in how Districts 9, 11, and
10 15 share boundaries with District 18, which, again,
11 District 18 is actually about two-thirds of the
12 residents are from Polk County, one-third from six
13 whole rural counties.

14 First, regarding District 9, I did a couple
15 things that were both helpful in filling out and
16 smoothing this visual and statistical compactness as
17 well for District 9, including also picking up a
18 portion of incorporated Poinciana and the lake that
19 essentially represents that piece of Polk County
20 that otherwise sticks into Osceola County. I also
21 extended District 9 out slightly at the northwest
22 Osceola border, utilizing Highway 27 and the Ronald
23 Reagan Parkway.

24 So the overall idea here was threefold. It
25 creates -- as you pull back from the map, it creates

1 a visual smoothing of the line, about as smooth as
2 the Polk County-Osceola border will give you a
3 chance to do, but it creates a visual smoothing of
4 the line, which does help with statistical and
5 visual compactness. It eliminates the visual and
6 noncompact effects of that inlet between Polk and
7 Osceola, which, again, contributes to the overall
8 compactness.

9 And I was trying to get the population just
10 right in Districts 9 and 18 so that District 11
11 could have that essentially sort of nearly flat,
12 very roadway-bounded eastern wall abutting up to
13 District 10 in Orange County. So the visual effect
14 of what was achieved in Orange County and how the
15 Districts 9 and 18 interacted in Polk County all had
16 a -- all had a significant effect on each other, and
17 there was a lot of give and take to make that effect
18 work.

19 As I referenced the boundaries between
20 Districts 11 and 15 -- I'm sorry -- 11 and 18,
21 generally speaking, those boundaries focus around
22 Interstate 4. However, you do see some extensions
23 on either side of Interstate 4 between Districts 11
24 and 18.

25 Polk City is entirely included in District

1 11, but there are a couple of pieces of Polk City
2 that go across Interstate 4. Auburndale is included
3 entirely in District 18, but there are a couple
4 pieces of the city that go across the Interstate.
5 And I mentioned earlier, while Lakeland is split in
6 this map, I wanted to make sure it wasn't split in
7 more than two districts.

8 So as you get close to District 15 there,
9 where you see, again, another jumping across I-4,
10 those are just boundaries of the city of Lakeland
11 and then some of the zero-population work that I did
12 as well.

13 And then when you look at the boundaries of
14 District 11, 15, then back down to 18, U.S. Highway
15 98 is largely the vast majority of that boundary,
16 really extending out of Pasco County into Polk
17 County through Lakeland, utilizing U.S. Highway 98
18 for most of that.

19 The southern boundary, which I made
20 reference to before when looking at the Hillsborough
21 region, is State Road 60. As I mentioned
22 previously, I wanted to hold that boundary line in
23 Hillsborough County with 15 north of that boundary,
24 16 south of it, taking that boundary out -- boundary
25 out of the county so that that southern connection

1 between 15 and 18 would still utilize State Road 60.
2 And then zero population work there was done just
3 north of the city boundaries of Mulberry in Polk
4 County.

5 Again, as I mentioned earlier in my
6 presentation, overall, this map equals the city
7 splits, 16, of the Legislature's primary plan, but,
8 of course, some of the splits are different. And,
9 you know, and I referenced earlier that I made sure
10 that where there was a split, a city was only split
11 two days.

12 Furthermore, the resulting District 18 is
13 again still a two-thirds Polk County district. I
14 could clearly see that the Legislature was
15 attempting to create in pretty much any map that was
16 considered a majority Polk district. While this is
17 a different configuration, I've still achieved the
18 same overall goal of creating a majority Polk County
19 district in District 18 with numerous Tier 2
20 considerations and improvements around it.

21 Just moving on to the last couple slides,
22 looking at Southwest Florida, I had to make some
23 decisions as a result of those decisions I discussed
24 previously, largely in part due to the Tier 2
25 efforts to keep Sarasota whole and creating District

1 17 with all of Sarasota, all of Charlotte, and
2 incorporated portions of Lee Counties.

3 My newly composed District 17 required me
4 to equal -- equalize population for District 18
5 through the entirety of Hendry County and then
6 finding approximately another 4500 residents
7 elsewhere.

8 In our office's prior plan, I found those
9 residents in western Palm Beach County, in the
10 cities and around the cities around Belle Isle,
11 Pahokee, and that area. However, in this compromise
12 plan, as we discussed earlier, as the Chair
13 discussed, we were not affecting some of the
14 Southeast Florida districts. So I wanted to hold
15 the Palm Beach County line as the Legislature did in
16 its plan.

17 So zooming in a little more closely, as
18 you'll see on this last slide, I equalized the
19 population in Collier County, which was already
20 split once, extending District 18 along State Road
21 -- kind of that angle along State Road 82, down
22 State Road 29 North, and then east along County Road
23 846 to get those additional 4500 residents for
24 District 18 and balance the population.

25 And for District 26, I had to further

1 extend District 26's western boundaries closer
2 towards unincorporated East Naples, utilizing
3 roadways and waterways as boundaries between 26 and
4 19, except where necessary to equalize population.
5 The resulting District 26 still has a Hispanic
6 voting age population of 73.22 percent.

7 And with that said, Mr. Chair, that is my
8 explanation of the changes in House Bill 1-C.

9 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: Thank you, Mr. Kelly,
10 for that presentation. Additionally, members, this
11 bill appropriates \$1 million to the Department of
12 State for expenses related to the litigation of the
13 congressional map. The bill also includes language
14 related to state courts. It requires any state
15 court challenge to the congressional map to be filed
16 in Leon County.

17 All changes based on state law -- or excuse
18 me -- all challenges based on state law to be filed
19 in state court, rather than federal court, permits
20 any state court challenge to raise both state law
21 claims and, to the extent the circuit court has
22 jurisdiction, federal law claims, and finally makes
23 explicit that nothing in the bill precludes federal
24 courts from deciding challenges based on the federal
25 law.

1 Mr. Chairman, that is the bill.

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much,
3 Chair Leek.

4 For the members of the audience, I noticed
5 several more folks have joined us. Just as a matter
6 of housekeeping, if you would like to provide public
7 testimony today, please fill out a speaker form with
8 the Sergeant at Arms. They have those available.

9 Members, we're now going to move into
10 questions on the bill. I would ask that all
11 questions go through the Chair, and I want to offer
12 my reminder once again about my expectation for
13 decorum and civility in this Committee.

14 Members, again, just kind of looking at the
15 clock, we can remain in questions -- maybe we'll
16 give it to about 5:05, 5:10, see where we're at. I
17 want to make sure that we have plenty of time
18 remaining to receive that public testimony.

19 Ladies and gentlemen, we appreciate you
20 being here today with us.

21 And with that, we will move into questions.

22 Representative Hunschofsky.

23 And, members, just kind of to roadmap
24 things out, what I'd like to do is give members a
25 couple of bites at the apple, perhaps a couple of

1 questions and a follow-up. And then to make sure
2 everybody has had an opportunity, we'll rotate
3 through and then entertain a second round of
4 questions, time permitting.

5 Representative Hunschofsky, you are
6 recognized.

7 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Thank you,
8 Chair Sirois. And how many questions is that, that
9 we're allowed in our first round? Just out of
10 curiosity.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Go for it.

12 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Okay. I'll go
13 for it.

14 Thank you very much for presenting the map
15 that you drew. You mentioned that this was a
16 compromise map. Yet when we voted on the maps that
17 we passed, we had a map, and we had a secondary map,
18 one map, not -- so I'm not understanding how this is
19 a compromise. Could you explain what you mean by
20 that? Because I thought the secondary map was the
21 compromise and even the first map.

22 ALEX KELLY: Chair?

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, you're recognized.

24 ALEX KELLY: Thank you.

25 At that time, our office had not agreed on

1 either of those two maps. There were obviously
2 pieces of those two maps that we've incorporated
3 here, of course, 10 of those districts exactly from
4 8019, and there are concepts from those two maps
5 that we've sort of hybridized (sic) with concepts from
6 the maps that our office previously published. But
7 we didn't come out and support either of those two
8 maps.

9 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: And to offer further
10 clarification, the map that is being presented today
11 by Chair Leek and the Governor's Office has provided
12 us with commentary on includes many portions of what
13 the Legislature passed.

14 Representative Hunschofsky, you're
15 recognized.

16 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Thank you,
17 Chair Sirois.

18 So we had a whole bunch of meetings during
19 committee weeks about all the Tiers, and it was
20 drilled into us the Tier 1 and the Tier 2. I
21 noticed in your presentation there was a strong
22 concentration on Tier 2, which we were all told in
23 every single committee meeting we've been in, that
24 those are only to be looked at after the Tier 1
25 standards have been satisfied.

1 And one of the Tier 1 standards that came
2 up when we had Mr. Popper (phonetic) was the fact
3 that districts shall not be drawn -- and I'm reading
4 this from what was presented to us from the House
5 staff as backup -- districts shall not be drawn with
6 the intent or result of denying or abridging the
7 equal opportunity of racial or language minorities
8 to participate in the political process or to
9 diminish their ability to elect representatives of
10 their choice. A Tier 2 standard is districts shall,
11 where feasible, utilize existing political and
12 geographical boundaries.

13 So with that, I ask, why were the changes
14 made to Districts 4 and 5 looking solely at Tier 2
15 standard, even though a Tier 2 standard is after a
16 Tier 1 standard has been met, and yet the Tier 1
17 standard that I talked about doesn't seem to be met
18 with the line that you drew? So what was -- why was
19 a Tier 2 standard given priority over a Tier 1
20 standard in that case?

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly, you're
22 recognized.

23 ALEX KELLY: Thank you.

24 And first and foremost, I did note in my
25 testimony that we didn't draw any districts with the

1 intent of favoring or disfavoring an incumbent or
2 political party, and that is a Tier 1 standard. In
3 addition, all the districts that we've drawn are
4 contiguous, and that is a Tier 1 standard.

5 The other Tier 1 standard regarding
6 diminishment, of course, was the major focus of the
7 Governor's veto message and really the major focus
8 of discussion. And after reviewing your work, the
9 work of the Legislature overall, it was clear that a
10 district couldn't be drawn to both satisfy the U.S.
11 Constitution and the court's and the Legislature's
12 understanding of the State Constitution. In such a
13 situation, the federal Constitution has to prevail.

14 A plain language -- as I'm not -- as I'm
15 not an attorney, a sort of plain language way of
16 saying that is there was no obligation to redraw
17 District 5 as it was -- as it was drawn in the
18 benchmark. There was no obligation. There was no
19 lawfully drawn district to not diminish from.

20 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Chair?

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative
22 Hunschofsky, one final question, and then I'd like
23 to move on to make sure we have adequate time for
24 all members.

25 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: All right.

1 One final question --

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: We'll come back.

3 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: -- for this
4 round. I have a whole other round --

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Yes, ma'am.

6 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: -- a whole
7 other section of the state.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: We'll get there.

9 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Why was the
10 decision made then not to put District 5 on top of
11 District 4, as opposed to go kind of meander around
12 it? It would seem it would be more compact to have
13 one on top of the other than to meander around the
14 other.

15 And it doesn't seem like when compactness
16 is the argument, even though it is a Tier 2 argument
17 and still does not follow along the Tier 1 standard
18 -- not the one that you mentioned, but the one that
19 I mentioned -- I wondered why you wouldn't look to
20 keep it, if compactness is so important, compact in
21 that way so that you could not only meet your sub-
22 Tier 2 standard but also the Tier 1 standard that I
23 mentioned.

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: You're recognized.

25 ALEX KELLY: Thank you -- thank you,

1 Mr. Chair.

2 And obviously, you know, in terms of
3 compactness, as the Chair noted in the beginning,
4 there's no -- there's no one right redistricting
5 map. That said, the districts that you're
6 referencing are significantly more compact,
7 significantly more compact in the benchmark.
8 Visually, statistically, they are more compact than
9 the maps that passed this Legislature. So they are
10 more compact districts, and there was a rational
11 choice to be made.

12 As I noted in my comments about those
13 districts, Jacksonville is the lone city in the
14 entire state that is larger than a congressional
15 district. So it's a city you're going to divide,
16 and a logical division to consider is the St. Johns
17 River, which happens to almost divide the city in
18 half on its own naturally. So it's a very logical
19 dividing line.

20 It's clearly well-recognized in the
21 community. So clearly, a constituent would have no
22 question -- are they a voter in District 4? Are
23 they a voter in District 5? -- which is the point of
24 drawing a clear boundary line that follows a major
25 roadway, a highway, or so -- or a waterway and so

1 forth. So it was a very logical and compact choice
2 to make, and we had already satisfied Tier 1
3 concerns.

4 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, sir.

5 Ranking Member Skidmore, you are recognized
6 in questions.

7 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
8 you, Chair Sirois.

9 Thank you, Mr. Kelly, for being here today.
10 This is -- I'm going to go a little slow because
11 it's a lot to digest. It was a lot of -- a lot of
12 changes. So does 109 split as many counties as 8019
13 or more or less?

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly, you're
15 recognized.

16 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

17 It splits one less county, and also in
18 addition to that, for those counties that are --
19 that are split, it splits those counties fewer
20 times. So it makes a couple types of county
21 improvements. It keeps Sarasota and Citrus whole in
22 exchange for splitting Polk. So it picks up a
23 single county split -- or, I'm sorry, a single
24 county whole. Sorry.

25 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Skidmore,

1 you're recognized.

2 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
3 you, Mr. Chair.

4 Thank you for the answer. And does 109
5 reduce the city splits from 8019 or increase city
6 splits?

7 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly?

8 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
9 It's equal.

10 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Equal.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ranking member.

12 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
13 you, Mr. Chair.

14 Thank you for the answer. So if the -- if
15 the Governor's veto was based on CD 5 and CD 4 and
16 the number of city splits did not change and the
17 number of county splits was reduced by one split,
18 why did you redraw 18 districts instead of just the
19 district that the Governor objected to?

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

21 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 Of course, our office had previously
23 submitted two entirely different state maps for the
24 Legislature's consideration. So it's no secret that
25 there were other preferences in the rest of the map.

1 There were other opportunities for Tier 2
2 improvements throughout the rest of the map.

3 And so a veto message, of course, the veto
4 message spoke to the Governor's most significant
5 concern throughout the map, but it wasn't a secret
6 that we had already published two complete maps
7 before and made other recommendations throughout the
8 rest of the map.

9 So with the opportunity to take a look at
10 the rest of the map, obviously we deferred to the
11 Legislature exactly block for block in 10 of those
12 seats, but as I articulated, there were a number of
13 opportunities, keeping counties whole -- sorry --
14 keeping counties whole, the visual compactness of
15 the map as well, and just overall a more clear
16 usage, a more consistent usage of political and
17 geographical boundary lines. So there were a number
18 of improvements throughout the map.

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, Representative
20 Skidmore. Let's do a follow-up.

21 And then we have Representative Benjamin
22 next on my list, and we'll come back to you in the
23 next round.

24 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
25 you, Mr. Chair.

1 Thank you -- thank you for the response.

2 I'm going to pick -- I have to pick which question

3 I'm going to ask. So the Governor's position is

4 that there was no compelling reason to keep CD 5,

5 but wasn't CD 5 actually drawn by the court? And is

6 that not a compelling interest?

7 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

9 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

10 The court got it wrong.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin.

12 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you,

13 Mr. Chair.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin,

15 I apologize.

16 Ladies and gentlemen, there are many new

17 members of the audience that have joined us. I just

18 want to offer a reminder again about the decorum

19 that we have in this Committee. We don't have loud

20 reactions in this Committee. We have business to

21 conduct. We are pressed for time.

22 Representative Benjamin, you are

23 recognized.

24 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you,

25 Mr. Chair.

1 You represented earlier that the law and
2 constitutional arguments are somewhat outside of
3 your purview, but yet you've told us now that the
4 court got it -- got it wrong. And -- but in that
5 decision, the court was attempting to reconcile the
6 federal Constitution and the State Constitution.
7 Would that be a fair statement?

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir.

9 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair.

10 I'm not aware, although I'm happy to defer
11 to counsel to fill out this answer, but I'm not
12 aware of where the state court -- the state Supreme
13 Court was attempting to reconcile something between
14 federal and state law. But I'm happy to defer to
15 counsel if there is something I'm unaware of.

16 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Mr. Chair?

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin.

18 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you.

19 Can you then tell me how did the court get
20 it wrong?

21 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

23 ALEX KELLY: And I'll -- and I'll offer
24 sort of, you know, I think a two-part answer here.
25 One, I walked through in my testimony that that was

1 a seat drawn predominantly based on one criteria,
2 based on race. It is a racial gerrymander, and
3 there was a failing to demonstrate that compelling
4 state interest in doing so.

5 The other side of this, I can speak to from
6 my time at that time working in the Legislature from
7 2009 to 2012. The driving question behind Fair
8 Districts was a district -- the poster child
9 district was a district that sprawled from
10 Jacksonville to Orlando. And in the end resolution
11 a few years later, the court drew a district that
12 sprawls from Jacksonville to Gadsden County. It
13 didn't remedy the issue. It just replaced one
14 gerrymandered district with another.

15 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Mr. Chair?

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: (Indiscernible)

17 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin,
19 you're recognized.

20 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you.

21 Are you aware that compliance with the
22 Voting Rights Act by the courts has been considered
23 a compelling state interest?

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

25 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1 That's a great question, and, again, you
2 know, I'm not counsel for the Governor. But I'll
3 speak to the extent of my knowledge of the Voting
4 Rights Act. The Voting Rights Act speaks to
5 districts where the minority community is 50 percent
6 or more of the total community in the district, so
7 in other words, if the African American or Hispanic
8 voting age population of the district is 50 percent
9 or more of the voting age population in the
10 district.

11 That's not the end of that analysis, but
12 that is a sort of introduction to that analysis.
13 The district in question does not meet that
14 threshold. So I don't see any scenario in which the
15 Voting Rights Act is implicated by Congressional
16 District 5.

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin,
18 let's have one follow-up in this round, and then
19 we're going to move to Representative Joseph. Thank
20 you, sir.

21 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Okay. Thank you,
22 Mr. Chair.

23 In determining that it's not -- it was not
24 narrowly tailored to be a compelling state interest,
25 was it that it wasn't narrowly tailored or was it

1 that it wasn't a compelling state interest? Which
2 14th Amendment or strict scrutiny analysis are we
3 looking at?

4 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

5 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair.

6 I'm not sure I could answer that question
7 directly. I can just say, in general, the
8 obligation to define that compelling state interest
9 is an obligation the map drawer has. So I, as
10 someone who am saying that that district didn't
11 define that, whoever drew that district has to meet
12 that obligation, not me.

13 Counsel could probably elaborate a little
14 bit further on the question if you want.

15 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: I would want.

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: If you have -- if your
17 counsel is present --

18 ALEX KELLY: Yeah.

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- they can speak to the
20 remaining portion of Representative Benjamin's
21 question, and then we'll move on to Representative
22 Joseph.

23 ALEX KELLY: Ryan Newman, the Governor's
24 general counsel will hopefully help answer the
25 remainder of the question.

1 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Newman, you're
2 recognized.

3 RYAN NEWMAN: Great. Thank you.
4 Sure, I'd be happy to answer that.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Forgive me.
6 Representative Benjamin.

7 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Mr. Chair, can
8 you have him go over the how the court got it wrong
9 more specifically (Indiscernible)

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: If you would speak into
11 the microphone and offer that -- offer that question
12 please.

13 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Can you give us
14 more of a legal analysis as to the Governor's
15 constitutional challenge to the -- to the map?

16 RYAN NEWMAN: Sure. So --

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Newman, you're
18 recognized.

19 RYAN NEWMAN: Thank you.

20 Sure. On the issue of the federal
21 constitutionality of District 5 as it was originally
22 configured, the Florida Supreme Court never actually
23 addressed that question. That question has never
24 been resolved by the federal -- by the -- by the
25 Florida Supreme Court as to whether or not District

1 5, as it was configured, complied or not with the
2 federal Constitution.

3 And so the -- so what we did in the memo
4 that we submitted -- and it lays out, I hope, in
5 sufficient detail the legal argument for why
6 compliance with the Florida Constitution in Northern
7 Florida -- and that's complying with the non-
8 diminishment standard of the Florida Constitution --
9 can't square with the Equal Protection Clause of the
10 United States Constitution.

11 And so just a step back to sort of walk
12 through the analysis, all right. The Supreme Court
13 has made very clear that you cannot draw voting
14 districts based on race unless the state can satisfy
15 strict scrutiny. So there must be a compelling
16 interest, and the district must be narrowly tailored
17 to achieve that compelling interest.

18 Now, the only time that the United States
19 Supreme Court has been willing to even countenance a
20 compelling interest in this context is when there is
21 good reason to believe that the district is
22 necessary to comply with either Section 2 or Section
23 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

24 And I need to point out, even on this
25 point, that is still an open question. The U.S.

1 Supreme Court has only assumed that compliance with
2 the Voting Rights Act is a sufficient compelling
3 interest to justify a race-based district. That's
4 very narrow, and the Supreme Court has only been
5 willing to assume that much. It's never actually
6 definitively held that.

7 So with respect to compliance with the
8 Voting Rights Act, okay, there's two components to
9 the Voting Rights Act. There's Section 2 of the
10 Voting Rights Act, and there's Section 5 of the
11 Voting Rights Act. Section 5 of the Voting Rights
12 Act no longer applies in this context because of the
13 Shelby County case, right, which wiped out Section
14 4.

15 So Section 5 is no longer operative, but I
16 do want to make an important point here. Section 5
17 never applied to the state of Florida as a whole.
18 It never has. So there was never -- even back, you
19 know, in 1968 or whatever, you know, back when the,
20 you know, the evidentiary basis for the Voting
21 Rights Act of 1965 was being assembled, there was
22 never sufficient evidence to determine that the
23 entire state of Florida should be subject to the
24 Voting Rights Act. It was only determined that five
25 counties, none of which are in Northern Florida,

1 were subject to the Voting Rights Act for Section 5.

2 So Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, I
3 guess my point is, that's just out of the picture,
4 all right. So that just leaves us then with Section
5 2, okay. So does Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
6 require that District 5 in Northern Florida be
7 drawn? And the answer has to be no. Why? Because
8 of the Gingles preconditions that are required for
9 making out a Section 2 claim.

10 You can't even make out a Section 2 claim
11 unless you satisfy the Gingles precondition. The
12 first precondition -- and this is what Alex was
13 trying to get to. The first precondition is, is
14 there a minority population that's reasonably
15 compact, in a reasonably compact geographic location
16 that constitutes a majority of the district?

17 And District 5, notwithstanding the fact
18 that it's gerrymandered. I mean, the district was
19 drawn for the specific purpose of connecting African
20 American populations in Jacksonville with the
21 African American population in Tallahassee and
22 Gadsden Counties.

23 And even then that district is not a
24 majority-minority district. It only got up to 44
25 percent or so, 44, 45 percent if my -- if my memory

1 serves. And that's even without respecting
2 traditional districting criteria.

3 So that district cannot be -- is not
4 required by the Voting Rights Act, and because it's
5 not required by the Voting Rights Act, it doesn't --
6 cannot serve as a compelling interest to justify the
7 drawing of a district in Northern Florida based on
8 race, okay.

9 So the only -- the only question then is
10 whether or not mere compliance with the Florida
11 Constitution alone by itself is a compelling
12 interest to justify a race-based district.

13 And in this context, where you're having to
14 ignore all traditional districting criteria, which
15 is what the federal courts look at to determine
16 whether or not, you know, the district is necessary,
17 it cannot be a compelling interest, for the same
18 reason that we would never say that, if Florida had
19 a law segregating the schools, that that would
20 somehow trump the Equal Protection Clause. Why?
21 Because, you know, the Florida Constitution says so.

22 The only point -- my only point is mere
23 reliance on the Florida Constitution cannot by
24 itself be enough. Now, don't get me wrong. That's
25 not to say that there are other applications of the

1 Florida Constitution's non-diminishment standard
2 that could be or that could survive strict scrutiny.

3 One example would be if you had a
4 sufficiently compact African American community,
5 right, in a district. You can't necessarily just
6 carve up that district. That perhaps -- that
7 perhaps could satisfy strict scrutiny.

8 But what does not and cannot satisfy strict
9 scrutiny is trying to cobble together disparate
10 minority communities from across Northern Florida to
11 cobble together a district that might perform for
12 the minority community.

13 And I think that -- that's where District 5
14 goes wrong because it's clearly cobbled together.
15 It's clearly a gerrymander, not unlike the preceding
16 district that went from Jacksonville down to
17 Orlando, you know, as a salamander-type district
18 that went from Jacksonville down to Orlando.

19 But that's the -- that's the fundamental
20 problem. There's no compelling interest here
21 because the Voting Rights Act does not require this
22 district to be drawn in Northern Florida, and mere
23 compliance alone without more of the non-
24 diminishment standard in the Florida Constitution
25 cannot satisfy strict scrutiny, at least as the

1 Supreme Court has explained it.

2 And just to put a bell on all of this, I
3 mean, the Supreme Court just spoke again just a
4 matter of weeks ago and slapped down a Wisconsin map
5 for containing, you know, improperly racially drawn
6 districts because the --

7 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, if you'd -- if you'd
8 bring it in for a landing for us, we have members
9 with other questions.

10 RYAN NEWMAN: Thank you. I could go on and
11 on. To -- yeah. So the Wisconsin -- the Supreme
12 Court came in, sort of struck down the Wisconsin --
13 you know, a summary reversal of the Wisconsin maps
14 for not satisfying strict scrutiny.

15 So strict scrutiny is a very, very high --
16 very high standard, and it just wouldn't satisfy it
17 in this context.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

19 Representative Benjamin, I've put you on
20 the list for our second --

21 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Well --

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- round of questions.

23 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: -- I don't -- I
24 don't have -- well --

25 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Let me --

1 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: -- just thank
2 you, Mr. Chair, because that's the heart and the
3 crux of the changes that were made, and I think that
4 analysis was much needed. Thank you.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, Representative
6 Benjamin.

7 Representative Joseph, you're recognized.

8 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you,
9 Mr. Chair.

10 Wow, so many questions. Earlier, you were
11 asked in the Senate to define race neutral in your
12 approach in drawing these maps. Can you define that
13 for us please?

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

15 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 Essentially not factoring in race as I'm
17 drawing a district.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph.

19 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: What, if any,
20 analysis did you do regarding retrogression in
21 creating these maps to analyze both black
22 representation and Hispanic representation or Latino
23 representation?

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

25 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1 Great question. And I didn't have a need
2 to with the districts that I was drawing. So I
3 didn't do any kind of analysis like that. Like I
4 didn't do any kind of functional analysis.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph.

6 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you,
7 Mr. Chair.

8 Looking at your version of, I guess, CD 26,
9 which spans from the Everglades to Collier County in
10 Miami all the way to Hialeah, talk to us about your
11 premise in drawing that particular map in crossing
12 over the way you did.

13 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

14 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

15 So that district -- if you -- and if you
16 think about it in the context of the district that
17 the Legislature drew and where I made changes, the
18 eastern boundaries of the district in Miami-Dade
19 County are identical to the boundaries that the
20 Legislature drew. The western half of the county is
21 the portions of the -- portions of the district, I
22 should say, that I drew.

23 So as I was approaching that area with
24 District 18, I described earlier that I was in need
25 of population to complete District 18, and I

1 assigned Hendry County, the totality of Hendry
2 County as a whole county, to district 18. And using
3 some major roadways in the unincorporated Immokalee
4 area of northern Collier, I then moved a little bit
5 of Collier County into District 18 as well, again
6 though using those major roadways, not splitting any
7 cities in the process.

8 The result of that, I made changes to
9 District 26 exclusively in the -- in the Hendry
10 County side, pulling that district out of Hendry
11 County in its entirety and moving that district,
12 District 26 then, further east into unincorporated
13 East Naples basically and utilizing the major
14 roadways there. There's a few waterways as well, so
15 trying to utilize some clear, natural boundaries.

16 Overall, as I mentioned earlier in my
17 testimony, the Hispanic voting age population of the
18 district is still quite high. It's a little more
19 than 73 percent Hispanic voting age population. So
20 again, I didn't change any of the boundaries in the
21 Miami-Dade County side of the district, just
22 exclusively in the Collier and Hendry side of the
23 district.

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph.

25 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you,

1 Mr. Chair.

2 So when you say you were in need of
3 population, you were specifically referring to the
4 Latino population to create this district.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

6 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

7 Really both. I was in need of population
8 initially just because I was taking the district out
9 of Hendry County and then also out of part of the
10 Immokalee -- unincorporated Immokalee area. The
11 total population shift there was roughly -- my math
12 may be a little bit off -- but about 45,000 people.

13 So, in effect, I needed people for equal
14 population, first and foremost, to complete the
15 district, which meant that I had to push a little
16 further, draw a little further into -- into sort of
17 the coastal side of Collier County but obviously not
18 that far.

19 That said, knowing that this is a
20 historically performing majority-minority Hispanic
21 seat, I was watching those numbers carefully to make
22 sure that in terms of the overall Hispanic voting
23 age population, I was staying very close to the
24 benchmark seat, which I think is maybe a little bit
25 more than 74 percent.

1 So the seat that I drew, the percentage is
2 around 73, still very high, still at a threshold
3 that should perform for Hispanic -- a majority
4 Hispanic voting age population seat.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph,
6 let's do a follow-up, and then I'm going to move to
7 Representative Brown, and we'll try to come back.

8 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you.

9 So your analysis basically presumes that
10 the Latino voters vote cohesively. And you may or
11 may not be aware of this, but in that area, you have
12 lots of different kind of Latino groups, and I don't
13 know if your analysis, based on what you're telling
14 me, you did not take that into account.

15 So my question for you is this map
16 basically takes the same approach as the House and
17 Legislature's previous maps for District 21, but
18 these two Latino electorates are separate in terms
19 of how they tend to perform.

20 So I guess what I'm asking is, is that
21 thinking correct, that this map basically takes the
22 same approach as the House and Legislature's
23 previous maps for District 21 and District 28. And
24 in terms of CD 26 that I'm specifically asking
25 about, it's motivated by that same idea of Latino

1 cohesion in terms of how they perform?

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

3 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 And I think I can answer the question,
5 although I will concede -- in terms of your
6 reference to the prior district numbers, I'm not
7 totally clear which maps you're referring to.

8 But in -- but in general, I was fairly
9 confident that a Hispanic voting age population
10 that's higher than 73 percent is still going to
11 maintain that historical performance for this
12 district that has performed Hispanic for, to my
13 knowledge, at least a couple decades. So I was
14 fairly confident that with such a high Hispanic
15 voting age population, even though it was a slight
16 drop, that overall, it wouldn't -- it wouldn't
17 warrant any concerns.

18 And obviously I had to -- I had to get
19 equal population as well, and no matter what I did,
20 I was also wanting to make sure that if I was
21 assigning Hendry County to a different district, I
22 wanted to make sure that, one way or another, I kept
23 Hendry County whole.

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

25 Representative Brown.

1 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Thank you, Mr. --

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Questions.

3 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Thank you,
4 Mr. Chair.

5 As it relates to -- I know there was -- in
6 your presentation, you talked about improving the
7 maps. And so specifically to district 10 here, the
8 little barbell-shaped lob, I wanted to know -- can
9 you explain sort of the Orange County configuration
10 and whether or not -- or how it's more Tier 2
11 compliant than the other vetted alternatives that we
12 have done or developed or even debated?

13 And specifically recognizing the political
14 and geographical boundaries for its perimeter. I
15 believe right now it's 63 percent, and I know for
16 the 8019 for CD 10, I believe it was 82 percent. So
17 we're talking about improving. It seems as though
18 it's going backwards. When we look at even the 8060
19 map that we've also kind of reviewed, it also used
20 those boundaries, but it recognized it as a 92
21 percent, so I mean, stellar boundaries. How is this
22 particular configuration compliant and an
23 improvement?

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

25 ALEX KELLY: Sure. Thank you.

1 And would it help if we went to look at the
2 district? Because there's some aspects that I think
3 the visual helps the explanation if that's okay.

4 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Yes.

5 ALEX KELLY: Okay. Thank you. Actually, I
6 think I'm going to mess this up. Is it okay if I
7 take control of the --

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Certainly.

9 ALEX KELLY: So one of the things that I
10 did find out -- by the way, Representative, to your
11 roadway question, one of the things that I did
12 discover in the process is that that western
13 boundary of District 10, Apopka-Vineland Road,
14 essentially we don't get -- I don't think we get
15 credit for it.

16 It is predominantly one roadway, but I
17 think, as I understand, the roadways you get credit
18 for in terms of the statistics in the Legislature's
19 redistricting application, it picks up the roadways
20 that the Census Bureau recognizes. But as you zoom
21 in on that district, you find out that it is
22 actually for the most part one solid roadway.

23 Really, the boundaries of that district,
24 you have the Seminole County-Orange County line to
25 the north. You have where that part of District 9

1 comes up into District 10, and it's -- the wall of
2 that is a significant roadway. And on this side and
3 on this side, in-between are two municipal
4 boundaries. Some of the zero-population work is
5 done just to the north of that.

6 As you go east of those two municipalities,
7 it's just following one nice, clear roadway. It
8 then follows -- I think it's actually the eastern
9 end of that Orange County section of leading out of
10 10, still follows major roadways and waterways as
11 well, but the eastern boundary between 10 and 8 is
12 predominantly roadways and waterways.

13 Most of these boundaries are defined in
14 Tier 2. I don't know if the application picks up
15 all of them and gives us credit for the statistics
16 on all of them, but the boundaries of this district,
17 outside of equal population, are exclusively Tier 2
18 boundaries. The district is very compact, and it
19 overall allowed some other districts around it to
20 become more compact.

21 One of the things that I did was the
22 portions of District 9 -- and obviously, you know,
23 you always have to look at any district, you know,
24 in respect to what it also causes around it. The
25 portions of District 9 as the Legislature passed

1 them were more on the eastern side of that Orange
2 County.

3 Going north, I pulled those portions more
4 flat and spread across, which helps with your
5 circular test, so like a Reock test or a Polsby-
6 Popper. It's not a massive difference, but it is a
7 little bit of a difference the way that it's drawn.
8 And again those are just predominantly absent some
9 of the zero population work, just major roadways
10 defining those boundaries.

11 The other visual effect here that I really
12 like is how District 11 now -- you know, District
13 11, when it comes from sort of the Lake-Seminole
14 area, it just follows along the Seimone County
15 border. It then goes under the city boundaries of
16 Apopka. Obviously, I didn't want to break the city
17 of Apopka. It goes under the city of Apopka,
18 follows predominantly one roadway. I did note in my
19 testimony that that roadway actually has a break in
20 it. So you couldn't follow that roadway the
21 entirety of the western wall of District 10.

22 But, in effect, District 11 in the
23 configuration -- in fact, I'll take one step back.
24 In the configuration considered by the Legislature,
25 District 11, because 10 is centered really around

1 Apopka, I believe Ocoee, Winter Garden, that area,
2 District 11 has to then have this arm underneath
3 District 10.

4 Because I was able to create that more, you
5 know, flat use of boundary space between 7-11, 10-
6 11, 9-11, in effect, there's no arm then anymore to
7 District 11, and that contributed, along with what I
8 did in Citrus County, to being able to square up
9 District 11 as well.

10 So the changes that I made were never in
11 respect to just one district, although I did use
12 district -- I did use clear roadway boundaries and
13 municipal boundaries almost exclusively and county
14 boundaries with District 10, but the changes were
15 made in respect to all the districts so that all of
16 the districts took on a little more of a
17 statistical, aesthetic compactness and again overall
18 just tried to use those clear boundary lines between
19 them.

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Brown,
21 before you continue, thank you, sir.

22 Members, just to kind of give you a sense
23 of where we're at. We're coming up on a period
24 where we need to wrap up questions. We have
25 significant public testimony, our citizens here with

1 us today at the capital. We also have an amendment.
2 We have debate and want to give Chair Leek and
3 opportunity for final comments as well.

4 So Representative Brown, you are recognized
5 to continue in questions, but, members, please be
6 mindful of our time.

7 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Thank you, Mr.
8 Chair.

9 And I definitely will keep that in mind
10 because I actually do have questions surrounding
11 when we're speaking of those surrounding districts.
12 I have quite a few questions based off of the
13 percentages and points there compared to 8060. But
14 I'll just ask this question so that my other
15 colleagues can have an opportunity at this apple.

16 I know the Governor stated written
17 objection to 8019, and in that written statement, he
18 focused on 4 and 5. And so why are we here messing
19 with the Orlando area, particularly District 10, in
20 ways that clearly worsen the compliance to the
21 constitutional criteria?

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly, you're
23 recognized.

24 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

25 And I should start maybe in reverse order

1 of the question. I would disagree with the last
2 point that was made. I do believe this composition
3 -- and this composition is very similar to what this
4 Subcommittee passed in Plan 8011. I believe really
5 demonstrates strong compliance with the law, and I
6 believe actually this composition, again, similar to
7 the product passed out of this Subcommittee, I think
8 was actually better than the final product passed
9 out of the Legislature overall.

10 So going back to this Subcommittee work and
11 this Subcommittee's work was similar to the earlier
12 plans that we submitted out of our office. Your
13 question is similar to that of which Representative
14 Skidmore asked earlier. And while the Governor's
15 veto message was driven largely by what was
16 happening in Northeast Florida, we were never secret
17 about submitting maps.

18 We submitted public maps before out of our
19 office. Those maps articulated thoughts and ideas
20 for consideration by the Legislature all around the
21 state. And so obviously the major significant
22 constitutional concern centered around Districts 4
23 and 5 in Northeast Florida.

24 As though we looked at the Legislature's
25 final composition ideas that we had prior to that,

1 it was clear that I could go into the map and make
2 improvements and really in many cases taking some
3 hybrids of ideas that, as Chair Sirois said earlier,
4 some hybrids of ideas that really combine some of
5 the best work product of the Legislature and maps
6 that we proposed and really trying to pull those
7 ideas together to get the best out of these maps.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: All right. Thank you,
9 Representative Brown.

10 Representative Driskell, you're recognized
11 in questions.

12 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Thank you,
13 Mr. Chair.

14 Are you saying that because the Governor
15 doesn't like CD 5 as it currently exists that you
16 don't have to regard CD 5 as a benchmark district
17 for which a functional analysis is required?

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: You're recognized.

19 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

20 Not exactly the way that you said that, but
21 the crux of the argument -- and Ryan laid out the
22 argument in detail well earlier -- the crux of the
23 argument is that the district violates the U.S.
24 Constitution. So if the district violates federal
25 law, there's no district with which there is an

1 obligation to look at diminishment. The district
2 was unlawful to begin with.

3 So at that point, the Legislature had no
4 obligation to consider that question. At that
5 point, the Legislature just has Nassau County, Duval
6 County, Clay County, St. Johns County, which in
7 those four counties alone you could fit two whole
8 congressional districts plus start a third district
9 very compactly, very adherent to standards in the
10 State Constitution.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Driskell.

12 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Thank you,
13 Mr. Chair.

14 But that's your opinion, correct? That's
15 not actually the current legal standard. The
16 current legal standard, as I understand it, is that
17 when there's a benchmark district, you're supposed
18 to perform a functional analysis; is that correct?

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Mr. Kelly.

20 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 No. No. There's no obligation to perform
22 a functional analysis on that district, and as our
23 general counsel noted, as the memorandum notes, as I
24 summarized earlier, that district as drawn in the
25 benchmark violates the Equal Protection Clause of

1 the United States Constitution. Attempts to redraw
2 that district in various configurations violated the
3 Equal Protection Clause of the United States
4 Constitution.

5 So there's no need to do a functional
6 analysis for a district that, on its face, is
7 unlawful, and the Legislature was not obligated to
8 redraw. And that's really the analysis that Mr.
9 Newman gave, our -- our legal memorandum gave.

10 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: I just -- I don't
11 want to beat a dead horse --

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative, just go
13 one more -- one last follow-up, and then we're going
14 to move on.

15 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Okay. Not a
16 follow-up, new question about Tampa Bay.

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: You're recognized.

18 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: All right. Thank
19 you, Mr. Chair.

20 So if we follow the map that you've
21 prepared and that we're reviewing today, it actually
22 follows the exact -- the net effect is that it looks
23 like it's following the exact same strategy that led
24 to what was determined to be a partisan gerrymander
25 that was struck down last decade, packing Democrats

1 into Tampa Bay CD 14.

2 So my question is, you know, how is
3 following the county lines not just a pretext for
4 partisan gerrymandering here? Because it kind of
5 looks the same as it did about a decade ago.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: You're recognized.

7 ALEX KELLY: Mr. Chair -- Thank you,
8 Mr. Chair.

9 I don't know the partisan breakdown of
10 those seats. I don't know where, you know, where
11 District 13, 14, 15 -- I don't know how those seats
12 are affected. I don't know the partisan data for
13 those seats. So I don't know how to address that
14 question. I can only address the question in the
15 context of how I drew the districts.

16 I wanted to draw -- because I could see
17 that the Legislature had an intent to draw a seat
18 wholly in Pinellas County. So I drew a seat wholly
19 in Pinellas County, utilized very clear boundary
20 lines, a county line for the northern part of that,
21 a state road for the southern part of that, and
22 essentially moved to the east in a block-like
23 fashion and then came north out of Manatee County
24 into southern Hillsborough and essentially just had
25 those two seats, 13 and 16, and eventually meeting

1 15, just meet along major roadways. So they're just
2 nice, clean, compact seats that follow those major
3 roadways. I'm unaware of the data you're
4 referencing.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

6 Representative Hunschofsky, you're
7 recognized for one brief question.

8 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: I'll try my
9 best, Chair Sirois. Thank you.

10 I have a -- I'm going to put it kind of, I
11 guess, all together. We talk constantly about the
12 Tier 2, and I keep going back to the Tier 1 that was
13 told to all of us from multiple times in our
14 committees. And the Tier 2, we're picking bodies of
15 water in certain places, but in other places, it
16 doesn't seem to bother us that we cross bodies of
17 water.

18 My question is -- and this is all related
19 in one, Chair Sirois, how are you defining race
20 neutral, where did that term come from, and how do
21 you -- how do you explain CD 20, for example, when
22 you say that?

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative
24 Hunschofsky, I think the initial part of your
25 question has been asked and answered in the

1 testimony that's been offered.

2 Mr. Kelly, if you'd like to speak to
3 Congressional District 20, you're recognized.

4 ALEX KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 And I really can't speak to Congressional
6 District 20. We didn't draw Congressional District
7 20. So I think I would have to defer to your
8 professional staff or the Legislature as a whole,
9 but we didn't draw Congressional District 20.

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative
11 Hunschofsky, can you repeat your question as it
12 relates to Congressional District 20?

13 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Yes. I guess
14 my question, I keep going back to, as I did the last
15 time we had a map in front of us that we were voting
16 on, Tier 1 criteria, the one that I mentioned
17 before, versus the Tier 2 criteria. You bring up
18 the term race neutral. I'm not really sure what
19 that means, and I'm not really sure where that comes
20 from.

21 The map you presented to us has a district
22 that does move around and is obviously done so to
23 protect a racial group from being able to pick a
24 candidate of their choice. So how do you explain
25 that as part of what you were talking about before?

1 I don't know if that's making sense.

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Staff is recognized.

3 Ms. Kelly.

4 LEDA KELLY: Thank you, Mr. Chair. And
5 thank you, Representative, for the question.

6 So for -- and I'll kind of piece together a
7 couple of things that have been mentioned today
8 already with regards to District 20.

9 So in the Legislature's perspective, that's
10 a protected black performing district. So we
11 performed our functional analysis on the benchmark
12 district and then recreated it to ensure that that
13 minority group can elect a candidate of their
14 choice.

15 One difference that I'd say between
16 Congressional District 20 and, I guess, previous
17 iterations of Congressional District 5 is the
18 threshold of the voting age population. So you've
19 heard the Governor's Office elude several times
20 today to the Voting Rights Act and Section 2
21 analysis.

22 The first condition of the Gingles
23 prerequisite is to have a majority-minority
24 district. In the benchmark district and in the one
25 that's recreated in this plan and prior iterations,

1 CD 20 is above 50 percent and does meet that first
2 criteria for if someone was to bring a Section 2
3 violation against the map. So we're obviously aware
4 of that and wanted to recreate it to be in alignment
5 with that law as well. Thank you.

6 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Can I --

7 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much.

8 Members, I apologize. We have an amendment
9 -- we have an amendment that we need to take up. We
10 have members of the public that have traveled here
11 today to be with us. We need to -- we need to move,
12 Representative Joseph, into your amendment.

13 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: (Indiscernible)

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph,
15 you are recognized to present your amendment.

16 Members, this is amendment barcode 959221.

17 Representative Joseph, you are recognized.

18 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you,
19 Mr. Chair.

20 So in this bill, at lines 3627 through
21 3647, it creates Section 7, which limits venue for
22 legal actions challenging federal congressional
23 districts to state court. That makes no sense to
24 me. The question I would have asked had I had the
25 opportunity to do so was, what was the rationale for

1 that?

2 So this basically -- this amendment is
3 quite simple and straightforward. It removes those
4 lines, such that these congressional federal seats
5 can be challenged in federal court. That is the
6 amendment.

7 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much.

8 Having explained the amendment, members,
9 are there questions on the amendment? Questions on
10 the amendment?

11 Seeing none, is there public testimony on
12 the amendment?

13 We have none submitted, ma'am. We're on
14 the amendment now, but we're going to get to public
15 testimony on the bill in just a moment. I
16 appreciate you being here today. Just one moment.

17 Seeing no public testimony on the
18 amendment, members, is there debate on the
19 amendment?

20 Ranking Member Skidmore, you are recognized
21 to debate on the amendment.

22 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
23 you, Mr. Chair.

24 And thank you, Rep Joseph, for the
25 amendment.

1 I too was unsure why we needed to do this
2 and why we would want to try and circumvent the
3 federal courts and an opportunity for individuals to
4 work through that process? I don't think it's --
5 this is necessary. We've managed for hundreds of
6 years without, you know, weaponizing the process.
7 I'm not sure why we need to do it now.

8 We have only had these maps for a few
9 hours. We are still trying to wrap our heads around
10 them. We don't need to bog this whole process down
11 with this unnecessary language that gives us all a
12 lot of heartburn and is likely to be
13 unconstitutional for us to tell people whether they
14 can work through the federal court system or not.

15 So I support your amendment. I think it's
16 a good one, and I would ask everyone else to vote up
17 on this amendment.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Benjamin,
19 recognized in debate.

20 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: (Indiscernible)

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: The amendment.

22 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you,
23 Mr. Chair.

24 And just to reiterate that point, we've
25 been arguing now about a federal question, the 14th

1 Amendment -- how does the 14th Amendment apply in
2 this case? And so if we're talking about a federal
3 question, whether or not our maps violate the 14th
4 Amendment, how can you preclude the federal court
5 from weighing in on that? It's a federal question,
6 which is a requirement to enter into state -- enter
7 into federal court in the first place. So we cannot
8 preclude the federal court from determining what is,
9 in essence, a federal question. So that is my
10 debate. We should vote down on this amendment -- I
11 mean, excuse me -- vote up on this amendment.

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Any other members in
13 debate?

14 Seeing none --

15 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: No. No.

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Driskell
17 in debate.

18 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Sorry, Mr. Chair.
19 Just very, very, very briefly.

20 And, yeah, I just want to echo back to
21 something that we talked about when we were in
22 regular session, which is this concept of weaponizing
23 procedure, and if we believe that, you know, the
24 maps that we pass are going to be constitutional, if
25 we believe that they're going to stand, there's no

1 need to weaponize procedure in this way.

2 Previously, it was -- first, it was the
3 statute of limitations and limiting that. Now, it's
4 choice of venue. What's next? It's a very slippery
5 slope, and it's something that we should all be
6 concerned about. And we need to be down on this,
7 thank you -- I mean, up on this amendment, thank
8 you.

9 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Members in debate?

10 Seeing none, Representative Joseph, you are
11 recognized to close on the amendment.

12 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you, Mr.
13 Chair.

14 This amendment is very straightforward. I
15 mean, it's a federal question, federal courts. It
16 really just makes sense. So the portion restricting
17 the jurisdiction, it's in direct conflict with the
18 Voting Rights Act and 28 USC 1367, which provides
19 supplemental federal jurisdiction over state law
20 claims that are closely related to federal claims.

21 As such, the supremacy clause controls and
22 the state law must concede that federal law, which
23 states that federal courts have jurisdiction over
24 these maps. I mean, it's not even complicated.
25 It's not even close.

1 So we have to ask ourselves what's really
2 going on. Why would we want to limit challenging
3 federal congressional seats to state courts? I
4 think many of us have ideas as to what the answer is
5 to that question, but even that notwithstanding,
6 let's talk about what the 14th Amendment is, which
7 is the basis for these new maps, as has been
8 espoused to us. The 14th Amendment is one of those
9 remedial statutes in the Post-Reconstruction Era
10 that allowed for more black representation, and but
11 for that law and several others, we would have less
12 black representation.

13 So now, we have the Governor using that
14 same law to turn it on its face, and he wants you to
15 believe that somehow, under some universe, that he
16 is protecting us against segregation, which is
17 straight foolishness because I didn't get into all
18 of the questions that I --

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph, I
20 apologize for --

21 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Okay.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- interrupting. We are
23 very pressed for --

24 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: I understand.

25 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- time. Let's --

1 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: I'm trying to close
2 on my --

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- you can close on the
4 amendment.

5 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: -- amendment. You
6 shut off all my other questions. So I'm trying to
7 get the point across.

8 So when we look at CD 26, which is
9 protected, as you heard, as Latino voters, which is
10 a Tier 1 criteria, why are we protecting Latino
11 voters and not black voters? When we look at that,
12 there are infirmities that make that map worse in
13 terms of the Tier 2 criteria that we're alleging
14 that we're protecting, but we're not actually
15 protecting it.

16 So what are we really doing? This is smoke
17 and mirrors. This amendment directly just
18 eliminates the -- which court you're taking it to.
19 We shouldn't need this. If your premise is under
20 the U.S. Constitution and the 14th Amendment, which
21 is what we heard legal counsel say, that that's the
22 basis for their claim, then let it play out in
23 federal courts. If it's not, then tell us what
24 you're actually doing. We're not asleep at the
25 wheel. This amendment fixes that and allows us to

1 do what we're substantively able to do.

2 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, Representative
4 Joseph.

5 Having closed on the amendment, members in
6 favor of the amendment, please signify by saying
7 aye.

8 (Multiple ayes)

9 Those opposed, no.

10 (Multiple nos)

11 The amendment fails.

12 We are now on public testimony.

13 Ladies and gentlemen, we appreciate you
14 being here today for public testimony. We have a
15 lot of public testimony to get through. What I
16 would like to do is, once I call your name, please
17 approach the podium, if you'd like to speak. I will
18 call the next person to speak as well. They are on
19 deck if they would like to move forward in the room.
20 You are also welcome to waive in support or waive in
21 opposition in order to save time.

22 Members of the public joining us today, I'd
23 like to spend the next 40 to 45 minutes receiving
24 your public testimony, which is very important to us
25 to have, and then we'll move into member debate and

1 the bill sponsor's close.

2 With that, I'd like to ask LaShonda
3 Holloway, a citizen from Jacksonville, to please
4 approach the podium. If you would please state your
5 name, I'm sure that I pronounced it incorrectly, and
6 then next on deck will be Nancy Staats from Atlantic
7 Beach.

8 You are recognized.

9 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: Thank you.

10 Good afternoon to this Committee. First
11 and foremost, I want to thank you for your work, but
12 I must say that I am in utter shock that that last
13 amendment was not approved.

14 I would urge each of you to vote no on this
15 bill. If congressional seats are federal, then the
16 Equal Protection should be -- law should be heard by
17 federal courts and not by the lower courts.
18 Moreover, as a fourth generation Floridian who is
19 not only a constituent in the 5th Congressional
20 District, I am a stakeholder as a candidate to
21 represent the people of the 5th Congressional
22 District.

23 Furthermore, understand that this
24 particular map that the Governor has proposed, it
25 uses Tier 2 metrics. It does not even use the

1 federal standard. It used the preferred standard.
2 So not only should we be using United States census
3 numbers, we should also be using Tier 1 standards,
4 and we all know that Tier 1 says you cannot favor a
5 political party.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you. Thank you,
7 ma'am. That's --

8 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: My two minutes are
9 up?

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Please continue. My
11 mistake. You have two minutes. Proceed.

12 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: Thank you so -- thank
13 you so very much.

14 Furthermore, we know that Mr. Kelly stated
15 that this particular -- these particular maps affect
16 18 districts, and as a result of that, it would
17 favor 20 Republican districts and 8 Democratic
18 districts.

19 The citizens of the state of Florida voted
20 for Fair Districts. So not only does it violate the
21 will of the people, it also violates the Equal
22 Protection Clause. The second section of the 14th
23 Amendment strictly states that you must not prohibit
24 voting practices or procedures that discriminate on
25 the basis of race, color, or membership in one

1 minority language.

2 Last and not -- certainly not least, I
3 would say to you we must protect minority access
4 districts from retrogression. We must protect
5 minority access districts from retrogression. Black
6 people, minorities, people of color, and people of
7 minority language ethnicities should have
8 representation. We are --

9 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

10 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: -- a part of this
11 democracy, and we deserve to be heard.

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

13 LASHONDA HOLLOWAY: Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: My apologies for
15 interrupting you.

16 Ms. Staats. Next on deck is Judy Sheklin
17 of Jacksonville.

18 You are recognized, ma'am.

19 NANCY STAATS: Good afternoon, everyone.
20 My name is Dr. Nancy Staats. I'm a board-certified
21 medical doctor, but you don't need an advanced
22 degree to see what is happening here. What we are
23 seeing is a blatant disenfranchisement of African
24 American communities and their representatives.

25 The Governor has many duties and

1 responsibilities, but drawing maps is not one of
2 them. That is your job, and you are here working
3 hard doing that job. But unfortunately the Governor
4 rejected all your hard work, then came up with us
5 his maps, which you appropriately, rightfully
6 rejected when he first proposed. But now suddenly,
7 after vetoing yours, he's back with more nonsense,
8 and you have folded like a cheap suit, the
9 Republicans.

10 Now, what I would like to say --

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ma'am, I'm going to
12 remind you. I don't know if you were here when we
13 --

14 NANCY STAATS: Yes. Thank you. I will.

15 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- started the meeting --

16 NANCY STAATS: I will.

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- regarding decorum --

18 NANCY STAATS: I will. Yes.

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- in the Committee room.

20 NANCY STAATS: I will. What happened in
21 those two months? I'm just curious. Were there
22 discussions about budgetary requests perhaps? Was
23 there arm twisting? I don't know. Maybe someone
24 can clarify. It's painfully clear to me that
25 everyone in this room and everyone outside of this

1 room knows this entire special session is a farce
2 because there is not even another map being
3 considered.

4 As has been mentioned by others, our
5 Harvard-educated Governor must be well aware that
6 this map violates both the Florida Fair Districts
7 Amendment and the Voting Rights Act, but perhaps he
8 wants the attention. Perhaps a Supreme Court case?
9 I don't know.

10 Everyone remembers back our American
11 history lesson that our government was formed in
12 response to an authoritarian ruler, King George.
13 Our Founding Fathers created a system of three
14 district, autonomous branches of government, yet
15 here we are today, seeking complete -- seeing
16 complete complicity on your part to a new king.

17 In closing, as a physician, I took an oath.
18 I pledged to uphold the Hippocratic Oath. You too,
19 each of you, took an oath. You have taken oaths to
20 uphold the State and U.S. Constitutions and to serve
21 your constituents, and many of you sadly seem to
22 have forgotten. We will not.

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

24 Ms. Sheklin, you're up next, followed by
25 Juanita Powell-Williams of Jacksonville.

1 Ladies and gentlemen, if I'd just ask you,
2 when you come to the podium, if you would identify
3 yourself once again. And we'll observe the two
4 minutes, but we may be pressed for time moving
5 forward.

6 Ma'am, you are recognized.

7 JUDY SHEKLIN: My name is Judy Sheklin, and
8 I live in Jacksonville. I'm speaking in opposition
9 to the Governor's proposed maps for several reasons.
10 It is the responsibility of the Legislature to
11 create congressional maps during redistricting
12 according to Article III of the Florida
13 Constitution.

14 The House and Senate, as the previous
15 speaker stated, created and approved maps that you
16 were satisfied with, which, as we know, were then
17 vetoed and redrawn by the Governor. This is
18 unprecedented in state Legislatures throughout the
19 United States.

20 The Legislature here, quickly, the House
21 and Senate acquiesced to the Governor, and that
22 created a dramatic imbalance of power in our state
23 government. This is troubling to me as a citizen.
24 The Governor's maps are a radical departure and
25 aren't in compliance with state and federal law.

1 These maps, as we've heard today, reduce the
2 likelihood of minorities to elect congressional
3 members of their choice, eliminating two minority
4 districts, and also violating the Voting Rights Act.

5 In 2010, Florida passed the Fair Districts
6 Amendment, and the citizens stated and deserve and
7 expect fairness in redistricting decisions. The
8 Governor's plan that creates 20 Republican minority
9 -- majority districts out of -- and 8 majority
10 Democratic districts blatantly demonstrates partisan
11 gerrymandering.

12 Please stand up for all Floridians and
13 oppose these unfair maps. Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

15 Ms. Powell-Williams, you're up, followed by
16 Cristian Cardona.

17 You're recognized.

18 JUANITA POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes. Thank you.

19 Good afternoon. Juanita Powell-Williams
20 from Jacksonville, Florida. We often in the law
21 consider knowledge and intent. Ladies and
22 gentlemen, I present to you today that there is full
23 knowledge of what is being done here today within
24 Florida.

25 Florida has become a laughingstock,

1 unfortunately, and with that, you as our leaders are
2 privy to that. There is full knowledge, and with
3 that, intent, to do just what the Governor is doing.
4 He is taking away a right of a people. We are
5 retrogressing back to the past, and you are allowing
6 that to happen.

7 I know this is falling on deaf ears,
8 unfortunately. We're here from -- your constituents
9 are here from these various counties within Florida,
10 and we're speaking out regardless of some of you
11 already having made up your minds as to what's going
12 to come out of your mouth.

13 But we're here. Ladies and gentlemen,
14 we're going to speak up. We're going to vote, and
15 we will remember. Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

17 Cristian Cardona followed by Marsha Davis.

18 If I could remind members, if I call your
19 name second, if you could make your -- members of
20 the public, if you could make your way up, you're on
21 deck. That will help us move things a little bit --
22 move along a little bit faster.

23 You are recognized.

24 CRISTIAN CARDONA: Thank you.

25 Hello, everyone. My name is Cristian

1 Cardona. I am opposed to the redistricting plan. I
2 am a worker and a leader with the Fight for \$15 and
3 the union. Different movements are gathered here
4 today because we stand against the elimination of
5 protections that the Fair Districts Amendment
6 provides. This map is a direct attack on black
7 representation and our democracy, and that ain't
8 right.

9 I want to share why -- I want to share my
10 experience as a voter and why this issue is
11 important to me. I moved to Orlando, Florida, with
12 my family in 2009. I gained citizenship and just in
13 time to vote for Amendment 2, which brought us one
14 step closer to a living wage, which is something I
15 have been organizing and speaking up about for
16 years.

17 This amendment has a direct impact on the
18 community around me, my family, my friends, and my
19 neighbors. It felt powerful to organize and
20 campaign to raise the standard of living for
21 millions of Floridians. The day I got to vote yes
22 for Amendment 2 was a day that I will always
23 remember. After months of complaining and yelling
24 it out to the world, I finally had the chance to
25 cast my vote along with my community.

1 This is why it's so important that workers
2 have a strong voice and a vote. Workers have never
3 been given rights. We've had to fight for all of
4 the things that we won, ever little crumb, every
5 race, every right, and this fight is no different.

6 Governor DeSantis is trying to diminish our
7 ability to have our voices heard at the state level,
8 which we aren't going to let happen. Thank you.

9 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

10 Marsha Davis, followed by Rosemary McCoy of
11 Jacksonville, followed by Tameka Hobbs of
12 Jacksonville.

13 Ma'am, you are recognized.

14 MARSHA DAVIS: Thank you.

15 Good afternoon. I'm Marsha Davis from
16 Orlando, Florida. I'm here to speak against
17 Governor DeSantis' legislative map.

18 Floridians passed the Fair District Act
19 amending the State Constitution to protect minority
20 voters, to ensure their access to representation,
21 and to limit legislators from drawing maps that are
22 unfair. And this map is -- these maps are unfair.
23 It's just not right. I hope your conscience is
24 twinging just a little bit.

25 Minority growth in the last -- this last

1 census is very clear. That's why we got an
2 additional congressional seat. That tells us that
3 we need more representation, not less. So I would
4 ask you to consider that. The plan is unfair, and I
5 believe the plan is unconstitutional. So I would
6 ask for you to please think about all of your
7 constituents and vote no. Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

9 Rosemary McCoy, followed by Tameka Hobbs
10 and then Laura Cardona.

11 ROSEMARY MCCOY: Good afternoon and thank
12 you so much for having us here and thank you so much
13 for being here.

14 We are living in a time of desperate
15 reaction, and we need your reaction in a positive
16 way. Everyone here knows that we have a war, and
17 yes, I'm going to continue to speak about this here
18 war, Russia and Ukrainian. It's a serious war
19 because it does affect us, whether we're in Florida
20 as a state or whether we are federal or whether we
21 are citizens, residents of the state of Florida.

22 I am a disabled veteran, and I believe in
23 this country. I would go to war today for this
24 country, and you know what I'm asking you all to do?
25 I'm asking you to go to war right here in the state

1 of Florida. I'm asking you to put down your party.
2 We're not here to be Republicans. We're not here to
3 be Democrats or Independents. We're here to serve
4 the people. I have a nonprofit organization called
5 Harriet Tubman Freedom Fighters, freedom fighters.

6 I believe in freedom. I am a Ukrainian. I
7 have that spirit, and I pray that each one of you
8 do. I pray that you do not bow down to a dictator.
9 We have to stop this. When are we going to stop
10 this?

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ma'am, I'm going to
12 caution you regarding --

13 ROSEMARY MCCOY: Stop it now. Stop it now.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Our next speaker is
15 Tameka Hobbs, followed by Laura Cardona.

16 I'd like to remind members of the audience
17 as well regarding civility and decorum in the
18 Committee room.

19 Ma'am, you are recognized.

20 TAMEKA HOBBS: Thank you. Good evening.
21 My name is Dr. Tameka Hobbs. I am a recent resident
22 of Jacksonville and Congressional District 5. I am
23 a native of Florida. I grew up not very far from
24 here in Suwannee County. I am here to report to you
25 as a person who has lived the majority of my life

1 here in the state of Florida that I have never paid
2 as much attention to the proceedings of this
3 organization because I have never in my life been as
4 concerned as I have been over the last several
5 months.

6 I'm here to voice my opposition to the maps
7 that are being presented by the Governor to this
8 legislative body because, on its face, that is
9 outside of his scope and function. This body has a
10 responsibility for bringing these maps, developing
11 these maps, as you have, for consideration. And it
12 is a definite violation of the checks and balances
13 that are built into our Constitution, as I
14 understand them, for someone else to present those
15 to us. So I will say that, number one.

16 I will also echo what's been said already
17 in that these proposed maps, this proposed map is
18 unconstitutional based on the Florida State
19 Constitution, based on the Fair Districts Amendment
20 from 2010, based on the Voter Rights Amendment
21 that's been -- Voting Rights Act, excuse me, that's
22 been presented here several times.

23 I'd also like to talk about what I heard in
24 the two times, both in the Senate and before this
25 body, that I have heard Mr. Kelly make his

1 representations about the way that the map that was
2 presented today was -- had come about. He asserted
3 us that he was very interested in it being squared
4 and compact. He described these very round
5 districts. Visually, certainly, we can certainly
6 see that.

7 What he has used -- and I believe
8 mistakenly -- is the application of this idea that
9 these maps were constructed in a race neutral
10 fashion. If it was race neutral, we would not be
11 dealing with the disillusionment, the dismantlement
12 of two of four seats -- congressional districts that
13 have put African Americans in the Congress.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ma'am, your time is
15 expired. You want to just bring it in for a
16 landing.

17 TAMEKA HOBBS: For two minutes?

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ma'am, your time is
19 expired.

20 TAMEKA HOBBS: Okay.

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: If you'd like to wrap up
22 your comments.

23 TAMEKA HOBBS: I would like to say that
24 that is on its face false. I want to say to this
25 body that you have a choice before you. As a

1 historian I have followed the racial history, very
2 painful --

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

4 TAMEKA HOBBS: -- history that has not been
5 considered here.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am. Thank
7 you.

8 TAMEKA HOBBS: You have a choice about your
9 legacy today.

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much.

11 Laura Cardona of Orlando and then
12 Christopher Nurse of Jacksonville waives in
13 opposition. Our next speaker -- is Laura Cardona
14 coming up? Christopher Nurse waives in opposition.
15 The next speaker Sheila Singleton of Jacksonville,
16 followed by Barney Roberts of Jacksonville.

17 Sheila Singleton?

18 Barney Roberts of Jacksonville, come on up,
19 sir. And then our next speaker will be Trish Neely
20 of Tallahassee.

21 BARNEY ROBERTS: Hi. I'm Barney Roberts
22 from Jacksonville, Florida. I'd like to challenge
23 you to build a future for our kids for tomorrow. If
24 they look at Tallahassee as it has been for the last
25 couple years and they see the behavior that's

1 happening here, then they're going to say, hey, what
2 should we do about it?

3 Our kids deserve the best, and I hope that
4 you do that too with your decision that you make
5 today and tomorrow. Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, sir.

7 Trish Neely, Tallahassee, followed by Larry
8 Coleton (phonetic) of Orlando.

9 TRISH NEELY: Thank you.

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Ma'am, you're recognized.

11 TRISH NEELY: Thank you for the opportunity
12 to speak. I'm Trish Neely, and I am with the League
13 of Women Voters.

14 I won't repeat what's already been said,
15 but I do have two points. Number one, it was the
16 League of Women Voters against the State of Florida
17 that was the lawsuit that Mr. Kelly mentioned, and
18 we disagree that the court got it wrong. We believe
19 they got it very right.

20 We urge you, urge you to carefully consider
21 what this map will do. It cuts the voting power of
22 African Americans by 50 percent. Think of that, by
23 50 percent, and this is very reminiscent of
24 Florida's voter suppression tactics of over 100
25 years ago.

1 Folks, we don't want to go backwards. We
2 need to go be going forward. We urge you to vote
3 this map down. Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

5 Larry Coleton -- I'm sorry. I know I'm
6 mispronouncing that -- followed by Hedder Pierre-
7 Joseph of Orlando.

8 If you're going to speak and I mention your
9 name, please make your way forward in the interest
10 of time.

11 Hedder will be followed by Stacy Williams
12 of Orlando.

13 Sir, you're recognized.

14 LARRY COLETON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
15 Larry Coleton from Orlando, Florida.

16 I find myself thinking that I'm back in the
17 1950s or 1940s. This reminds me of basically,
18 pardon the language, but white supremacy.

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, I'm --

20 LARRY COLETON: And the fact of the matter
21 is it's ironic to me that the 14th Amendment would
22 be turned on its head when that was initiated to
23 protect Africans who were recently freed from
24 slavery, and we, me, an African descendant of
25 slavery, having people stand -- sit here and talk

1 about this as though -- and using it as a weapon
2 against the very people it was intended to protect.

3 This is a moment for profiles in either
4 courage or cowardice. To be intimidated by the
5 Governor of this state to capitulate, this is not
6 this Committee's bill. This is the Governor's bill.
7 You haven't done your job. You aren't doing your
8 job, and we are not going to forget this. And
9 history will speak to you. It will speak about you.
10 You will be dealt with for your history and
11 hopefully at the ballot box.

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, sir.

13 Hedder Pierre-Joseph -- I apologize. I'm
14 butchering the name -- followed by Stacy Williams.

15 HEDDER PIERRE-JOSEPH: No worries. Good
16 evening to the Committee and the Committee members.

17 My name is Hedder Pierre-Joseph.
18 Redistricting is the process by which new
19 congressional and state legislative districts are
20 drawn. Federal law stipulates that districts must
21 have nearly equal population and must not
22 discriminate on the basis of race and ethnicity.

23 The current redistricting map, which
24 eliminates congressional House representation for
25 black people, is based on solely fear, fear that

1 black people are voting. As black people who are
2 descendants of the enslaved Africans, we know our
3 history, and we have seen this devil before.

4 I implore you not to continue down the dark
5 path of your ancestors and deny black people their
6 constitutional right of representation. I remind
7 all of you of the Boston Tea Party of 1773.

8 Finally, I ask you to look around and to
9 see the promise and the hope of the enslaved
10 Africans. We are on the side of justice, and with
11 the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and our ancestors,
12 we shall always overcome. Remember, there is
13 something called God and time. Thank you for your
14 consideration.

15 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you. My apologies
16 for butchering your name.

17 Stacy Williams followed by Troy Squire.

18 Stacy Williams is not here.

19 Troy Squire of Jacksonville. If I call
20 your name, if you'd make your way forward.

21 Following Troy will be Jonathan Webber of
22 Tallahassee.

23 TROY SQUIRE: THANK YOU for letting me
24 speak.

25 I just have one question, but first, my

1 name is Troy Squire. I live in Congressional
2 District 5, and as the regional breakdown for
3 Northern Florida states, your plan will split black
4 communities across three different congressional
5 districts, which results in the loss of the current
6 black opportunity district, linking Jacksonville and
7 Tallahassee.

8 So my question is to Governor Ronald Deon
9 DeSantis and this Subcommittee. What are you saying
10 (sic) is that black votes does not matter to you?
11 That's my only question. Thank you.

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, sir.

13 Jonathan Webber of Tallahassee, followed by
14 David Rucker of Orlando. And after David will be
15 Genesis Robinson of Daytona Beach.

16 Sir, you are recognized.

17 JONATHAN WEBBER: Thank you so much.

18 Good afternoon. My name is Jonathan
19 Webber. I'm the deputy director of Florida
20 Conservation Voters, and for the record, I do live
21 in CD 5, Al Lawson's district just south of
22 Apalachee here in Tallahassee.

23 Florida Conservation Voters strongly
24 believes that the health of our environment is
25 directly tied to the health of our republic, and

1 just as we monitor our water for pollution, we
2 monitor our government for signs of sickness.

3 Fair representation is one of the best
4 metrics we have to measure the health of our
5 government. The census and ensuing redistricting
6 process is the test. Today, we're asking ourselves
7 questions like, was this map drawn in complete
8 transparency? Does it respect the rules set forth
9 in the Voting Rights Act, in the state and federal
10 Constitutions? Were the people of Florida given
11 ample opportunity to participate and comment on this
12 map? And most important, considering the profound
13 legacy of state-sponsored oppression in Florida,
14 does it protect or diminish the right of black
15 Floridians to elect the leaders of their choice.

16 You all know the answers to these
17 questions, and while fair representation is vital,
18 fear of doing the right thing is the ultimate
19 terminal sickness in democracy. Our republic is
20 only as strong as the rights of the minority groups
21 to participate. I love this country not so much for
22 its history but for its promise. But that promise
23 must be guaranteed to everyone, not just the
24 powerful or the monied or the ruling class.

25 FCV stands in solidarity with our friends

1 and allies across the state in opposition to these
2 maps. Thank you all for coming today. Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

4 Next is David Rucker, followed by Genesis
5 Robinson.

6 Ladies and gentlemen, we have about 20
7 speaker cards left. I'd like to move into debate at
8 6:00 p.m. So following you, sir, I will be reducing
9 public testimony to one minute each.

10 Thank you, sir.

11 DAVID RUCKER: You're giving me one minute?

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: No, sir. After you.

13 DAVID RUCKER: Oh, after me.

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: You have two minutes.

15 DAVID RUCKER: Good. My name is David
16 Rucker. I live in Orlando. I live in District 10,
17 and I am a super voter. I started voting when I was
18 18. That's in the Civil Rights in 1965. I've only
19 missed two voting out of my whole time as being a
20 teenager and a young and old adult.

21 And what I like to do and have you guys,
22 before you even think about voting, we keep asking
23 you to vote and the things that we don't like about
24 what's happening with the Governor and what he's
25 talking about, I want you to go back.

1 Before you make this vote -- in 1975, a
2 song came out by the O'Jays, and it would say you
3 got to give the people what they want. Before you
4 vote, I want you to listen to that song. I want you
5 to listen to it all the way through and then come
6 back and vote. All right. That's what I need you
7 to do. All right.

8 The next thing, there are four positions
9 that we have now. The Governor want to cut them
10 down to two, all right. You need to look at that
11 too. We're talking about oppression of voters,
12 especially blacks at that time, in '65. We need to
13 take heed and look at those things. We don't want
14 to repeat history, all right. We want to move
15 forward.

16 But what the Governor is trying to is to
17 try to repeat history, which is not good for all of
18 us in America, you know. U.S. is us. That means we
19 are here together, but remember, what I want you to
20 do, 1975, the O'Jays, the O'Jays, all right. You
21 got to give the people what they want. Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, sir.

23 Genesis Robinson, followed by Gail Gardner,
24 one minute.

25 Sir, you are recognized.

1 GENESIS ROBINSON: Mr. Chair, I would ask
2 that you reconsider to allow two minutes so I can
3 speak.

4 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir. I have --

5 GENESIS ROBINSON: I have somebody that's
6 going to yield his time.

7 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: I have 20 speakers left.
8 One minute, sir. You are recognized.

9 GENESIS ROBINSON: Okay. Thank you. Good
10 afternoon, members. Thank you, Mr. Chair, for the
11 opportunity to speak for one minute to address the
12 House Subcommittee.

13 My name is Genesis Robinson. I am a
14 registered voter in the state of Florida. I also
15 serve as the political director for Equal Ground
16 Action Fund. We are a black-led voting rights
17 organization working to increase civic engagement in
18 black communities throughout the state.

19 We are here in opposition to this plan.
20 Obviously, you have abdicated your responsibility to
21 draw maps to the Governor, and as an organization
22 working to expand equity in the state, we believe
23 that this map is unconstitutional.

24 With minority growth that we saw in the
25 2020 census, it is critical that we have diverse

1 viewpoints and experiences represented at the
2 federal level of government. The lived experiences
3 and perspectives of these individuals are a crucial
4 part in representing and reflecting the fullness of
5 our state.

6 It is unconscionable to think that maps
7 that govern our state for the next decade could give
8 us less minority representation than we currently
9 have. When the history of this moment is written,
10 you do not want your name to be among those that
11 violated --

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, your time --

13 GENESIS ROBINSON: -- and voted to take --

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: -- your time is expired.

15 GENESIS ROBINSON: -- away minority
16 representation --

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

18 GENESIS ROBINSON: -- in the state of
19 Florida. Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

21 Gail Gardner of Ocoee, followed by Cheryl
22 Jones of Winter Garden.

23 Ma'am, you're recognized.

24 GAIL GARDNER: Good evening. Gail Gardner
25 from District 10.

1 In the '60s, my ancestors who lived in the
2 North where I was born and grew up would board a
3 charter bus and head south where they were born and
4 grew up. Well, now, I too boarded a charter bus
5 today for the same reason.

6 My experience has been that we are fighting
7 once again and repeating history. Our ancestors did
8 this. They defended their time. They defended the
9 right to vote. And so, therefore, we're asking that
10 the congressional redistricting map not just to draw
11 the line but hold the line and make this legislative
12 body accountable and not allow the persuasive
13 executive decision by the Governor to be a force to
14 diminish the black vote, of which those of you who
15 benefited from the Fair Districts Amendment 5 and 6
16 that prohibits politicians from drawing districts
17 that favor themselves and their parties, to ensure
18 that minorities will have the opportunity to elect
19 representatives of their choice. Let's not allow
20 history to repeat itself. Thank you.

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

22 Cheryl Jones, followed by Ebony Hardy-Allen
23 of Jacksonville.

24 Ma'am, you are recognized.

25 CHERYL JONES: Hello. I am Cheryl Jones

1 from Orlando.

2 I want to emphasize that our democracy is
3 under attack. When you look at this redistricting
4 map, it is clearly and blatantly designed to oppress
5 black voters.

6 And I also want to address the fact that
7 you would not have the speaker under oath. That
8 simply holds them accountable. I don't know if
9 others in here have heard, but he's flip-flopped
10 back and forth a few times between here and the
11 Senate, and being under oath holds his word to his
12 record. So we would like to make sure that as we
13 listen to the speakers, that they are held
14 accountable and that the redistricting map actually
15 does represent the citizens of our state.

16 I live in Orlando, which is currently
17 district 10, but the redistricting will put me in
18 District 11. And some of the reasons that were
19 stated as to why it's being redistricted are
20 different from other counties. Other counties are
21 held intact, and I believe that holding our
22 representatives accountable will make a difference.

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Your time is expired.

24 Thank you, ma'am.

25 Our next speaker is Ebony Hardy-Allen,

1 followed by Indesar Sabris (phonetic) of
2 Jacksonville, and then we'll have Gail Presley of
3 Orlando.

4 Ma'am, you're recognized.

5 EBONY HARDY-ALLEN: Hello. My name is
6 Ebony Hardy-Allen. I'm a voter's right advocate.

7 Since I only have one minute, I'm only
8 going to take 30 seconds because I've sat here, and
9 I prepared a speech. But I'm not going to use it.
10 I sat here, and I listened. And I looked at
11 everybody's faces.

12 Three things, this reminds me of a poll
13 tax. This reminds me of a literacy test. This
14 reminds me of a paper bag test. My skin is too
15 dark. I will not have representation. If you all
16 vote for this bill, we will remember. We will vote
17 you out of office. I am asking that you do not
18 strip us of our representation. That's all I have
19 to say. Literacy tests, poll tax, and a paper bag
20 test.

21 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

22 Indesar Sabris of Jacksonville, and then
23 we'll have Gail Presley of Orlando, followed by
24 Hazel Gillis of Jacksonville.

25 Ms. Presley?

1 GAIL PRESLEY: Yes?

2 Come on up.

3 Hazel Gillis will be next, followed by
4 Cecile Scoon.

5 Ma'am, you're recognized.

6 GAIL PRESLEY: Well, thank you and good
7 afternoon. Thank you, Chairman. To all of our
8 House of Representatives, my name is Gail Presley,
9 and I am a proud member of Congressional District
10 Number 10, which is held by none other than our
11 House of Representative.

12 It is disheartening to me here today to
13 hear some of the information that was shared,
14 especially from the attorney today. I come from a
15 family, who have -- back in the 1960s, listening to
16 some of the stories that they told me about voters
17 rights and how they had to fight so hard to become a
18 voter. I feel like I'm back in the 1960s today, and
19 it is 2022.

20 I do oppose to the bill that is here today,
21 and I implore you -- because you took an oath to
22 serve the people. And we are the people. I am that
23 person, and I do represent Congress -- Congressional
24 District 10, and I do implore you, ladies and
25 gentlemen, to do the right thing --

1 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Your time is --

2 GAIL PRESLEY: -- and vote the right way.

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Your time is expired.

4 GAIL PRESLEY: Thank you, Chairman.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you very much.

6 Thank you, ma'am.

7 Hazel Gillis, followed by Cecile Scoon, and
8 then we'll have Allison Clark of Maitland.

9 Ma'am, you're recognized.

10 HAZEL GILLIS: Good evening. My name is
11 Hazel Gillis. I am a member of the James Weldon
12 Johnson Branch of the ASALH, the Association for the
13 Study of African American Life and History, and I
14 live in Congressional District 5 in Jacksonville,
15 Florida.

16 Governor Ron DeSantis' rejection of Florida
17 Legislature-drawn maps is a direct attack on black
18 representation in our democracy. By proposing a
19 congressional map that reduces Florida's black
20 representation in Congress by 50 percent, the
21 Governor is attempting to silence the voices of
22 hundreds of thousands of black voters.

23 We oppose any map that has been drawn by
24 Governor Ron DeSantis. In 2010, Florida passed the
25 Fair Districts Amendments 5 and 6 that prohibits

1 politicians from drawing districts to favor
2 themselves and their parties and to ensure minority
3 voters have equal opportunity to participate in the
4 political process and have a fair opportunity to
5 elect representatives of their choice --

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

7 HAZEL GILLIS: -- their party.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Your time is expired.

9 HAZEL GILLIS: We must end this
10 manipulation. Thank you.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Cecile Scoon of Panama
12 City.

13 Thank you, ma'am.

14 Cecile Scoon of Panama City, followed by
15 Allison Clark of Maitland, followed by ZsaZsa
16 Ingram-Fitzpatrick of Tallahassee.

17 Ma'am, you are recognized.

18 CECILE SCOON: Thank you. Cecile Scoon,
19 President of the League of Women Voters of Florida.

20 What a difference a day makes. I was here
21 a few weeks ago, and I was really proud of this body
22 when you addressed Mr. Popper, Professor Popper, and
23 he came forth with this idea, turning things on its
24 head and telling you that following the law was
25 illegal.

1 And you literally asked him, do you have a
2 case on point? And the man said no. I don't. And
3 that is the true fact. You are ignoring Tier 1.
4 Tier 1 actually does not require intent, as Mr.
5 Kelly seemed to be implying and stating. It goes by
6 impact. If you do not protect the voting rights and
7 make sure that people have an opportunity to select
8 a representative of their choice if they are a
9 minority by race or language, you are violating Tier
10 1, and you are violating the Florida Supreme Court's
11 standing on the law. And that's simply the case.

12 They are trying to change the law ahead of
13 time. The Governor is supposed to enforce the law,
14 not change the law. The people that write the law
15 are the legislators. This is all backwards, and
16 it's hurting every single citizen of this state.

17 Yes. Black people are being targeted, but
18 the destruction of our separation of powers is --

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

20 CECILE SCOON: -- is affecting everyone.

21 Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am. Thank
23 you.

24 CECILE SCOON: Please vote no.

25 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

1 Ms. Clark of Maitland, followed by ZsaZsa
2 Ingram-Fitzpatrick of Tallahassee, and then we'll
3 have Myrtle Lucas of Jacksonville.

4 Ma'am, you are recognized.

5 ALLISON CLARK: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

6 I am Dr. Allison Clark, a native Floridian
7 born in Volusia County, and I live in District 7. I
8 am here to voice my opposition to this bill.

9 I could cite historical data, statistics,
10 court cases, et cetera that demonstrate the
11 unconstitutionality of the vote that you are about
12 to take, but due to time, I will keep my statement
13 to this.

14 The purpose of this session is clear to the
15 nation and Floridians. It is to establish a path
16 for the Governor's race for the White House in 2024,
17 and it is a path that is being built on the backs of
18 Florida's black voters. I ask you to vote no to
19 this bill.

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

21 ZsaZsa Ingram-Fitzpatrick, followed by
22 Myrtle Lucas.

23 Ma'am, you are recognized.

24 ZSAZSA INGRAM-FITZPATRICK: Thank you.

25 I am ZsaZsa Ingram-Fitzpatrick, and I come

1 to give you a brief statement. It is about facts,
2 rights, and responsibility. The fact is it is not
3 in the Governor's job description that he should be
4 putting forth maps on redistricting.

5 It is your right to tell him to stay in his
6 lane and do his job, and it is the responsibility of
7 us, the voters, the people who put you in office, to
8 come before you and let you know what we think when
9 we do not like what you're doing.

10 And today I am requesting that you look
11 closely at what is being put forth to diminish black
12 voters and people of color, our voices within this
13 state, and that you also look at the census and know
14 that we are that sleeping giant because our numbers
15 are not diminishing. They are growing. Thank you
16 and vote against this bill.

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

18 Myrtle Lucas of Jacksonville, followed by
19 Haraka Carswell of Jacksonville, and then we'll have
20 Ingrid Montgomery.

21 MYRTLE LUCAS: Okay. My name is Myrtle
22 Lucas. I am a member of the James Weldon Johnson
23 Branch of the ASALH, the Association for the Study
24 of African American Life and History, and I live in
25 the Congressional District 5 in Jacksonville,

1 Florida.

2 We oppose any map that has been drawn by
3 the Governor -- by Governor Ron DeSantis.
4 Legislators and Governors are doing this to unfairly
5 rule -- unfairly have it their way. That's what I'm
6 really going to say. Okay. We must end this at the
7 cost to protect our democracy and black voters. We
8 vote for legislation --

9 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

10 MYRTLE LUCAS: -- to draw -- no. I can't
11 sit -- to draw maps for Fair Districts, and we want
12 them to do their job.

13 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am. Your
14 time is expired.

15 MYRTLE LUCAS: Okay. Enough for Governor
16 DeSantis.

17 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

18 Haraka Carswell, followed by Ingrid
19 Montgomery, and we'll -- no Haraka Carswell?

20 Ingrid Montgomery?

21 Yes, ma'am.

22 HARAKA CARSWELL: (No audible response)

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Waive in opposition.

24 Thank you very much.

25 Ingrid Montgomery?

Page 133

1 INGRID MONTOMERY: (No audible response)

2 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Oh. My apologies. Thank
3 you, ma'am.

4 Jasmine Burney-Clark, an opponent of the
5 bill.

6 Odwan Whitfield (phonetic) of Jacksonville,
7 an opponent of the bill. Are you here to speak?
8 Come on up, sir. And then we'll have Gwendolyn
9 Colman of Jacksonville.

10 Sir, you are recognized.

11 ODWAN WHITFIELD: My name is Odwan
12 Whitfield. I'm in Congressional District 5. I'm a
13 taxpayer, and I am a United States Army combat
14 veteran. I fought over in district -- in foreign
15 territories only to come back here to fight for my
16 rights for representation.

17 It bothers me. It bothers me that we rush
18 through this Committee hearing. First, it was for
19 the interest of the people. So you rush the
20 Representatives, and the people come up, and we rush
21 the Representatives.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, could you please
23 keep your comments to the legislation.

24 ODWAN WHITFIELD: It's to you all. And so
25 what's the rush? The session is from the 19th until

Page 134

1 the 22nd. Why are we rushing so fast? This affects
2 me and the people in my district.

3 The difference between you all saying that,
4 you know, well, my uncle, auntie, cousin, brother,
5 sister went to war, the difference is they don't
6 have to come back to this. They don't have to. Do
7 your jobs.

8 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, your time is --

9 ODWAN WHITFIELD: It isn't fair.

10 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Sir, your time is
11 expired.

12 ODWAN WHITFIELD: Do your jobs. That's all
13 (indiscernible).

14 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Your time is expired.
15 Thank you.

16 Gwendolyn Coleman, Jacksonville.

17 Thank you for your service.

18 Gwendolyn Coleman, an opponent of the bill.

19 Walter Smith of Jacksonville, an opponent
20 of the bill.

21 Kristin Fowailee of Maitland, an opponent
22 of the bill.

23 Dr.Carolynn Zonia, followed by Lisa Perry.
24 Lisa, are you here? Next will be Joey McKinnon.

25 Ma'am, you are recognized.

1 DR. CAROLYNN ZONIA: Okay. Mr. Chairman,
2 Committee members, I'm Dr. Carolynn Zonia. I'm
3 speaking against the Governor's maps.

4 I just wanted to point out in September
5 2021, the U.S. Department of Justice issued
6 guidelines for Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act,
7 and they clearly state that it's prohibited -- it
8 prohibits any procedure or practices that minimize
9 or cancel out the voting strength of members of
10 racial or language minority groups in the voting
11 population.

12 So whether you vote down the amendment,
13 whether, you know, you're keeping the language in
14 that says that you're limiting where this can be
15 challenge, it's going to be challenged, and it's
16 going to be overturned. Please vote against the
17 Governor's maps. Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, ma'am.

19 Lisa Perry, followed by Joey McKinnon.

20 Mr. McKinnon, you are recognized.

21 JOEY MCKINNON: Thank you, Chair.

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: I'm sorry. Excuse me.

23 Lisa Perry is an opponent of the bill.

24 Sir, you're recognized.

25 JOEY MCKINNON: Thank you, Chair.

1 My name is Joey McKinnon, and I'm a
2 resident of the impacted CD 5. And I'm opposed to
3 this bill.

4 During the regular legislative session,
5 you, the Legislature, produced a map that was
6 challenged to my knowledge by no one. Until
7 Governor DeSantis broke with democratic norms, and
8 here we are. And to be fair, I love many of you,
9 but I didn't want to see you after Easter.

10 Stand by your maps. You did a good job.
11 How often do people come to this podium and say
12 that? But stand by your map. After this past
13 session, it's time to turn down the heat. We all
14 know that.

15 Today, you have the opportunity to protect
16 the Constitution of the great state of Florida by
17 upholding the Fair Districts Amendments, defend
18 democratic norms, and prioritize people over
19 partisanship, like you did with your maps. So let's
20 do what's right. Thank you.

21 Thank you. We have Charletta Sowell of
22 Jacksonville, waiving in opposition.

23 And finally Joanne Brooks of Jacksonville,
24 waiving in opposition.

25 Members, we are now in debate.

1 Members wishing to debate.

2 Representative Benjamin, you are
3 recognized, followed by Representative Skidmore.

4 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: Thank you,
5 Mr. Chair.

6 We're here at this special session and in
7 this Subcommittee to consider the Governor's veto
8 with regards to a map or maps that we sent him that
9 we believed at the time that we sent them that those
10 maps were constitutionally compliant and that those
11 maps were sufficient for representation in our --
12 for our congressional representation.

13 That map held that four seats from Florida
14 would hold black representation in our Congress.
15 And now we're here today discussing a map that will
16 change that representation from four to two.

17 And when we talk about the significance of
18 that, we're told that the contested seating was, in
19 fact, not legal in its iteration. However, it was
20 not challenged. It was provided to us by the courts
21 and was never challenged. That makes it benchmark.
22 That means it had to be analyzed. That means it was
23 subject to Title 3, or our Fair District Amendment,
24 and that we codify Section 5 of the VRA, which says
25 that we have to protect our representation in our

1 state from regression.

2 We believe that when we did that Title that
3 regression was something that we wanted to protect
4 our state from, and we have long recognized that in
5 the law that we can give greater protections than
6 the federal government. And it was said by counsel
7 that adhering to state law was not a compelling
8 state interest.

9 Yeah. I believe that -- and that's not
10 case law. That's his opinion, and I believe that
11 there is no greater state interest than upholding
12 our Constitution, our Constitution that gives
13 greater protections. And so we have now decided
14 that we would compromise with the Governor after
15 we've given him constitutionally compliant (sic),
16 but where is the compromise? He's given us an
17 offer, but where is our counteroffer? Where is our
18 counter discussions as to what we believe should be
19 right.

20 You've heard a lot of testimony giving here
21 today. I don't believe that the court got it wrong.
22 I believe that we're getting it wrong now, that
23 black folks matter. Black representation matters.
24 We sought to ensure that we would not go backwards.
25 Our State Constitution ensured that we would

1 continue to take Florida forward, and in doing so,
2 we enshrined it in law.

3 And so there could be no greater state
4 interest -- there could be no greater compelling
5 interest than to ensure that our laws are upheld
6 when -- especially when they give greater benefit.

7 And so we should vote this down because
8 black votes matter. Black voters matter. Black
9 representation matters, and we should give the
10 people what they want.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, Representative
12 Benjamin.

13 Members, just checking in on time,
14 according to my phone, we're at 6:02 now. I'd like
15 -- my goal is for us to vote or to have a close from
16 Chair Leek at about 6:25. So if you'd help me stay
17 on track.

18 Representative Skidmore, you are
19 recognized.

20 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: Thank
21 you, Mr. Chair.

22 I want to thank the folks that traveled
23 from around the state who came to testify today. We
24 heard they came from all parts of Florida.

25 You know, I just feel that this map clearly

1 violates the Florida Constitution. Whether it was
2 devised with the intent of denying of abridging the
3 equal opportunity of racial or language minorities
4 to participate in the political process or to
5 diminish the ability to elect representatives of
6 their choice, the fact of the matter is the result
7 is it does. And that violates the Constitution.

8 If the Governor believes, as he has stated,
9 that a racially gerrymandered district is tantamount
10 to segregation, then why did he leave Congressional
11 District 20 alone? When all of his objection was on
12 Congressional District 5 and they redrew 18 other
13 districts but they left a racially gerrymandered
14 district alone, that is -- it doesn't jive with what
15 it is that he is saying.

16 And this bill, this map, is
17 unconstitutional because whether it was devised with
18 the intent to favor a political party, the fact of
19 the matter is the result is it does. Mr. Kelly
20 testified that -- in his testimony that his cleanup
21 of the Legislature's map randomly resulted in a
22 partisan makeup of 20 Republican seats and 8
23 Democratic seats, as widely reported in the media.

24 Members, it's an Easter miracle, and all he
25 was worried about was race neutral. But remarkably

1 this map has 20 Republican performing seats and 8
2 Democratic seats. There are so many things wrong
3 with this map. There are so many things that are
4 wrong with this process and wrong with the
5 Governor's insertion of himself in this map to
6 benefit his Presidential election.

7 I am telling you this is going to come back
8 and bite you. You should vote no on this. I don't
9 care how many times we have to come back to get it
10 right. I will come back. I will come back. I will
11 come back. And you should too.

12 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Brown, you
13 are recognized in debate.

14 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: Thank you, Mr.
15 Chair.

16 Frankly, I cannot tell you what the purpose
17 of this Committee is -- here is today because it
18 seems as though there are folks within this room
19 that are sort of content with the Governor's
20 decision to run a one-man show with these
21 congressional maps.

22 Not only has this move been unprecedented,
23 but it is unnecessary meddling in its finest on
24 behalf of the Governor. I find it an honor and a
25 privilege and it is an honor and a privilege that

1 Floridians have elected us to represent them and to
2 really participate in this redistricting process.
3 But it's also our constitutional duty as legislators
4 to do so.

5 And so I refuse to sit here and neglect
6 that. I refuse to sit here and ignore my
7 constitutional duty, my moral duty, of the people of
8 the state of Florida, who entrusted us to ensure
9 that their voices are heard.

10 They voted some years ago on the Fair
11 District Amendments, and they voted for every
12 legislator in this room. Our biggest obligation to
13 them, members, is to do what's right. The biggest
14 obligation is to them and not the Governor.

15 His pride, as it was mentioned by Rep
16 Skidmore, his pride and his ambition to become
17 President by any means necessary only hurts us as a
18 collective, and it hurts us as Floridians. And we
19 have continually seen this time and time again, just
20 with the many bills that we have been asked to vote
21 on. We've seen it with SB-90. We've seen it with
22 last year election's police bill, and all these
23 bills disenfranchise voters.

24 I feel that we should not be allowing
25 someone to bully both chambers and do his bidding

1 without a fight, and so today, on behalf of the many
2 folks that have come here, those that have been
3 silent, those who have not been able to make it here
4 to Tallahassee, I'm here to fight for you as a
5 constituent. I will be voting no, absolutely. I'm
6 not here to work for the Governor or his ambition,
7 and so I ask my colleagues, I implore my colleagues,
8 not only in this room but also in the other chambers
9 and the 120 of us to do the same and do what the
10 folks of Florida sent us here to do.

11 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

12 Representative Harding in debate.

13 REPRESENTATIVE HARDING: Thank you,
14 Chairman.

15 And, first, I just want to say that I will
16 be supporting House Bill 1-C today, one, because I
17 believe that, as it's been outlined throughout this
18 process today, that I believe it's constitutional,
19 and I believe it's the right result. But, number
20 two, because there's a process.

21 And today we've talked about -- we've used
22 the term veto several times, but we haven't talked
23 about -- I'm sorry -- we've inserted the term about
24 the Governor proposing a map, but we haven't talked
25 about in the process the Governor has the ability to

1 veto. That is part of the process.

2 When you get elected, oftentimes, we were
3 told, you know, the first time you have a bill that
4 you want to run, the idea that it's going to pass on
5 its first time is pretty slim. It does happen, but
6 it's the exception. It may not work through the
7 process for a variety of reasons, or it may be
8 vetoed. And you have to come back and reconvene on
9 how do we work to move forward? And that's what
10 we're doing is moving forward.

11 When I got elected, I tried to do three
12 things when I was running and then also as I've
13 served. I've tried to be straightforward, try to
14 represent the people that have sent me here, and
15 I've also tried to stay true to my values.

16 And on the straightforward piece, I went
17 back, and there's been discussion today in Committee
18 that the previous map was just this harmonious map
19 that we all loved. And it was so great. The fact
20 was that there was not a single Democrat member that
21 voted for the previous map. So when we point to
22 that as the example, then why did you not support
23 that map?

24 And the second thing I want to point out is
25 that, just as I mentioned previously, there's a

1 process. We were -- we knew going into
2 redistricting that one of the jobs we had was we
3 could propose our own maps. That didn't happen. I
4 have not seen Democrat members that are opposing the
5 bill today propose their own maps in the process.

6 So I want to -- last thing is just to the
7 audience members, I want to thank you for being
8 here. Whether we agree or disagree, it takes
9 courage to be here, and the term courage was pointed
10 out. And I like that word courage because it takes
11 courage to speak. It takes courage to run for
12 office. It takes courage.

13 But I would implore you to hold the folks
14 accountable that you are celebrating today in
15 opposing this bill by having the courage to propose
16 their own maps, which hasn't happened.

17 So I'll be supporting this bill. Thank you
18 for being here and speaking, whether we agree or
19 disagree.

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph in
21 debate.

22 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Thank you,
23 Mr. Chair.

24 Black representation matters. Even if that
25 means you might have a better chance at getting a

1 seat in Congress. When we think about the amendment
2 that I proposed, right now, even in the bill, there
3 is a little subclause that says federal questions
4 can be addressed in federal court. So why would we
5 need to add that it needs to go to state courts?

6 Well, if you haven't been following the
7 jurisprudence, the federal courts have relegated
8 dealing with these kinds of redistricting
9 gerrymandering cases in cases where there's
10 partisanship. They say we're not touching that. So
11 partisanship is the carrot.

12 We also have indications from the U.S.
13 Supreme Court with questions raised in other
14 litigation about what constitutes a compelling
15 interest. I would posit that making sure that
16 minority representation exists is a compelling state
17 interest. Some may disagree. Some people want us
18 to be race neutral.

19 What race neutral means is that I have the
20 opportunity to ignore the impact on racial
21 minorities when I make a decision that is factually
22 neutral. That means, on its face, it doesn't take
23 into account race, but in practice, the impact, the
24 effect is that it eliminates, diminishes, decreases,
25 and has the effect of discrimination.

1 And what we're saying when we pass these
2 policies, whether it's in this context or in the
3 context of education or in the context of employment
4 is we see the pain, but we don't want to see the
5 pain. So we're just going to pretend like your pain
6 does not exist.

7 It is disgraceful that this legislative
8 body would be willing to sacrifice black
9 representation at the alter of this Governor's
10 political ambitions and maybe some of your own.
11 People, Floridians, voters, Americans should have
12 the right to choose their representatives and not
13 the other way around.

14 We should not be stacking the cards --
15 Republicans should not be stacking the cards in
16 their favor 20 to 8 and then have the nerve to come
17 up here and try to say that it was not in
18 consideration of partisanship.

19 All that does is empowers one particular
20 group to continue to ignore the needs of Floridians.
21 Floridians, both Republicans and Democrats, care
22 about things that help us to be healthy, prosperous
23 and safe, whether that means fixing our broken
24 Unemployment Compensation system -- and a number of
25 things that I'm not even going to get into.

1 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Joseph,
2 let's try to keep it, you know, within the framework
3 of the bill.

4 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: Understood.

5 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: And let's bring it in for
6 a landing because there's others that want to
7 participate.

8 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: I will do my
9 darndest right now.

10 These maps are not it. They're not even
11 our maps. They're the Governor's maps. This is
12 absurd. I was so proud of us last time that we even
13 at least made the effort. It doesn't mean that
14 those maps were perfect. We identified issues.
15 We're going to have issues. Just because something
16 isn't perfect doesn't mean it wasn't better. The
17 other ones were better than this.

18 And I'm disappointed that this is the route
19 that we have decided to go, we, to be clear, my
20 colleagues who will be voting in favor of this map.
21 That's who I mean by we. But we who are still
22 fighting for the people, whether you're Democrat or
23 Republican, whether you're black or white, we are
24 disappointed with this process, with this
25 legislation, and with the result of decreasing black

1 representation, which will be difficult to challenge
2 in advance of the next elections.

3 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Driskell
4 in debate.

5 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: Thank you,
6 Mr. Chair.

7 Members, no problem can be solved from the
8 same consciousness that created it. That's Albert
9 Einstein. And when I look at what we're doing with
10 the redistricting process, it seems to me that we're
11 trying to roll back the clock to the same
12 consciousness that created the problems such that we
13 would need a Voting Rights Act and Fair District
14 Amendments in the first place.

15 I know sometimes our debates get heated in
16 here, and we have very deep issues and values that
17 cause us to disagree. But I actually have love in
18 my heart for each and every one of you, and when I
19 go back home, people ask me, how is that possible
20 when you hear these bills that are just -- my
21 constituents, many of them perceive to be so mean
22 spirited. And I say because I'm able to connect
23 with my colleagues on a human level.

24 But I think that we've missed something in
25 the process when we can have people come before us

1 and bare their souls and their fears and their
2 frustrations, and we cannot connect with them on a
3 human level. What about their humanity? What do we
4 say to the voters of Gadsden County, the only
5 majority-minority district that we have in the state
6 of Florida? I'm sorry. We're taking your
7 representation. What about their humanity? I'm
8 worried about our consciousness. I'm worried that
9 we are going backwards with these maps.

10 Just to address a couple of things. I know
11 the point was raised that the Democrats in large
12 part did not vote in favor of the congressional maps
13 when we had them before us in regular session.
14 Well, there were some real things wrong with that,
15 starting with we introduced two maps, and the
16 primary map was closer to what the Governor was
17 proposing then, which we thought was
18 unconstitutional.

19 The secondary map was closer to what many
20 of us had worked on with Chair Sirois, and there was
21 starting to be a consensus around. And I'm not even
22 sure that passing two maps was constitutional,
23 right. So the only flip that I see -- Democrats,
24 let's be clear, have been real consistent. The only
25 flip that I see was not from our caucus.

1 And to the point that was made earlier in
2 testimony, that the Governor, you know, it's no
3 secret that he's, you know, been putting information
4 about there about these maps and what he thinks,
5 that's right. And guess what? The Legislature
6 close to ignore that for the most part. Some of his
7 feedback was taken into the primary map that was
8 passed, but we looked at what the Governor was
9 doing. We were saying no. This is wrong. It's
10 unconstitutional. The Governor is the executive
11 branch. That is to execute the law, not to
12 legislate it and to pass it. That's our job.

13 Another thing, second, the current law
14 matters. I heard in testimony today, well, the
15 court got it wrong. Well, we can opine that all
16 that we want, but the law is the law. The rule of
17 law matters, and I don't see anything that we've
18 done here that suggests to me that we actually are
19 following in a legal way redistricting principles.

20 I know. I got to bring it in for a
21 landing. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 The third point is just I see so much
23 inconsistency in what's been presented before us
24 where we focused on certain principles for certain
25 regions of the state but not for South Florida. I

1 don't understand the inconsistency. It's
2 problematic. It is rushed. We need more time,
3 Mr. Chair. We absolutely just need more time to
4 consider this. This process is not enough. I'm
5 down. Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative
7 Hunschofsky.

8 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: Thank you,
9 Mr. Chair.

10 I have to say when I asked to be on this
11 Committee, I was very excited. I find it an
12 incredible honor to be able to serve in this Florida
13 House of Representatives. Wherever the outcomes
14 end, I feel so -- it weighs tremendously on me that
15 every vote I make, every decision I make impacts
16 someone's life, and not just their life today but
17 their future.

18 It also is about a sense of trust that we
19 have been entrusted to be the voice and to speak up
20 for the people we represent. So I was super excited
21 when I got to be on this Committee, and we were told
22 really early on not to talk to people about the
23 maps, not to listen to people about the maps. And
24 we were given rules to follow.

25 And I followed them. I listened at every

1 Committee meeting. Every time something came up, I
2 always went back to the Tier 1 and Tier 2 that the
3 leadership here and the staff here told us this is
4 what we are supposed to follow. I didn't follow
5 Twitter. I didn't follow newspapers. I followed
6 exactly what I was told to follow.

7 This map doesn't follow what I was told we
8 are supposed to follow. It doesn't matter what the
9 intent is. It's the result of whether we are
10 denying or abridging the equal opportunity of racial
11 or language minorities to participate in the
12 political process or to diminish their ability to
13 elect representatives of their choice, not the
14 intent but the result.

15 That's a Tier 1 standard, which must come
16 before the Tier 2 standards. And I, as a local
17 person, always talked about I want to keep our
18 cities together, ad nauseum. But it's --

19 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative, if you
20 could -- if you could wrap up your comments please.

21 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: I will --

22 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: There are others.

23 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: I understand.

24 So what I'm saying is we talk about being
25 race neutral. I didn't see anywhere in my

1 directions that I'm supposed to be race neutral. I
2 see that I'm supposed to make sure that we're not
3 diluting representation.

4 There are also concerns in here that now
5 we're picking which courts the challenges come. We
6 didn't do that in our last maps, and we even put in
7 a \$1 million of an appropriation in here for that,
8 that we didn't do prior. And those are all concerns
9 I have with this map.

10 I don't understand why -- where the
11 difference is that some bodies of water take
12 precedent over other bodies of water, that some
13 weird-shaped districts take priority over some --
14 why 200 miles is worse than 180, and these are all
15 my concerns with this map.

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

17 Representative Latvala.

18 REPRESENTATIVE LATVALA: Thank you, Mr.
19 Chairman.

20 I think it's slightly disingenuous to say
21 that you were proud of something that you voted
22 against. The last Speaker, one of the last Speakers
23 said that there was virtually -- and my -- just for
24 the record, I was not referring to Representative
25 Hunschofsky.

1 One of the last Speakers said that the last
2 map had no opposition. Well, it was apposed by the
3 nonpartisan organization the League of Women Voters,
4 and it was also opposed by every one of my
5 Democratic colleagues. But other than that, it
6 didn't have any opposition.

7 And, you know, we passed a map, members.
8 the Governor didn't like it, and I remember the day
9 that we passed it on the floor. One of my
10 Democratic colleagues stood up on the floor and said
11 you all are passing this map for the Governor.

12 We were accused of passing the map for the
13 Governor then, and I didn't agree with that. And I
14 guess the Governor also didn't think that we passed
15 the map for him because he vetoed it, which is part
16 of his constitutional duties. He's allowed to do
17 that.

18 Gadsden County was brought up. We're
19 keeping Gadsden County whole in this map. We're not
20 including Gadsden County with a county that's 10
21 counties away.

22 I thank all the people that were here to
23 speak to us today. I thought it was interesting
24 that we had people from Tallahassee and people from
25 Jacksonville that were here, and they were all in

1 the same congressional district. I grew up in
2 Jacksonville.

3 I voted in -- the first election that I
4 voted in was in 2000. Back then, my Congressperson
5 represented me, and her congressional district was
6 in Jacksonville. And it stretched all the way from
7 Jacksonville to Orlando. Part of it had one side of
8 the street but not the other because it was a, as
9 somebody from the Governor's Office's mentioned, it
10 was a small skinny salamander. That's called
11 gerrymandering.

12 And so this is a good map. I will be
13 supporting it. I will have no regrets, and I think
14 history will judge me just fine, as it will everyone
15 else that votes yes. Thank you.

16 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Representative Leek, you
17 are recognized to close.

18 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
19 In the interest of time, I'll waive close.

20 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you.

21 DJ, please call the roll.

22 THE CLERK: Chair Sirois.

23 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Yes.

24 THE CLERK: Representatives Benjamin.

25 REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN: No.

1 THE CLERK: Brown.

2 REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: No.

3 THE CLERK: Fabricio.

4 REPRESENTATIVE FABRICIO: Yes.

5 THE CLERK: Fetterhoff.

6 REPRESENTATIVE FETTERHOFF: Yes.

7 THE CLERK: Harding.

8 REPRESENTATIVE HARDING: Yes.

9 THE CLERK: Hunschofsky.

10 REPRESENTATIVE HUNSCHOFSKY: No.

11 THE CLERK: Joseph.

12 REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH: No.

13 THE CLERK: Latvala.

14 REPRESENTATIVE LATVALA: Yes.

15 THE CLERK: Maggard.

16 REPRESENTATIVE MAGGARD: Yes.

17 THE CLERK: Massullo.

18 REPRESENTATIVE MASSULLO: Yes.

19 THE CLERK: McClure.

20 REPRESENTATIVE MCCLURE: Yes.

21 THE CLERK: Morales.

22 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: No.

23 THE CLERK: Perez.

24 REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ: Yes.

25 THE CLERK: Plakon.

1 REPRESENTATIVE PLAKON: Yes.

2 THE CLERK: Silvers has been excused.

3 Skidmore.

4 DEMOCRATIC RANKING MEMBER SKIDMORE: No.

5 THE CLERK: Trabulsy.

6 REPRESENTATIVE TRABULSY: Yes.

7 THE CLERK: Truenow.

8 REPRESENTATIVE TRUENOW: Yes.

9 THE CLERK: Tuck.

10 VICE CHAIR TUCK: Yes.

11 THE CLERK: Williamson.

12 REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAMSON: Yes.

13 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Driskell.

14 REPRESENTATIVE DRISKELL: No.

15 THE CLERK: Ex Officio Leek.

16 REPRESENTATIVE LEEK: Yes.

17 THE CLERK: 15 yeas, 7 nays, Mr. Chair.

18 CHAIRMAN SIROIS: Thank you, DJ.

19 Please show the bill reported favorably.

20 Members, I'd like to thank you for your

21 work today. I'd like to thank the members of the

22 public that joined us as well.

23 Without objection, the meeting is

24 adjourned.

25 (END OF VIDEO RECORDING)

1 CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIPTIONIST

2 I certify that the foregoing is a true and
3 accurate transcript of the digital recording
4 provided to me in this matter.

5 I do further certify that I am neither a
6 relative, nor employee, nor attorney of any of the
7 parties to this action, and that I am not
8 financially interested in the action.

9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Julie Thompson, CET-1036

A	65:2,8,9,10,11	African 18:13	allies 119:1	127:13 131:24
abdicated 121:20	65:12,21,24	24:5 61:7 66:19	Allison 127:8	Americans
abdication 9:2	66:1,2,5 67:4,5	66:21 68:4	128:15 130:5,6	111:13 113:22
ability 11:14 51:9	68:21 89:20	100:23 111:13	allow 6:3,5 32:12	147:11
107:7 140:5	94:18 102:7	113:22 114:24	121:2 123:12	ample 118:11
143:25 153:12	104:4 107:18	127:13 131:24	123:19	analysis 7:21
able 35:4 80:4,8	110:21 118:9	Africans 114:23	allowed 33:25	61:11,12 62:2
88:23 97:1	135:6 149:13	116:2,10	34:22 41:1 49:9	63:14 64:12
143:3 149:22	action 121:16	afternoon 6:6	78:19 95:10	70:4,20 71:3,4
152:12	159:7,8	98:10 100:19	155:16	74:9,13 83:17
Abraham 116:11	actions 90:22	104:19 107:15	allowing 9:4	84:18,22 85:6,8
abridging 51:6	ad 153:18	108:11 117:18	105:5 142:24	89:11,21
140:2 153:10	Adam 17:4,15	121:10 126:7	allows 96:25	analyze 70:21
absence 24:11	add 146:5	age 47:6 61:8,9	alter 147:9	analyzed 137:22
absent 79:8	addition 22:25	72:17,19 73:23	alternatives	ancestors 116:5
absolutely 143:5	52:3 55:18	74:4 75:9,15	76:11	116:11 123:1,7
152:3	additional 17:20	89:18	ambition 142:16	angle 46:21
absurd 11:2	25:4 28:2 33:25	agenda 6:1	143:6	angled 40:22
148:12	46:23 108:2	ago 16:19 69:4	ambitions 147:10	answer 6:18 56:4
abutting 43:12	additionally 28:2	86:5 113:25	amending 107:19	56:14 59:11,24
accept 23:25	47:10	128:21 142:10	amendment 62:2	62:6,24 63:4
access 100:3,5	address 6:22	agree 145:8,18	81:1 90:8,9,12	66:7 75:4 95:4
107:20	86:13,14	155:13	90:15,16 91:2,6	answered 87:25
accommodate	121:11 124:6	agreed 49:25	91:8,9,10,12,14	answers 118:16
37:5 39:15	150:10	agreement 24:12	91:18,19,21,25	anticipation 6:25
accompany 21:16	addressed 63:23	ahead 4:9 33:16	92:15,17,21	Antonio 34:18
account 74:14	128:22 146:4	129:12	93:1,1,4,10,11	anymore 80:6
146:23	adequate 52:23	ain't 106:7	94:7,11,14 95:6	Apalachee
accountable	adhered 25:16	al 1:2 117:21	95:8 96:4,5,17	117:22
123:12 124:8	adherence 33:21	Albert 149:8	96:20,25 97:5,6	apologies 15:5
124:14,22	adherent 84:9	Alex 15:2,3,14	97:11 98:13	100:14 116:15
145:14	adhering 138:7	49:22,24 51:23	99:23 102:7	133:2
accurate 159:3	adjourned	53:25 55:16	104:6 106:5,13	apologize 58:15
accused 155:12	158:24	56:8,21 58:9	106:17,22	90:8 95:20
achieve 22:4 33:3	adjusts 23:8	59:9,21,23	110:19,20	115:13
64:17	adopted 25:20	60:25 62:5,18	114:21 123:15	apology 15:14
achieved 37:15	26:21	62:23 66:12	135:12 137:23	Apopka 39:19
43:14 45:17	adult 119:20	70:15,25 71:14	146:1	79:16,17,17
achievement	advance 149:2	73:6 75:3 76:25	Amendments	80:1
27:13	advanced 100:21	77:5,9 83:19	127:25 136:17	Apopka-Vinela...
achieves 40:13	advocate 125:6	84:20 86:7 88:4	142:11 149:14	40:5 77:13
achieving 22:4	aesthetic 80:17	alignment 90:4	America 120:18	appearance 4:3
acquiesced	affect 99:15	aligns 20:14	American 18:14	apple 48:25
103:21	108:19	23:19,21	24:6 61:7 66:20	81:15
Act 60:22 61:4,4	aforementioned	alike 7:6	66:21 68:4	application 4:16
61:15 64:23	39:23	alleging 96:13	100:24 102:10	77:19 78:14

111:8 applications 67:25 applied 65:17 applies 65:12 apply 18:17 93:1 apposed 155:2 appreciate 48:19 91:16 97:13 appreciated 15:1 approach 25:25 35:9 70:12 74:16,22 97:17 98:4 approaching 71:23 appropriately 101:5 appropriates 47:11 appropriation 154:7 approval 4:25 approved 98:13 103:15 approximately 38:5 46:6 APRIL 1:12 2:1 area 23:9 36:4 37:14 41:13,25 46:11 71:23 72:4 73:10 74:11 79:14 80:1 81:19 arguing 92:25 argument 53:16 53:16 64:5 83:21,22,23 arguments 59:2 Arlington 32:11 arm 80:2,6 101:23 Arms 48:8 Army 133:13 Article 103:12 articulate 25:23	26:22 articulated 24:1 24:17 57:12 82:19 articulating 30:17 articulation 25:21 ASALH 127:12 131:23 asked 70:11 82:14 87:25 90:24 129:1 142:20 152:10 asking 74:20,24 108:24,25 109:1 118:6 119:22 123:9 125:17 asleep 96:24 aspects 77:2 assembled 65:21 asserted 111:2 assigned 72:1 assigning 75:21 assigns 22:2 Association 127:12 131:23 assume 65:5 assumed 16:16 65:1 assure 6:2 Atlantic 98:6 attack 106:6 124:3 127:17 attacks 7:8 attempting 45:15 59:5,13 127:21 Attempts 85:1 attention 102:8 110:2 attorney 52:15 126:14 159:6 Auburndale 44:2 audible 132:22 133:1	audience 48:4 58:17 109:16 145:7 auntie 134:4 author 28:22 authored 17:6,16 39:4 authoring 19:19 28:21 authoritarian 102:12 autonomous 102:14 available 5:14 21:23 48:8 aware 6:11 59:10 59:12 60:21 74:11 90:3 102:5 aye 12:11 97:7 ayes 97:8 <hr/> B <hr/> back 4:8,14 29:14 31:18 40:16 42:4,25 44:14 53:2 57:22 64:11 65:18,19 74:7 79:23 82:10 87:12 88:14 93:20 101:7 102:10 105:5 114:16 119:25 120:6 124:10 126:15,18 133:15 134:6 141:7,9,10,10 141:11 144:8 144:17 149:11 149:19 153:2 156:4 background 16:18 17:8 backs 130:17 backup 51:5 backwards 28:25	76:18 114:1 129:15 138:24 150:9 bag 125:14,19 balance 46:24 balances 110:12 ballot 115:11 barbell-shaped 76:8 barcode 90:16 bare 150:1 Barney 112:16 112:18,21,21 based 47:17,18 47:24 56:15 60:1,2 64:14 67:7 74:13 81:12 110:18 110:19,20 115:25 basically 72:13 74:9,16,21 91:2 114:17 basis 22:3 24:10 24:15 65:20 95:7 96:22 99:25 115:22 bay 23:9 33:12 33:13 34:2,3,20 35:10,11,15 36:9 85:16 86:1 Beach 46:9,15 98:7 117:15 beat 85:11 began 4:14 21:2 34:22 beginning 54:3 behalf 17:5,14 141:24 143:1 behavior 112:25 believe 8:24 27:4 64:21 76:15,16 80:1 82:2,4,6 93:23,25 95:15 108:5,22 109:6 111:7 113:18	121:22 124:21 138:2,9,10,18 138:21,22 143:17,18,19 believed 137:9 believes 117:24 140:8 bell 69:2 Belle 39:12 46:10 benchmark 24:5 52:18 54:7 73:24 83:16 84:17,25 89:11 89:24 137:21 beneficial 42:8 benefit 139:6 141:6 benefited 123:15 Benjamin 2:11 2:12 13:1,2 57:21 58:11,12 58:14,22,24 59:16,17,18 60:15,17,18,20 61:17,21 62:15 63:6,7,13 69:19 69:21,23 70:1,6 92:18,20,22 137:2,4 139:12 156:24,25 Benjamin's 62:20 best 7:11 23:5 83:5,7 87:9 113:3 118:3 better 30:5 35:10 82:8 145:25 148:16,17 beyond 22:14,15 bidding 142:25 biggest 142:12,13 bill 4:19,24 5:1 5:25 6:1,9,21 7:16,22,25 8:7 9:1 15:7,8,9 19:24 20:4
---	--	--	---	--

21:19 47:8,11 47:13,23 48:1 48:10 90:20 91:15 98:1,15 115:6,6 125:16 126:20 130:8 130:19 131:16 133:5,7 134:18 134:20,22 135:23 136:3 140:16 142:22 143:16 144:3 145:5,15,17 146:2 148:3 158:19 bills 142:20,23 149:20 binder 7:23 bit 15:13,13 16:18 29:25 30:10 38:15 62:14 72:4 73:12,24 79:7 105:21,22 107:24 bite 141:8 bites 48:25 black 70:21 89:10 95:10,12 96:11 100:5 106:6 115:25 116:1,1,5 117:3 117:6,10 118:14 121:18 123:14 124:5 127:17,19,22 129:17 130:18 131:11 132:7 137:14 138:23 138:23 139:8,8 139:8 145:24 147:8 148:23 148:25 black-led 121:16 blacks 120:12 blatant 100:23	blatantly 104:10 124:4 block 20:6,6 57:11,11 block-like 86:22 board 17:1,4 123:2 board-certified 100:20 boarded 123:4 bodes 154:12 bodies 87:14,16 154:11 body 5:20 7:5 8:14 110:8,9,25 111:25 123:12 128:21 147:8 bog 92:10 border 40:7,9 42:22 43:2 79:15 borders 41:12 born 123:2,3 130:7 Boston 116:7 bother 87:16 bothers 133:17 133:17 Boulevard 37:1 boundaries 25:11 25:19 26:15 31:17,19 32:16 34:15 35:6,13 35:24 36:7,10 36:11 37:5 38:24 39:21,24 41:4,6,8,11,14 42:10 43:19,21 44:10,13 45:3 47:1,3 51:12 71:18,19 72:15 72:20 76:14,20 76:21 77:23 78:4,13,16,18 79:10,15 80:12 80:13,14	boundary 23:17 25:13 26:19 29:21 31:2,8,10 31:24,25 33:22 34:16 37:21 39:1,2,25 40:1 40:4,15 44:15 44:19,22,23,24 44:24 54:24 57:17 77:13 78:11 80:5,18 86:19 bow 109:8 box 115:11 boxes 18:21 branch 11:3 127:12 131:23 151:11 branches 8:25 102:14 Brandon 37:14 break 79:16,19 breakdown 86:9 117:2 Breaking 33:18 bridges 32:11 brief 15:22 87:7 131:1 briefing 5:8,11 5:13 briefly 40:6 93:19 bring 69:8 88:17 90:2 111:15 148:5 151:20 bringing 23:5 38:19 110:10 broke 136:7 broken 147:23 Brooks 136:23 brother 134:4 brought 17:1,4 42:2 106:13 155:18 Broward 33:7,10 33:14,14 42:3	Brown 2:13,14 13:3,4 74:7 75:25 76:1,3 80:20 81:4,7 83:9 141:12,14 157:1,2 budgetary 101:22 build 112:23 builds 28:23 built 35:19 36:8 110:13 130:17 bully 142:25 bunch 50:18 Bureau 77:20 Burney-Clark 133:4 bus 123:3,4 Busch 37:1 business 58:20 butchering 115:14 116:16 Byrd 1:6 <hr/> C <hr/> call 2:4 12:23 97:16,18 105:18 116:19 156:21 called 109:4 116:13 156:10 calling 5:4 6:24 campaign 106:20 cancel 135:9 candidate 24:7 88:24 89:13 98:20 Cape 27:17 35:5 capital 81:1 capitulate 115:5 Cardona 104:16 105:17,24 106:1 108:10 109:15 112:11 112:13 cards 119:7 147:14,15	care 27:20 141:9 147:21 careful 22:12 carefully 73:21 113:20 Carolynn 134:23 135:1,2 carrot 146:11 Carswell 131:19 132:18,19,22 carve 68:6 case 36:18 37:19 39:17 51:20 65:13 93:2 102:8 129:2,11 138:10 cases 27:21 83:2 130:10 146:9,9 cast 106:25 caucus 150:25 cause 1:2 149:17 causes 78:24 caution 109:12 CD 56:15,15 58:4 58:5 71:8 74:24 76:16 83:15,16 86:1 87:21 90:1 96:8 117:21 136:2 Cecile 126:4 127:7 128:11 128:14,18,18 129:20,24 ceded 8:15,18 celebrating 145:14 census 77:20 99:2 108:1 118:5 121:25 131:13 census-designa... 25:11 centered 30:17 79:25 82:22 Central 23:18 24:22,25 25:1,3 38:8
--	---	--	---	--

certain 87:15 151:24,24	158:10,17	122:12,14,17,20	24:21,25 25:3	39:7,23 46:10
certainly 28:11 77:8 100:2 111:5,5	Chairman 2:2,6 3:24 10:13,21 11:11,21 12:15 12:20,25 14:22 15:11 48:1,2 49:11,23 50:9 51:21 52:21 53:2,5,8,24 55:4,14,25 56:7 56:11,20 57:19 58:8,11,14 59:8 59:17,22 60:16 60:18,24 61:17 62:4,16,19 63:1 63:5,10,17 69:7 69:18,22,25 70:5,14,18,24 71:5,13 72:24 73:5 74:5 75:2 75:24 76:2,24 77:4,8 80:20 81:22,24 83:8 83:18 84:11,19 85:12,17 86:6 87:5,23 88:10 89:2 90:7,14 91:7 92:18,21 93:12,16 94:9 95:19,22,25 96:3 97:3 99:6 99:10 100:9,12 100:14 101:11 101:15,17,19 102:23 104:14 105:16 107:9 108:8 109:11 109:14 111:14 111:18,21 112:3,6,10 113:6,10 114:4 114:14,19 115:12 116:15 117:12 119:3 119:12,14 120:22 121:4,7	123:21 124:23 125:21 126:7 127:1,3,4,5 128:6,8,11 129:19,22,25 130:20 131:17 132:9,13,17,23 133:2,22 134:8 134:10,14 135:1,18,22 139:11 141:12 143:11,14 145:20 148:1,5 149:3 152:6 153:19,22 154:16,19 156:16,20,23 158:18	26:11 27:12 29:18 30:4,11 32:19,25 34:21 38:7 42:1,6 47:8,17 51:13 55:12 70:3 71:17 72:8 80:10,14	46:10 72:7 153:18 citing 5:2 citizen 98:3 103:23 129:16 citizens 5:21 80:25 99:19 104:6 108:21 124:15 citizenship 106:12 Citrus 23:10 26:6 30:8,20 32:20 34:5,6,7 40:18 55:21 80:8 city 7:20 25:17 27:18,22 28:3 28:19 31:4,7,9 34:18 35:6 38:3 41:14 43:25 44:1,4,10 45:3 45:6,10 54:13 54:15,17 56:5,5 56:16 79:15,16 79:17 128:12 128:14 civic 121:17 Civil 119:18 civility 7:3 48:13 109:17 claim 66:9,10 96:22 claims 47:21,22 94:20,20 clarification 50:10 clarify 101:24 Clark 127:8 128:15 130:1,5 130:6 class 118:24 clause 22:1 64:9 67:20 84:25 85:3 94:21 99:22
CERTIFICATE 159:1		133:2,22 134:8 134:10,14 135:1,18,22 139:11 141:12 143:11,14 145:20 148:1,5 149:3 152:6 153:19,22 154:16,19 156:16,20,23 158:18	Charletta 136:21 Charlotte 46:1 charter 123:3,4 chatter 6:23 cheap 101:8 check 18:21 checking 139:13 checks 110:12 Cheryl 122:21 123:22,25,25 chief 15:4 child 60:8 choice 24:7 51:10 54:11 55:1 88:24 89:14 94:4 104:3 111:25 112:8 118:15 123:19 128:5 129:8 140:6 153:13 choose 11:6 147:12 chose 8:23 chosen 9:6 Christopher 112:12,14 circling 29:20 circuit 47:21 circular 27:10 40:22 42:4,5 79:5 circumstances 11:17 circumvent 92:2 cite 130:9 cities 27:14,15,22 27:23,23 28:6	
certify 159:2,5 CET-1036 159:23 cetera 130:10 Chair 2:5,7,8 3:23 5:8 8:9,11 9:20 10:6,17 11:6,9,13 12:16 12:24 14:13,21 15:2,16,25 20:4 20:17 28:16 29:3,10 46:12 47:7 48:3,11 49:8,22 50:11 50:17 52:20 54:1,3 55:8,16 56:3,8,13,21 57:25 58:7,9,13 58:25 59:9,16 59:21 60:15,25 61:22 62:5 63:7 70:2,9,15,25 71:7,14 73:1,6 75:3 76:4 81:2 81:8,24 83:3,13 83:19 84:13,20 85:19 86:7,8 87:9,19 88:4 89:4 90:19 91:23 92:23 93:18 94:13 97:2 121:1,10 130:5 135:21 135:25 137:5 139:16,21 141:15 145:23 149:6 150:20 151:21 152:3,9 156:18,22		Chairs 29:11 challenge 47:15 47:20 63:15 112:22 135:15 149:1 challenged 5:20 91:5 135:15 136:6 137:20 137:21 challenges 47:18 47:24 154:5 challenging 90:22 95:2 chambers 24:17 142:25 143:8 chance 35:10 43:3 106:24 145:25 change 20:22 30:5 31:24,25 56:16 72:20 129:12,14 137:16 changed 17:17 29:25 30:6 changes 17:17 21:4 23:14		

Clay 84:6	closely 6:6 23:19	103:2 105:12	121:18	73:14 102:15
Clay-Putnam	25:16 38:13	111:2 112:18	community 54:21	102:16 118:7
31:21	46:17 94:20	120:5 126:2,14	61:5,6 68:4,12	compliance 25:15
clean 87:2	131:11	130:25 131:8	106:18,25	25:22 26:1,22
cleanup 140:20	closer 15:13 47:1	133:8,15,20	compact 18:13	28:12 60:21
clear 7:2 25:21	106:14 150:16	134:6 136:11	18:24 27:3,10	64:6 65:1,7
29:21 36:7,10	150:19	141:7,9,10,10	33:20 35:11	67:10 68:23
37:17,21,25	closing 102:17	141:11 143:2	36:14 38:25	81:20 82:5
40:10,10 41:11	Coast 25:3	144:8 147:16	40:19 42:4	103:25
52:9 54:24	coastal 73:17	149:25 153:15	53:12,20 54:6,7	compliant 28:18
57:15 64:13	cobble 68:9,11	154:5	54:8,10 55:1	76:11,22
72:15 75:7 78:7	cobbled 68:14	comes 78:1 79:13	66:15,15 68:4	137:10 138:15
80:12,18 83:1	codify 137:24	88:19	78:18,20 87:2	complicated
86:19 101:24	cohesion 75:1	coming 30:16	111:4	94:24
108:1 130:14	cohesively 74:10	35:20 80:23	compactly 39:7	complicity
148:19 150:24	Coleman 134:16	112:14 119:2	40:17 84:9	102:16
clearly 30:16	134:18	comment 16:12	compactness	complied 64:1
37:17 40:14	Coleton 113:8	118:11	7:21 23:15	comply 18:15,17
45:14 54:20,21	114:5,14,15,20	commentary	26:24 27:3	64:22
68:14,15 81:20	collaborated	50:12	28:19 29:18	complying 18:22
124:4 135:7	17:15	comments 8:11	31:13,15 35:23	64:7
139:25	collaboration	20:22 22:12	42:16 43:5,8	components 65:8
CLERK 2:5,7,9	20:1	54:12 81:3	53:15,20 54:3	composed 46:3
2:11,13,15,17	collaborative	111:22 133:23	57:14 80:17	composition
2:19,21,23 3:1	20:24	153:20	compacts 22:22	30:25 82:2,3,6
3:3,6,8,10,12,15	collateral 30:3	committee 4:16	compare 16:8	82:25
3:17,19,21,23	colleagues 81:15	4:19 5:13 6:7	17:19 31:13	compromise
12:24 13:1,3,5	143:7,7 148:20	7:5 10:24 11:16	compared 31:14	15:21 19:20,25
13:7,9,11,13,16	149:23 155:5	11:25 12:2,5,7	81:13	20:7 21:17 23:2
13:18,20,22,24	155:10	15:1 16:20	comparing 26:25	23:12 28:22
14:2,4,8,10,12	collective 142:18	20:13 24:20	27:16	29:7 46:11
14:14,16,18,20	Collier 46:19	48:13 50:19,23	compelling 22:5	49:16,19,21
156:22,24	71:9 72:4,5,22	58:19,20 98:10	24:11,15 58:4,6	138:14,16
157:1,3,5,7,9,11	73:17	101:19 109:18	60:3,23 61:24	compromised
157:13,15,17,19	Colman 133:9	115:16,16	62:1,8 64:15,17	19:2
157:21,23,25	color 99:25 100:6	133:18 135:2	64:20 65:2 67:6	concede 75:5
158:2,5,7,9,11	131:12	141:17 144:17	67:11,17 68:20	94:22
158:13,15,17	combat 133:13	152:11,21	138:7 139:4	concentration
clock 48:15	combination	153:1	146:14,16	50:22
149:11	25:2 40:16,25	Committee's	Compensation	concept 25:23
close 44:8 73:23	combine 83:4	115:6	147:24	38:13 93:22
94:11,25 96:1,3	combined 31:12	committees 87:14	competition 29:3	concepts 20:5,8
98:1 139:15	31:15	Common 1:2	complaining	20:10 23:6 38:9
151:6 156:17	come 2:3 40:13	communities	106:23	50:4,5
156:19	50:7 53:2 57:22	35:3 68:10	complete 5:21	concern 25:17
closed 97:5	74:7 87:20	100:24 117:4	8:21 57:6 71:25	57:5 82:22

concerned 94:6 110:4	Congressperson 156:4	18:16,16,17,23 18:23 22:2	147:2,3,3	34:24 38:5
concerning 19:17	connect 149:22	24:14 52:11,12	contiguous 52:4	42:13 46:2
concerns 5:3,6 55:3 75:17 154:4,8,15	150:2	52:13 59:6,6	continually 142:19	55:12,18,19
condition 89:22	connecting 66:19	64:2,6,8,10	continue 9:7	57:13,14 65:25
conduct 58:21	connection 44:25	67:11,21,23	41:10 80:21	66:22 84:7
confident 75:9,14	conscience 107:23	68:24 83:24	81:5 99:10	105:9 124:20
configuration 21:8 32:11 34:6 37:4 45:17 76:9 76:22 79:23,24	consciousness 149:8,12 150:8	84:10 85:1,4	108:17 116:4	124:20 155:21
configurations 10:11 85:2	consensus 150:21	96:20 103:13	139:1 147:20	country 108:23
configured 63:22	consequences 30:4	107:19 110:13	continued 37:7	108:24 118:21
64:1	Conservation 117:20,23	110:19 136:16	contract 16:25,25	county 7:20
confirm 19:13,14	consider 7:12	138:12,12,25	17:3 19:8,8,11	23:15 25:16
conflict 94:17	18:3 54:16 84:4	140:1,7	contributed 80:7	26:5,8,11,13
Congress 111:13	104:21 108:4	Constitution's 24:4 68:1	contributes 43:7	28:7,8,13,19
126:23 127:20	113:20 137:7	constitutional 5:22 23:1 59:2	contributing 19:4	30:7,11,16,18
137:14 146:1	152:4	63:15 81:21	contribution 17:16	30:19,21 31:23
congressional 1:11 2:2 4:22 5:6,18,23 6:10 7:25 9:23 10:3 15:19 21:18,24 23:8,25 31:5 34:4 38:13 47:13,15 54:14 61:15 84:8 88:3 88:5,6,9,12 89:16,17 90:22 91:4 95:3 98:15 98:19,21 103:11 104:2 108:2 109:22 111:12 115:19 115:24 117:1,4 123:10 126:9 126:23 127:14 127:19 131:25 133:12 137:12 140:10,12 141:21 150:12 156:1,5	consideration 6:1 7:24 56:24 82:20 110:11 116:14 147:18	82:22 93:24 116:6 142:3,7 143:18 150:22 155:16	contributions 15:20 16:6 17:25	33:18,24,25 34:5,6,7,13,14 34:21,22 35:2,4 35:15,16,20,25 36:19,22,24 37:8,9,24,24 38:1,6,18,20,21 39:1,2,24 40:17 40:18,24 41:2 41:13,19,21,23 42:7,12,19,20 43:13,14,15 44:16,17,23,25 45:4,13,18 46:5 46:9,15,19,22 47:16 55:17,20 55:23,24 56:17 60:12 65:13 71:9,19,20 72:1 72:2,2,5,10,11 72:21 73:9,17 75:21,23 76:9 77:24 78:9 79:2 79:14 80:8,13 84:5,6,6,6 86:3 86:18,19,20,23 109:24 130:7 150:4 155:18 155:19,20,20
	considering 7:1 19:23 33:19 118:12	constitutionality 63:21	control 77:7	36:19,22,24
	consistent 22:19 57:16 150:24	constitutionally 137:10 138:15	controls 94:21	37:8,9,24,24
	consists 10:2	Constitutions 102:20 118:10	conversation 9:7	38:1,6,18,20,21
	constantly 87:11	constructed 111:9	copies 9:21	39:1,2,24 40:17
	constituent 54:21 98:19 143:5	consultant 19:15	Coral 27:17 35:5	40:18,24 41:2
	constituents 102:21 105:8 108:7 149:21	consultation 19:25	Cord 1:6	41:13,19,21,23
	constitutes 66:16 146:14	consulted 19:7	correct 7:10 74:21 84:14,18	42:7,12,19,20
	Constitution 5:3	contain 24:5	cost 132:7	43:13,14,15
		contained 27:24	counsel 16:24,25 19:8,9,12 21:15 22:11 59:11,15 61:2 62:13,17 62:24 84:23 96:21 138:6	44:16,17,23,25
		containing 69:5	countenance 64:19	45:4,13,18 46:5
		contains 6:9 7:19	counter 138:18	46:9,15,19,22
		content 15:9 141:19	counteroffer 138:17	47:16 55:17,20
		contested 137:18	counties 21:11 23:11,12 25:4 26:6,9 30:8 32:19,21 33:7,9 33:11,13,15,22	55:23,24 56:17
		context 16:16 17:7 30:24 42:9 64:20 65:12 67:13 69:17 71:16 86:15		60:12 65:13
				71:9,19,20 72:1
				72:2,2,5,10,11
				72:21 73:9,17
				75:21,23 76:9
				77:24 78:9 79:2
				79:14 80:8,13
				84:5,6,6,6 86:3
				86:18,19,20,23
				109:24 130:7
				150:4 155:18
				155:19,20,20
				County-Orange 77:24

County-Osceola 43:2 couple 30:24 42:14 44:1,3 45:21 48:25,25 55:20 75:13 89:7 112:25 150:10 courage 115:4 145:9,10,11 145:11,12,15 course 20:5 34:8 42:6 45:8 50:3 52:6 56:22 57:3 court 4:22,23 18:18 47:15,19 47:19,20,21 58:5,10 59:4,5 59:12,13,19 60:11 63:8,22 63:25 64:12,19 65:1,4 69:1,3 69:12 90:23 91:5 92:14 93:4 93:7,8 96:18 102:8 113:18 130:10 138:21 146:4,13 151:15 court's 52:11 129:10 courthouse 12:3 courts 9:4 47:14 47:24 60:22 67:15 92:3 94:15,23 95:3 96:23 98:17,17 137:20 146:5,7 154:5 cousin 134:4 cover 29:9 covered 29:10,11 cowardice 115:4 create 20:23 23:12 45:15 73:4 80:4	103:11 created 102:13 103:15,22 149:8,12 creates 22:18 33:15,17 40:19 42:25,25 43:3 90:21 104:8 creating 45:18,25 70:21 credit 77:15,17 78:15 Cristian 104:16 105:17,24,25 criteria 23:4 60:1 67:2,14 81:21 88:16,17 90:2 96:10,13 critical 121:25 cross 32:3,6,7 87:16 crossing 32:8,9 71:11 crucial 122:3 crumb 107:4 crux 20:21 70:3 83:21,22 curiosity 49:10 curious 101:21 current 84:15,16 115:23 117:5 151:13 currently 17:10 83:15 122:8 124:16 curvy 37:10 cut 120:9 cuts 113:21 cycle 5:7	data 7:17,21 9:17 18:4,5,9,10 86:12 87:3 130:9 David 117:14,14 119:4,11,13,15 119:15 Davis 105:17 107:10,14,15 day 5:2,4 106:21 106:22 128:20 155:8 days 45:11 Daytona 117:15 dead 85:11 deaf 105:7 dealing 111:11 146:8 dealt 115:10 debate 6:5,20 81:2 91:18,21 92:19 93:10,13 93:17 94:9 97:25 119:7 136:25 137:1 141:13 143:12 145:21 149:4 debated 76:12 debates 149:15 debuted 4:15 decade 7:13 85:25 86:5 122:7 decades 75:13 decided 138:13 148:19 deciding 47:24 decision 33:6,8,9 33:10 53:10 59:5 113:4 123:13 141:20 146:21 152:15 decisions 45:23 45:23 104:7 deck 97:19 98:6 100:16 105:21	decline 11:6 decorum 6:23 7:4 48:13 58:18 101:17 109:17 decreases 146:24 decreasing 148:25 deep 149:16 defend 136:17 defended 123:8,8 defer 59:10,14 88:7 deferred 57:10 defers 24:19 define 62:8,11 70:11,12 defined 34:16 36:10 39:22 41:5,14 78:13 defining 79:10 87:19 definite 110:12 definitely 16:13 81:9 definitively 65:6 degree 100:22 deliberate 32:10 democracy 100:11 106:7 118:19 124:2 127:18 132:7 Democrat 144:20 145:4 148:22 democratic 2:10 10:16 11:7,12 14:7 55:7 56:2 56:10,12 57:24 91:22 99:17 104:10 136:7 136:18 139:20 140:23 141:2 155:5,10 158:4 Democrats 85:25 109:3 147:21 150:11,23 demonstrate 60:3	130:10 demonstrates 82:5 104:10 deny 116:5 denying 51:6 140:2 153:10 Deon 117:8 Department 47:11 135:5 departure 103:24 deputy 15:4 117:19 DeSantis 107:6 117:9 127:24 132:3,16 136:7 DeSantis' 107:17 127:16 descendant 114:24 descendants 116:2 describe 20:14 described 71:24 111:4 description 8:4 131:3 deserve 100:11 104:6 113:3 designed 124:4 desperate 108:14 despite 38:4 destruction 129:18 detail 64:5 83:22 detailed 21:12,15 29:6 details 34:10 determine 65:22 67:15 determined 18:25 65:24 85:24 determining 61:23 93:8 developed 76:12 developing
--	---	--	--	---

110:10	disagree 24:9	district 18:14,24	77:25 78:1,16	39:21 40:5,11
devices 4:1	82:1 113:18	21:18,24 22:8	78:18,22,23,25	40:14 41:2,3,12
devil 116:3	145:8,19	23:25 24:3,5,13	79:12,12,21,22	42:9 43:10,15
devised 140:2,17	146:17 149:17	24:14,23 27:3,5	79:25 80:2,3,7	43:20,23 44:7
dictator 109:8	disagreement	29:14 30:15,18	80:9,11,12,14	46:14 50:3 51:3
difference 26:17	24:16	30:22 31:6,17	81:19 83:16,23	51:5,10,14,25
32:5 79:6,7	disappointed	32:3,6,13,14,15	83:24,25 84:1,8	52:3 54:5,10,13
89:15 124:22	148:18,24	34:5,8,8,10,11	84:17,22,24	56:18 60:8 61:5
128:20 134:3,5	disclaimer 28:14	34:12,12,12,14	85:2,6 86:11	64:14 69:6 71:2
154:11	discontinues 40:6	34:17,19,23,23	88:3,6,6,9,12,21	78:19 80:15,16
differences 27:15	discover 77:12	35:1,4,5,18,20	89:8,10,12,16	81:11 82:22
different 10:22	discriminate	36:3,8,10,13,19	89:17,24,24	84:8 86:15
16:2 28:7,11	99:24 115:22	37:6,23 38:3,14	98:20,22	90:23 99:16,17
33:20 38:19	discrimination	38:14,16,19	102:14 107:18	99:18,20 100:4
41:7 45:8,17	146:25	39:4,12,13,17	109:22 117:2,6	100:5 102:6
56:23 74:12	discuss 15:20	39:18,19,20,25	117:21 119:16	104:4,5,9,10
75:21 106:3	discussed 45:23	40:8,10,16,18	122:25 124:17	106:5 110:19
107:5 117:4	46:12,13	40:20,21,25	124:18 126:9	111:5,12
124:20	discussing	41:9,16,17,20	126:24 127:14	115:19,20
differently 19:14	137:15	42:2,3,10,11,14	130:7 131:25	117:5 123:15
difficult 149:1	discussion 52:8	42:17,21 43:10	133:12,14	123:16 127:25
digest 55:11	144:17	43:13,25 44:3,8	134:2 137:23	128:1 132:11
digital 1:23 159:3	discussions 19:15	44:14 45:12,13	140:9,11,12,14	136:17 140:13
diluting 154:3	101:22 138:18	45:16,19,19,25	142:11 149:13	154:13
diminish 51:9	disenfranchise	46:3,4,20,24,25	150:5 156:1,5	districts' 38:23
52:19 107:6	142:23	47:1,5 52:10,17	districting 67:2	dive 8:10
118:14 123:14	disenfranchise...	52:19 53:10,11	67:14	diverse 121:25
140:5 153:12	100:23	54:15,22,23	districts 5:7 6:11	divide 37:11
diminishes	disfavor 17:22	56:19 60:8,9,9	6:13,16 7:25	54:15,17
146:24	disfavoring 18:1	60:11,14 61:6,8	8:3 9:21,21,23	divider 36:2 38:1
diminishing	52:1	61:10,13,16	10:1,3,4,7,9	dividers 37:18
131:15	disgraceful 147:7	62:10,11 63:21	16:2,6,15,17	divides 31:7
diminishment	disheartening	63:25 64:16,21	17:17,24,24	dividing 54:19
52:6 64:8 68:24	126:12	65:3 66:6,16,17	18:2,7 20:6,22	division 54:16
84:1	disillusionment	66:18,23,24	21:9 22:17,18	DJ 2:4 3:24 7:22
dimmish 131:11	111:11	67:3,7,12,16	22:19,21,23	12:22 14:22
direct 94:17	disingenuous	68:5,6,11,13,16	23:9 24:9,22	156:21 158:18
106:6,17	154:20	68:17,22 70:17	25:5,6,20 26:12	doctor 100:21
127:17	dismantlement	71:15,16,18,21	27:9,25 28:11	doing 30:10
directed 17:22	111:11	71:24,25 72:2,5	29:20,24 30:23	31:11 36:6 60:4
directions 154:1	disparate 68:9	72:9,10,11,12	31:1,13,14,19	96:16,24 101:3
directly 62:7	distinction 23:21	72:18,21,23	31:25 32:1,20	105:3 115:7
96:17 117:25	distinguishable	73:4,8,15 74:17	33:20 35:11,24	118:18 131:9
director 16:19	37:18	74:23,23 75:6	36:17,18 37:11	132:4 139:1
117:19 121:15	distributed 21:14	75:12,21 76:7	37:15,19,21	144:10 149:9
disabled 108:22	21:22	77:2,13,21,23	38:2,19,21 39:8	151:9

Dora 41:15	84:11,12 85:10	33:16,24 43:13	enacted 21:25	47:4
downloading	85:15,18 93:15	43:16,17 73:13	encouraged	equalized 46:18
21:3	93:16,18 149:3	79:11,22 80:6	25:12	equally 31:7
Dr 100:20 109:21	149:5 158:13	85:22 146:24	enforce 129:13	equals 45:6
130:6 134:23	158:14	146:25	engage 7:7	equity 121:22
135:1,2	driven 82:15	effectively 26:7	engaged 19:19	equivalent 26:25
dramatic 103:22	driving 60:7	effects 43:6	engagement 17:2	Era 95:9
draw 9:5 17:24	drop 75:16	effort 20:23	19:6 121:17	especially 120:12
18:13 35:10	due 45:24 130:12	26:17 28:7	enshrined 139:2	126:14 139:6
51:25 64:13	duties 100:25	148:13	enslaved 116:2,9	espoused 95:8
73:16 86:16,17	155:16	efforts 27:1 45:25	ensuing 118:5	essence 93:9
88:6,9 121:21	duty 142:3,7,7	Einstein 149:9	ensure 8:3 36:9	essentially 18:20
123:10 132:10	Duval 84:5	either 39:8,16,23	89:12 107:20	21:10 24:16
132:11		43:23 50:1,7	123:17 128:2	32:25 33:18
drawer 16:15,17	E	64:22 115:3	138:24 139:5	36:22 37:16
16:25 17:3,8,13	earlier 8:11 31:2	elaborate 8:24	142:8	38:22 40:20
19:9 22:10	44:5 45:5,9	62:13	ensured 138:25	42:19 43:11
33:19 34:2 62:9	46:12 59:1	elect 24:7 51:9	enter 93:6,6	70:16 77:14
drawing 4:16	70:10 71:24	89:13 104:2	entertain 49:3	86:22,24
6:16 8:16 17:10	72:16 82:11,14	118:15 123:18	entire 8:4 28:13	establish 130:15
18:2,23 19:2	83:3,22 84:24	128:5 140:5	33:5 54:14	established 5:6
20:16 22:13	151:1	153:13	65:23 102:1	establishing 7:25
25:8 33:20	early 18:9,11	elected 5:20	entirely 34:15,17	et 1:2 130:10
37:23 54:24	152:22	142:1 144:2,11	34:18 35:6	ethnicities 100:7
67:7 70:12,17	earn 5:19	election 5:7 141:6	41:15,17 43:25	ethnicity 115:22
71:2,11 101:1	ears 105:7	156:3	44:3 56:23	Eustis 41:15
107:21 123:16	easily 27:11	election's 142:22	entirety 20:7	evening 109:20
128:1	east 32:21 35:18	elections 7:12	46:5 72:11	115:16 122:24
drawn 17:6,14	37:20 41:6	149:2	79:21	127:10
18:7 24:10,23	46:22 47:2	electorates 74:18	entrusted 142:8	eventually 38:2
33:5 51:3,5	72:12,13 78:6	electronic 4:1	152:19	86:25
52:3,10,17,19	86:22	eliminates 21:17	environment	Everglades 71:9
58:5 60:1 66:7	Easter 136:9	43:5 96:18	117:24	everybody 49:2
66:19 68:22	140:24	115:24 146:24	equal 22:1 27:13	everybody's
69:5 79:7 84:24	eastern 38:17	eliminating	30:5 32:4 34:25	125:11
115:20 118:7	41:20 43:12	104:3	36:2 38:15 40:3	evidence 1:23
127:23 132:2	71:18 78:8,11	elimination	41:18,21 46:4	24:18 65:22
drew 17:13 49:15	79:1	106:4	51:7 56:9,10	evidentiary
51:18 60:11	eastward 36:8	elude 89:19	64:9 67:20	65:20
62:11 71:17,20	Ebony 123:22	emotions 7:6	73:13 75:19	Ex 3:19,21 14:16
71:22 74:1	124:25 125:5,6	emphasis 37:14	78:17 84:25	14:18 158:13
86:15,18	echo 8:11 93:20	emphasize 124:2	85:3 98:16	158:15
drilled 50:20	110:16	employee 159:6	99:21 115:21	exact 9:21 21:8
Driskell 3:19,20	Edgewood 39:11	employment	121:15 128:3	85:22,23
12:18,19 14:16	education 147:3	147:3	140:3 153:10	exactly 29:4 30:9
14:17 83:10,12	effect 19:18	empowers 147:19	equalize 46:4	31:19,23 50:3
	23:15 33:15,16			

57:11 83:20 153:6 example 23:9 26:10 28:5 30:7 34:4 40:4 42:2 68:3 87:21 144:22 exception 38:10 38:11,12 144:6 exchange 28:12 55:22 excited 152:11,20 exclusively 72:9 72:22 78:17 80:13 excuse 47:17 93:11 110:21 135:22 excused 3:12 14:5 158:2 execute 151:11 executive 15:3,18 19:7 123:13 151:10 executively 9:13 exist 147:6 existing 51:11 exists 83:15 146:16 exits 41:23 expand 121:22 expect 7:4 9:10 104:7 expectation 48:12 expenses 47:12 experience 106:10 123:6 experiences 122:1,2 expired 111:15 111:19 122:14 124:23 127:3 128:8 132:14 134:11,14 explain 6:9,18	10:7 49:19 76:9 87:21 88:24 explained 8:3 69:1 91:8 explains 22:7 39:13 explanation 29:6 47:8 77:3 explicit 47:23 Expressway 32:12 extend 35:2 47:1 extended 42:21 extending 44:16 46:20 extends 39:13 extensions 43:22 extent 47:21 61:3 extraordinary 11:1,23 eyeball 29:19 F Fabricio 2:15,16 13:5,6 157:3,4 face 8:17 85:6 95:14 110:8 111:24 146:22 faces 125:11 facets 30:2 fact 8:19 20:17 51:2 66:17 79:23 114:20 124:6 129:3 131:2 137:19 140:6,18 144:19 factored 42:9 factoring 70:16 facts 131:1 factually 146:21 failing 60:3 fails 14:23 97:11 fair 11:17 59:7 60:7 99:20 102:6 104:5 106:5 107:18	110:19 118:3 118:17 123:15 127:25 128:4 132:11 134:9 136:8,17 137:23 142:10 149:13 fairly 75:8,14 fairness 104:7 fall 7:9 falling 105:7 false 8:17 111:24 family 106:12,18 126:15 far 10:24,24 73:18 109:23 farce 102:1 fashion 86:23 111:10 fast 134:1 faster 105:22 Fathers 102:13 favor 12:9 17:22 97:6 99:4,17 123:17 128:1 140:18 147:16 148:20 150:12 favorably 158:19 favoring 17:25 52:1 FCV 118:25 fear 115:25,25 118:18 fears 150:1 feasible 51:11 feat 7:14 Feather 36:4 federal 22:25 47:19,22,23,24 52:13 59:6,14 63:20,24 64:2 67:15 83:24 90:22 91:4,5 92:3,14,25 93:2 93:4,5,7,8,9 94:15,15,19,20	94:22,23 95:3 96:23 98:15,17 99:1 103:25 108:20 115:20 118:9 122:2 138:6 146:3,4,7 feedback 25:9 151:7 feel 8:12 11:1,16 29:22 126:18 139:25 142:24 152:14 felt 106:19 FEMALE 11:9 11:20 13:25 Fetterhoff 2:17 2:18 13:7,8 157:5,6 fewer 55:19 fifteen 14:20 fight 106:2 107:3 107:5 126:17 133:15 143:1,4 fighters 109:5,5 fighting 123:6 148:22 filed 15:7 47:15 47:18 fill 4:3 48:7 59:11 filling 42:15 final 52:22 53:1 81:3 82:8,25 finally 47:22 106:24 116:8 136:23 financially 159:8 find 8:16 11:2 77:10,21 114:16 141:24 152:11 finding 46:6 fine 156:14 finest 141:23 finished 4:7 first 4:12,13 10:22 20:23	26:4 27:4,21 42:14 49:9,21 51:24 66:12,13 73:14 89:22 90:1 93:7 94:2 98:10 101:6 116:25 133:18 143:15 144:3,5 149:14 156:3 fit 84:7 five 38:7 65:24 fixes 96:25 fixing 147:23 flat 43:11 79:4 80:5 flexibility 33:19 flip 150:23,25 flip-flopped 124:9 floor 155:9,10 Florida 4:21 5:21 7:13 16:20 18:15,18 21:10 22:19 23:18 24:3,22,25 25:2 25:3 33:23 38:8 45:22 46:14 63:22,25 64:6,7 64:8 65:17,23 65:25 66:6 67:7 67:10,18,21,23 68:1,10,22,24 82:16,23 99:19 102:6 103:12 104:5,20,24,25 105:9 106:11 107:16 108:19 108:21 109:1 109:23 110:1 110:18 112:22 113:16 114:15 117:3,19,23 118:10,13 121:14 122:19 127:15,16,24 128:19 129:10
---	---	--	--	--

132:1 136:16 137:13 139:1 139:24 140:1 142:8 143:10 150:6 151:25 152:12 Florida's 5:6 113:24 127:19 130:18 Floridian 98:18 130:6 Floridians 7:4 9:9 104:12 106:21 107:18 118:15 130:15 142:1,18 147:11,20,21 flow 5:24 focus 10:5 20:21 22:12,16 43:21 52:6,7 focused 81:18 151:24 folded 101:8 folks 48:5 114:1 138:23 139:22 141:18 143:2 143:10 145:13 follow 25:12 41:4 53:17 79:20 85:20 87:2 152:24 153:4,4 153:5,6,7,8 follow-up 11:8 49:1 57:20 61:18 74:6 85:13,16 followed 38:12 102:24 104:15 105:17 107:10 107:11 108:9 109:15 112:1 112:16 113:7 114:6,11 115:14 116:17 117:13 119:4	120:23 122:21 123:22 125:1 125:23 126:3 127:7 128:14 128:15 130:1 130:21 131:18 132:18 134:23 135:19 137:3 152:25 153:5 following 78:7 85:23 86:3 116:21 119:8 128:24 146:6 151:19 follows 54:24 78:8,10 79:14 79:18 85:22 Foltz 17:4,7,15 foolishness 95:17 force 123:13 foregoing 159:2 foreign 133:14 foremost 51:24 73:14 98:11 forget 115:8 Forgive 63:5 forgotten 102:22 form 4:3 48:7 formed 102:11 forth 19:21 21:12 55:1 118:8 124:10 128:23 131:4,11 forward 9:14 12:1,6 97:19 103:5 114:2,9 116:20 120:15 139:1 144:9,10 fought 133:14 found 46:8 Founding 102:13 four 26:13 28:5 29:8 84:7 111:12 120:8 137:13,16 fourth 98:18	Fowailee 134:21 framework 148:2 frankly 11:2 141:16 freed 114:23 freedom 109:5,5 109:6 freeing 33:24 frequently 15:23 25:18 26:18 friends 106:18 118:25 front 7:17,22 9:17 88:15 Fruitland 41:16 frustrations 150:2 fulfilled 8:22 full 20:13 104:22 105:2 fullness 122:4 fully 22:6 function 110:9 functional 7:21 71:4 83:17 84:18,22 85:5 89:11 Fund 121:16 fundamental 68:19 further 35:14 41:6 46:25 50:9 62:14 72:12 73:16,16 159:5 Furthermore 26:8 45:12 98:23 99:14 future 112:23 152:17	126:6,8 127:2,4 gained 106:12 Garden 39:20 80:1 122:22 Gardner 120:23 122:21,24,24 gathered 106:3 general 20:20 21:15 25:23 31:1 62:7,24 75:8 84:23 generally 43:21 generation 98:18 generically 16:3 Genesis 117:15 119:4 120:23 121:1,5,9,13 122:13,15,18 gentlemen 48:19 58:16 97:13 103:1 104:22 105:13 119:6 126:25 geographic 66:15 geographical 23:17 26:19 33:21 35:12 51:12 57:17 76:14 George 102:12 gerrymander 60:2 68:15 85:24 gerrymandered 21:18 60:14 66:18 140:9,13 gerrymandering 86:4 104:11 146:9 156:11 getting 138:22 145:25 giant 131:14 Gillis 125:24 126:3 127:7,10 127:11 128:7,9 Gingles 66:8,11	89:22 give 4:2 15:22 16:18 28:24 29:8 43:2,17 48:16,24 63:13 80:22 81:2 120:3,21 122:7 131:1 138:5 139:6,9 given 10:4 51:19 107:3 118:10 138:15,16 152:24 gives 33:18 78:15 92:11 138:12 giving 40:14 119:11 138:20 glad 5:11 go 31:18 33:16 44:2,4 48:11 49:11,12 53:11 55:10 63:8 69:10 78:6 83:1 85:12 108:23 108:25 114:1,2 119:25 138:24 146:5 148:19 149:19 goal 5:17 9:11 35:17 45:18 139:15 goals 29:17 God 116:11,13 goes 28:25 68:14 79:15,17 129:5 going 11:22 20:21 22:11,15 22:16 29:5 34:21 38:4 48:9 54:15 55:10 58:2,3 61:19 74:6 75:10 76:18 77:6 79:3 82:10 85:13 87:10,12 88:14 91:14 93:24,25
---	---	---	--	---

95:2 101:11 105:11,14,14 107:8 108:17 109:9,11 113:1 114:2,8 115:8 121:6 125:8,9 132:6 135:15 135:16 141:7 144:4 145:1 147:5,25 148:15 150:9 good 12:1 64:21 92:16 98:10 100:19 104:19 107:15 108:11 109:20 115:15 117:18 119:15 120:17 121:9 122:24 126:6 127:10 136:10 156:12 govern 7:12 122:7 government 8:25 11:3 17:14 102:11,14 103:23 118:2,5 122:2 138:6 Governor 4:25 5:2 6:16 8:16 8:22 9:8 15:4,5 15:18 19:8 22:11 23:1 56:19 61:2 81:16 83:14 95:13 98:24 100:25 101:3 102:5 103:17 103:21 105:3 107:6,17 110:7 115:5 117:8 119:24 120:9 120:16 121:21 123:13 127:16 127:21,24 129:13 132:3,3	132:15 136:7 138:14 140:8 141:24 142:14 143:6,24,25 150:16 151:2,8 151:10 155:8 155:11,13,14 Governor's 5:9 5:12,19 6:13 10:2,6,18 14:24 21:1,16 22:7 50:11 52:7 56:15 57:4 58:3 62:23 63:14 82:14 89:19 103:9,24 104:8 115:6 130:16 131:3 135:3,17 137:7 141:5,19 147:9 148:11 156:9 Governors 132:4 great 15:25 20:18 33:9 61:1 63:3 71:1 136:16 144:19 greater 27:6 29:20 138:5,11 138:13 139:3,4 139:6 grew 109:23 123:2,4 156:1 Ground 121:15 group 1:23 88:23 89:13 147:20 groups 74:12 118:20 135:10 growing 131:15 growth 107:25 121:24 guaranteed 118:23 guess 15:8 20:12 36:25 66:3 71:8 74:20 87:11 88:13 89:16	151:5 155:14 guests 11:15 guidance 16:24 guidelines 135:6 Gulf 23:10 25:3 32:19 33:22 guys 119:21 Gwendolyn 133:8 134:16 134:18 <hr/> H half 54:18 71:20 halfway 40:7 hands 9:3 12:21 happen 105:6 107:8 144:5 145:3 happened 101:20 145:16 happening 82:16 100:22 113:1 119:24 happens 4:20 54:17 happy 10:8 59:10 59:14 63:4 Haraka 131:19 132:18,19,22 hard 101:3,4 126:17 Harding 2:19,20 13:9,10 143:12 143:13 157:7,8 Hardy-Allen 123:22 124:25 125:5,6 harmonious 144:18 Harriet 109:5 Harvard-educ... 102:5 Hazel 125:24 126:3 127:7,10 127:11 128:7,9 head 114:22 123:3 128:24	heads 92:9 health 117:24,25 118:4 healthy 147:22 hear 6:4 9:7 126:13 149:20 heard 10:11 89:19 96:9,21 98:16 100:11 104:1 107:7 110:23,25 124:9 138:20 139:24 142:9 151:14 hearing 133:18 heart 70:2 149:18 heartburn 92:12 heat 136:13 heated 149:15 heavily 35:22 Hedder 114:6,11 115:13,15,17 heed 120:13 held 4:16 65:6 124:13,21 126:10 137:13 Hello 105:25 123:25 125:5 help 17:1 43:4 62:24 77:1 105:21 139:16 147:22 helpful 16:16 17:21 42:15 helps 77:3 79:4 Hendry 46:5 72:1 72:1,9,10,22 73:9 75:21,23 hey 113:1 Hi 112:21 Hialeah 71:10 high 19:21 69:15 69:16 72:18 74:2 75:14 higher 75:10 highlighted 37:3	39:9,10 highway 42:22 44:14,17 54:25 Hillsborough 26:12 37:24 38:6 44:20,23 86:24 Hippocratic 102:18 Hispanic 47:5 61:7 70:22 72:17,19 73:20 73:22 74:3,4 75:9,12,14 historian 112:1 historical 75:11 130:9 historically 73:20 history 18:6 102:11 112:1,4 115:9,10 116:3 118:22 120:14 120:17 122:9 123:7,20 127:13 131:24 156:14 Hobbs 107:11 108:9 109:15 109:20,21 111:17,20,23 112:4,8 hold 8:2 37:25 44:22 46:14 123:11 137:14 145:13 holding 124:21 holds 124:8,11 Holloway 98:3,9 99:8,12 100:10 100:13 home 149:19 honor 141:24,25 152:12 hope 9:14 64:4 107:23 113:3 116:9
---	---	--	---	---

hopefully 21:22 62:24 115:11 horse 85:11 hours 92:9 house 1:11 4:18 6:1,15,21 7:25 8:7 12:3 15:7,8 16:19,20 19:11 19:24 20:1,15 24:8,12 25:9,12 25:20 26:21 47:8 51:4 74:16 74:22 103:14 103:20 115:24 121:12 126:8 126:11 130:16 143:16 152:13 House's 23:24 24:1,20 39:4,6 housekeeping 7:15 48:6 human 149:23 150:3 humanity 150:3 150:7 hundreds 92:5 127:22 Hunschofsky 2:21,22 13:11 13:12 48:22 49:5,7,12 50:14 50:16 52:20,22 52:25 53:3,6,9 87:6,8,24 88:11 88:13 90:6 152:7,8 153:21 153:23 154:25 157:9,10 hurting 129:16 hurts 142:17,18 hybrid 23:12 32:25 hybridized 50:5 hybrids 83:3,4 <hr/> I I-4 44:9	idea 42:24 74:25 111:8 128:23 144:4 ideas 82:19,25 83:3,4,7 95:4 identical 15:9 71:19 identified 148:14 identify 14:25 16:12 103:2 identifying 18:12 ignore 67:14 142:6 146:20 147:20 151:6 ignoring 129:3 III 103:12 illegal 128:25 illustrates 33:6 imbalance 103:22 Immokalee 72:3 73:10,10 impact 32:20 38:25 106:17 129:6 146:20 146:23 impacted 25:5 136:2 impacting 23:11 impacts 42:7,8 152:15 impasse 9:3 implemented 18:19 implicated 61:15 implore 116:4 126:21,24 143:7 145:13 implying 129:5 important 29:15 35:17 53:20 65:16 97:24 106:11 107:1 118:12 improperly 69:5 improve 23:14	29:16 31:15 improved 35:12 40:19 improvement 32:10 76:23 improvements 15:24 21:2 22:21 23:3 25:1 25:5 26:4 28:23 32:23 33:4 45:20 55:21 57:2,18 83:2 improves 27:2 29:1 improving 76:6 76:17 in-between 25:7 78:3 in-depth 30:9 in-house 16:24 included 20:6 21:19,21 34:17 34:19 43:25 44:2 includes 20:8,10 34:5,24 40:23 47:13 50:12 including 18:4 19:19 24:22 42:17 155:20 inconsistency 151:23 152:1 incorporated 30:11 42:18 46:2 50:2 incorporates 20:2 incorrect 8:17 incorrectly 98:5 increase 23:16 25:13 56:5 121:17 increasing 38:21 incredible 152:12 incumbent 17:23 18:1 52:1	Independents 109:3 Indesar 125:1,22 indicate 12:10 indicates 24:14 indications 146:12 indiscernible 12:19 60:16 63:9 90:13 92:20 134:13 individuals 92:3 122:3 infirmities 96:12 inform 5:11 information 7:20 126:13 151:3 informed 6:7 Ingram-Fitzpa... 128:16 130:2 130:21,24,25 Ingrid 131:20 132:18,20,25 133:1 initial 17:5 87:24 initially 16:22 17:1 73:8 initiated 114:22 inland 23:11 32:21 inlet 43:6 inserted 143:23 insertion 141:5 instances 16:10 intact 124:21 intend 6:3 12:4 intended 115:2 intent 17:25 51:6 52:1 86:17 104:21 105:3 129:4 140:2,18 153:9,14 interacted 43:15 interest 22:5 58:6 60:4,23 61:24 62:1,8 64:16,17	64:20 65:3 67:6 67:12,17 68:20 114:9 133:19 138:8,11 139:4 139:5 146:15 146:17 156:19 interested 111:3 159:8 interesting 155:23 interpreted 18:18 interrupt 15:12 interrupting 95:22 100:15 Interstate 32:12 40:12 41:10 43:22,23 44:2,4 intimidated 115:4 introduced 150:15 introduction 15:22 16:1,14 61:12 invited 6:17 ironic 114:21 Isaac 116:11 Isle 39:12 46:10 issue 60:13 63:20 106:10 issued 5:4 135:5 issues 148:14,15 149:16 item 7:15 iteration 32:9 137:19 iterations 89:17 89:25 <hr/> J Jacksonville 31:4 54:13 60:10,12 66:20 68:16,18 98:3 100:17 102:25 103:8 104:20 107:11 107:12 109:22
---	---	--	--	--

112:12,15,16,18	95:21,24 96:1,5	58:9 59:9,21,22	131:8,13 134:4	41:22,24 44:15
112:22 116:19	97:4 114:7	59:23 60:24,25	135:13 136:14	45:24 82:15
117:6 123:23	145:20,22	62:4,5,18,23	139:25 144:3	larger 23:10
125:2,22,24	148:1,4,8	70:14,15,24,25	148:2 149:15	26:11 31:5
127:14 130:3	157:11,12	71:13,14 73:5,6	150:10 151:2,3	54:14
131:18,19,25	Juanita 102:25	75:2,3 76:24,25	151:20 155:7	Larry 113:7
133:6,9 134:16	104:18,19	77:5,9 81:22	knowing 32:6	114:5,14,15,20
134:19 136:22	judge 156:14	83:19 84:19,20	73:19	LaShonda 98:2,9
136:23 155:25	judgment 12:15	86:7 88:2,4	knowledge 61:3	99:8,12 100:10
156:2,6,7	Judy 100:16	89:3,4 99:14	75:13 104:21	100:13
Jacob 116:11	103:7,7	110:25 113:17	104:23 105:2	Lastly 25:7 27:12
James 127:11	Julie 159:23	129:5 140:19	136:6	Latino 70:22
131:22	jump 4:10	kept 27:19 28:10	knows 102:1	73:4 74:10,12
January 16:22	jumping 44:9	28:10 30:20	108:16	74:18,25 96:9
Jasmine 133:4	juncture 37:19	34:1,7 35:21	Kristin 134:21	96:10
jive 140:14	jurisdiction	39:12,19,20		Latvala 2:24,25
Joanne 136:23	47:22 94:17,19	75:22	L	13:16,17
job 20:18 101:2,3	94:23	key 26:3 27:19	labels 29:14	154:17,18
115:7,8 131:3,6	jurisprudence	28:5,9 30:2	lack 24:18	157:13,14
132:12 136:10	146:7	kids 112:23 113:3	lacking 24:15	laughingstock
151:12	justice 116:10	kind 32:16 46:21	ladies 48:19	104:25
jobs 134:7,12	135:5	48:14,23 53:11	58:16 97:13	Laura 108:10
145:2	justify 65:3 67:6	71:3,4 74:12	103:1 104:21	109:15 112:11
Joey 134:24	67:12	76:19 80:22	105:13 119:6	112:13
135:19,21,25		86:4 87:10 89:6	126:24	law 47:17,18,20
136:1	K	kinds 146:8	Lady 41:15	47:22,25 59:1
Johns 31:3,22	keep 6:7 7:6	king 102:12,16	laid 83:21	59:14 67:19
32:7 54:16 84:6	27:17 28:8,13	knew 145:1	lake 41:13,15,19	82:5 83:25 90:5
Johnson 127:12	33:7,10 35:5	know 15:23 18:6	41:21,23 42:18	94:19,22,22
131:22	36:13 45:25	20:20 28:5 31:4	Lake-Seminole	95:11,14 98:16
joined 48:5 58:17	53:20 58:4 81:9	45:9 54:2 59:24	79:13	103:25 104:20
158:22	87:12 88:14	61:2 65:19,19	Lakeland 27:19	115:20 128:24
joining 5:12	119:22 130:12	65:20 67:16,21	44:5,10,17	129:11,12,13,14
97:22	133:23 148:2	68:17 69:5,13	landing 69:8	129:14 138:5,7
Jonathan 116:21	153:17	74:13 76:5,8,15	111:16 148:6	138:10 139:2
117:13,17,18	keeping 26:6	78:14,22,23	151:21	151:11,13,16,16
Jones 122:22	30:8 33:8,14	79:12 80:5	lane 131:6	151:17
123:22,25,25	34:22 39:7,23	81:16 86:2,9,10	language 47:13	lawfully 52:19
Joseph 2:23,23	40:18 57:13,14	86:10,11,12,13	51:7 52:14,15	laws 139:5
13:13,14 61:19	135:13 155:19	89:1 92:6 93:23	92:11 100:1,7	Lawson's 117:21
62:22 70:7,8,18	keeps 38:3 55:21	99:4,14 101:12	114:18 129:9	lawsuit 113:17
70:19 71:5,6	Kelly 15:2,3,11	101:23 102:9	135:10,13	lays 64:4
72:24,25 74:5,8	15:14 47:9	103:16 105:7	140:3 153:11	leader 106:2
90:12,13,14,17	49:22,24 51:21	108:24 114:5	large 24:6 150:11	leaders 105:1
90:18 91:24	51:23 53:25	116:2 118:16	largely 26:25	118:15
94:10,12 95:19	55:9,14,16 56:7	120:18 124:8	30:18 36:1,20	leadership 20:2
	56:8,20,21 58:8		36:21 38:8 40:5	

153:3 leading 78:9 League 113:12 113:16 128:19 155:3 leaning 35:7,22 leave 32:13 140:10 leaves 66:4 leaving 35:3 led 85:23 LEDA 89:4 Lee 23:11 32:20 35:2,3 46:2 Leek 3:21,22 5:8 6:2,9 8:6,8 10:14 14:18,19 20:4,18 47:9 48:3 50:11 81:2 139:16 156:16 156:18 158:15 158:16 Leesburg 41:16 left 31:14 37:1 119:7 121:7 140:13 legacy 112:9 118:13 legal 5:20 21:21 21:22 22:7,11 22:13 63:14 64:5 84:15,16 85:9 90:22 96:21 137:19 151:19 legislate 151:12 legislation 19:4 132:8 133:23 148:25 legislative 4:21 6:12 7:4 107:17 110:8 115:19 123:11 136:4 147:7 legislatively 9:12 legislator 142:12	legislators 8:12 9:10 107:21 129:15 132:4 142:3 Legislature 5:5 8:15 9:22 10:25 16:9 18:12,19 19:9,18 20:3 22:1,9,24 23:5 27:2,5,17,18,25 28:24 29:1 30:17 31:20,21 31:23 36:1 37:3 41:5,7 45:14 46:15 50:13 52:9 54:9 57:11 60:6 71:17,20 78:25 79:24 82:9,20 83:5 84:3,5 85:7 86:17 88:8 103:10,20 136:5 151:5 Legislature's 10:9 20:25 21:8 23:6,13 25:20 25:25 27:13 33:1,6,10 34:6 35:15 45:7 52:11 56:24 74:17,22 77:18 82:24 89:9 140:21 Legislature-dr... 127:17 Legislatures 17:9 103:18 length 10:24 lens 9:13 Leo 34:18 Leon 47:16 lesson 102:11 let's 4:9 5:24 57:20 61:18 74:6 95:6,25 123:19 136:19	148:2,5 150:24 letting 116:23 level 107:7 122:2 149:23 150:3 lieu 26:6 life 109:25 110:3 127:13 131:24 152:16,16 likelihood 104:2 limit 95:2 107:21 limitations 33:11 94:3 limited 10:10 limiting 94:3 135:14 limits 34:1 90:21 line 28:18 31:21 36:1 38:20 40:1 43:1,4 44:22 46:15 51:18 54:19,24 77:24 86:20 123:11 123:11 linear 34:9 lines 23:17 25:17 26:19 28:7 29:21 30:12 31:2 33:22 34:16 35:6 57:17 80:18 86:3,20 90:20 91:4 linkage 36:16 linking 117:6 Lisa 134:23,24 135:19,23 list 57:22 69:20 listen 120:4,5 124:13 152:23 listened 125:10 152:25 listening 126:15 literacy 125:13 125:19 literally 32:12 35:17 129:1	litigation 47:12 146:14 little 15:13,13 16:18 17:7 22:14,15 29:25 30:9,10 35:14 37:10 41:6,19 46:17 55:10 62:13 72:4,18 73:12,15,16,24 76:8 79:7 80:16 105:21,22 107:4,24 146:3 live 103:8 117:1 117:20 119:16 119:16 124:16 127:14 130:7 131:24 lived 109:25 122:2 123:1 living 106:14,20 108:14 lob 76:8 local 153:16 location 66:15 logical 31:8 54:16 54:18 55:1 lone 54:13 long 138:4 Longboat 27:19 28:5,9 longer 65:12,15 look 18:4,20 29:21 34:20 39:4,5,24 44:13 53:19 57:9 67:15 76:18 77:1 78:23 84:1 96:8,11 112:24 116:8 120:10 120:13 124:3 131:10,13 149:9 looked 30:1 50:24 82:24 125:10 151:8	looking 44:20 45:22 48:14 51:14 62:3 71:8 looks 28:19 85:22 86:5 loop 41:8 loss 117:5 lot 4:9 6:23 43:17 55:11,11,11 92:12 97:15 138:20 lots 74:12 loud 58:19 love 118:21 136:8 149:17 loved 144:19 lower 98:17 Lucas 130:3,22 131:18,21,22 132:10,15 Lucie 21:10 <hr/> M M 1:24 ma'am 53:5 91:13 99:7 100:12,18 101:11 102:23 103:6 104:14 105:16 107:13 108:8 109:11 109:19 111:14 111:18 112:6 113:10 114:4 122:23 123:21 123:24 124:24 125:4,21 126:5 127:6,9 128:6 128:13,17 129:19,22,25 130:4,20,23 131:17 132:9 132:13,17,21 133:3 134:25 135:18 Maggard 3:1,2 13:18,19
--	---	---	--	--

157:15,16 main 20:20 maintain 36:12 75:11 maintains 21:6 Maitland 39:18 127:8 128:15 130:1 134:21 major 25:14 36:11 39:14 40:1 52:6,7 54:24 72:3,6,13 78:10 79:9 82:21 87:1,2 majority 34:13 44:15 45:16,18 66:16 74:3 104:9,9 109:25 majority-mino... 21:7 66:24 73:20 89:23 150:5 makeup 140:22 making 16:12 21:3 30:4 31:16 36:7 66:9 89:1 146:15 man 129:2 managed 92:5 Manatee 28:9 35:20 37:24 86:23 manipulation 128:10 manner 19:20 26:20 37:18 map 4:15 5:9,15 5:18,23 6:10,11 6:12,18 7:1,10 7:11,12,17 8:1 8:10,15 9:16,16 9:21 16:15,17 16:25 17:3,5,6 17:8,13,13,13 17:16,18,19 19:9 20:7,10,11	20:16 21:2,9 22:10,13,16 23:19 25:8,16 27:1,4,16 29:17 29:22 30:6 32:24 33:19 34:2 37:3 42:5 42:25 44:6 45:6 45:15 47:13,15 49:14,16,17,17 49:18,20,21 50:10 54:5 56:25 57:2,5,8 57:10,15,18 62:9 63:15 69:4 71:11 74:15,21 76:19 83:1 85:20 88:15,21 90:3 96:12 98:24 102:2,6 106:6 107:17 107:22 110:17 111:1 113:21 114:3 115:23 118:7,12 121:23 123:10 124:4,14 127:19,23 132:2 136:5,12 137:8,13,15 139:25 140:16 140:21 141:1,3 141:5 143:24 144:18,18,21,23 148:20 150:16 150:19 151:7 153:7 154:9,15 155:2,7,11,12 155:15,19 156:12 maps 4:21,23 7:19 8:13,20,23 9:5 17:10,14 21:25 22:9,20 22:23 23:4,6,7 23:13 25:10,24	31:11 33:1 49:16 50:1,2,4 50:6,8 54:9 56:23 57:6 69:13 70:12,21 74:17,23 75:7 76:7 82:17,18 82:19 83:5,7 92:8 93:3,24 94:24 95:7 99:15 101:1,5 103:9,11,15,24 104:1,13 107:21,22 110:6,10,11,17 111:9 119:2 121:21 122:6 127:17 131:4 132:11 135:3 135:17 136:10 136:19 137:8 137:10,11 141:21 145:3,5 145:16 148:10 148:11,11,14 150:9,12,15,22 151:4 152:23 152:23 154:6 March 4:18 5:1 Marion 41:2 Marsha 105:17 107:10,14,15 massive 79:6 Massullo 3:3,3 13:20,21 157:17,18 math 73:11 matter 48:5 69:4 75:19 114:20 117:10 138:23 139:8,8 140:6 140:19 153:8 159:4 mattered 29:22 matters 138:23 139:9 145:24	151:14,17 McClure 3:4,5 13:22,23 157:19,20 McCoy 107:10 108:9,11 109:13 McKinnon 134:24 135:19 135:20,21,25 136:1 mean 26:24 28:15,17 49:19 66:18 69:3 76:21 93:11 94:7,15,24 148:13,16,21 149:21 meander 53:11 53:13 meaningful 28:4 30:13 32:8,17 means 4:24 38:17 88:19 120:18 137:22,22 142:17 145:25 146:19,22 147:23 meant 73:15 measure 118:4 meddling 141:23 media 140:23 medical 100:21 meet 36:24 37:15 37:22 38:2 53:21 61:13 62:11 87:1 90:1 meeting 5:25 7:2 9:14 10:5 12:3 21:14 24:2,21 24:21 50:23 86:25 101:15 153:1 158:23 meetings 4:17 50:18 meets 19:21	member 2:9,10 6:20 10:16 11:3 11:7,12 14:7 15:15 55:5,7 56:2,10,11,12 57:24 91:20,22 97:25 126:9 127:11 131:22 139:20 144:20 158:4 members 3:25 4:5,8 5:13 6:2,4 6:18 7:5,17,24 11:15 14:23 15:16 21:14,20 47:10 48:4,9,14 48:23,24 52:24 58:17 69:8 80:22 81:5 90:8 90:10,16 91:8 91:18 93:12 94:9 97:5,22 104:3 105:18 105:19 109:16 115:16 121:10 135:2,9 136:25 137:1 139:13 140:24 142:13 145:4,7 149:7 155:7 158:20 158:21 membership 99:25 memo 64:3 memorandum 21:13,15,21,23 22:6 84:23 85:9 memory 66:25 mention 114:8 mentioned 9:20 26:20 39:3 44:5 44:21 45:5 49:15 53:18,19 53:23 72:16 88:16 89:7 102:4 113:17
--	---	--	---	--

142:15 144:25 156:9 mere 67:10,22 68:22 mess 77:6 message 21:1,16 52:7 57:3,4 82:15 messing 81:18 met 51:16,17 methodology 25:13 metrics 28:4 98:25 118:4 Miami 71:10 Miami-Dade 71:18 72:21 microphone 4:6 15:12 63:11 middle 36:3 40:17 miles 154:14 million 47:11 154:7 millions 106:21 mind 81:9 mindful 81:6 minds 105:11 minimize 135:8 minor 22:21 minorities 51:7 100:6 104:2 123:18 140:3 146:21 153:11 minority 18:24 24:13 61:5 66:14 68:10,12 89:13 100:1,3,5 100:7 104:3,8 107:19,25 118:20 121:24 122:8,15 128:2 129:9 135:10 146:16 minute 119:9,11 120:24 121:8	121:11 125:7 minutes 97:23 99:8,11 103:4 111:17 119:14 121:2 miracle 140:24 mirrors 96:17 mispronouncing 114:6 missed 119:19 149:24 mistake 99:11 mistakenly 111:8 moment 4:13 6:22 91:15,16 115:3 122:9 moments 27:9 monied 118:24 monitor 118:1,2 Monroe 21:11 Montgomery 131:20 132:19 132:20,25 months 101:21 106:23 110:5 MONTOMERY 133:1 moral 142:7 Morales 3:6,7 13:24,24 157:21,22 motion 11:17 12:20,22 14:23 motivated 74:25 Mount 41:15 mouth 105:12 move 4:24 6:7,19 9:14 10:18 11:15,18 12:1 48:9,21 52:23 61:19 62:21 74:6 85:14 88:22 90:11 97:19,25 105:21,22 119:7 120:14	141:22 144:9 moved 72:4 86:22 106:11 movements 106:3 moving 12:6 40:16 45:21 72:11 103:4 144:10 Mulberry 45:3 multiple 12:12,14 87:13 97:8,10 municipal 34:16 37:5 78:3 80:13 municipalities 35:3 39:16 78:6 municipality 37:2 39:10,11 Myrtle 130:3,22 131:18,21,21 132:10,15 <hr/> N <hr/> name 6:24 17:4 97:16 98:5 100:20 103:7 105:19,25 109:21 114:9 115:14,17 116:16,20 117:1,18 119:15 121:13 122:10 125:5 126:8 127:10 131:21 133:11 136:1 Nancy 98:6 100:19,20 101:14,16,18,20 Naples 47:2 72:13 narrative 8:14,17 narrow 65:4 narrowly 22:4 61:24,25 64:16 Nassau 84:5 nation 130:15 native 109:23	130:6 natural 72:15 naturally 54:18 nauseum 153:18 nays 14:20 158:17 nearly 31:7 43:11 115:21 necessarily 29:2 68:5 necessary 11:2 38:16 40:2 47:4 64:22 67:16 92:5 142:17 need 24:12 29:9 32:3 64:24 71:1 71:24 73:2,7 80:24 85:5 90:9 90:11,11 92:7 92:10 94:1,6 96:19 100:21 108:3,15 114:2 120:6,10,12 146:5 149:13 152:2,3 needed 70:4 73:13 92:1 needs 146:5 147:20 Neely 112:19 113:7,9,11,12 negative 38:25 neglect 142:5 neighbors 106:19 neither 159:5 nerve 147:16 net 23:15 85:22 neutral 22:22 24:23 70:11 87:20 88:18 111:9,10 140:25 146:18 146:19,22 153:25 154:1 never 28:25 63:22,23 65:5	65:17,18,18,22 67:18 80:10 82:16 107:2 110:1,3 137:21 new 5:18 7:1 10:1 10:4 22:18 30:12 58:16 85:16 95:7 102:16 115:18 newly 6:13 30:25 46:3 Newman 62:23 63:1,3,16,17,19 69:10 85:9 newspapers 153:5 nice 78:7 87:2 non- 64:7 68:23 non-diminishm... 24:4 68:1 noncompact 43:6 nongeographic 26:15 nonpartisan 155:3 nonpolitical 26:15 nonprofit 109:4 nonsense 101:7 normal 4:24 6:19 norms 136:7,18 north 32:21 33:13 34:2 35:9 35:19,24 36:4 37:9,20,24 41:4 41:8 44:23 45:3 46:22 77:25 78:5 79:3 86:23 123:2 Northeast 18:14 18:15 22:19 82:16,23 northeastern 41:20 northern 36:18 64:6 65:25 66:6
--	--	--	---	---

67:7 68:10,22 72:4 86:20 117:3 northward 36:8 northwest 42:21 nos 12:14,16 97:10 note 51:24 79:18 noted 20:4,17 54:3,12 84:23 notes 17:20 84:23 noticed 48:4 50:21 notwithstanding 66:17 95:5 number 21:6 26:5,9,12 38:21 41:1 56:16,17 57:12,17 110:15 113:15 126:10 143:19 147:24 numbers 18:7 73:21 75:6 99:3 131:14 numerous 4:16 45:19 Nurse 112:12,14 NW 1:24	62:12 84:1,4,21 142:12,14 observe 103:3 observing 18:11 obviously 15:6,7 15:8,24 16:16 29:15 33:8 34:8 50:1 54:2 57:10 73:17 75:18 78:22 79:16 82:21 88:22 90:3 121:20 Ocala 41:8 occurs 31:22 36:17 Ocoee 39:19 80:1 122:21 Odwan 133:6,11 133:11,24 134:9,12 offer 29:19 48:11 50:9 58:18 59:23 63:11,11 138:17 offered 88:1 office 5:9,12 6:14 10:2,6 14:24 15:3,18 16:23 17:6 18:3 19:7 19:11,17 20:1 22:20 49:25 50:6,11 56:22 82:12,19 89:19 125:17 131:7 145:12 office's 17:15 19:4,5 20:8 23:7,13 25:8,24 33:1 46:8 156:9 official 19:16 Officio 3:19,21 14:16,18 158:13,15 oftentimes 16:7 144:2 Oh 119:13 133:2	okay 49:12 61:21 65:8 66:5 67:8 77:3,5,6 85:15 95:21 111:20 121:9 131:21 132:6,15 135:1 old 119:20 once 8:20 46:20 48:12 97:16 103:3 123:7 one-man 141:20 one-third 42:12 ones 148:17 open 64:25 opening 29:12 39:3 operative 19:16 65:15 opine 151:15 opinion 84:14 138:10 opinions 7:6 opponent 133:4,7 134:18,19,21 135:23 opportunities 57:1,13 opportunity 15:17 49:2 51:7 57:9 81:3,15 90:25 92:3 113:11 117:6 118:11 121:11 123:18 128:3,4 129:7 136:15 140:3 146:20 153:10 oppose 104:13 126:20 127:23 132:2 opposed 12:13 53:11 97:9 106:1 136:2 155:4 opposing 145:4 145:15	opposition 97:21 103:8 110:6 112:13,14 119:1 121:19 130:8 132:23 136:22,24 155:2,6 oppress 124:4 oppression 118:13 120:11 options 30:17 33:20 Orange 27:18 38:17,21 39:1 40:17 43:13,14 76:9 78:9 79:1 Orange-Semin... 39:25 order 2:3 28:13 30:19 32:13 33:3 81:25 97:21 organization 109:4 110:3 121:17,21 155:3 organize 106:19 organizing 106:15 original 17:13 32:9 originally 63:21 Orlando 60:10 68:17,18 81:19 106:11 107:16 112:11 113:8 114:7,12,15 117:14 119:16 124:1,16 125:3 125:23 156:7 Osceola 33:7,10 33:15 42:20,22 43:7 outcomes 152:13 outlined 143:17 outset 17:21	outside 19:7 59:2 78:17 101:25 110:9 overall 22:22 23:2,14 31:12 31:15 42:4,24 43:7 45:6,18 52:9 57:15 72:16 73:22 75:16 78:19 80:17 82:9 overcome 116:12 overreliance 25:10 oversight 16:24 overturned 135:16
<hr/>				
O				
O'Jays 120:2,20 120:20 oath 10:19 11:4 11:16 12:10 102:17,18,19 124:7,11 126:21 oaths 102:19 objected 56:19 objection 81:17 140:11 158:23 objections 22:7 23:1 obligated 85:7 obligation 5:22 52:16,18 62:8,9				P P-000C0109 6:10 7:18 9:16 p.m 119:8 packet 7:17,18 7:19 9:17 packing 85:25 Pahokee 46:11 paid 110:1 pain 147:4,5,5 painful 112:2 painfully 101:24 Palm 46:9,15 Panama 128:11 128:14 Panhandle 21:9 paper 125:14,19 pardon 114:18 Park 39:18 41:16 Parkway 36:20 36:21,23 37:8,9 42:23 part 30:6,7 45:24 73:9 77:22,25 86:20,21 87:24 88:25 100:10 102:16 122:4 144:1 150:12 151:6 155:15

156:7 participate 51:8 118:11,21 128:3 140:4 142:2 148:7 153:11 particular 36:17 71:11 76:22 98:24 99:15,15 147:19 particularly 81:19 parties 9:4 19:10 123:17 128:2 159:7 partisan 7:8 19:16 85:24 86:4,9,12 104:10 140:22 partisanship 136:19 146:10 146:11 147:18 parts 139:24 party 17:22 18:1 18:4,6 19:16 52:2 99:5 109:1 116:7 128:7 140:18 Pasco 34:13,14 36:19 37:8,9 38:4 44:16 pass 5:18,22 93:24 144:4 147:1 151:12 passed 4:19 6:12 9:12,22 16:9 20:3 22:9,23 23:4,22 27:1,16 38:10 39:6 49:17 50:13 54:9 78:25 82:4 82:7,8 104:5 107:18 127:24 151:8 155:7,9 155:14 passing 8:13,20	150:22 155:11 155:12 path 116:5 130:15,17 people 73:12,13 92:13 98:21 99:21 100:6,6,6 105:4 109:4 114:25 115:2 115:25 116:1,1 116:5 118:10 120:3,21 126:22,22 129:7,14,17 131:7,12 133:19,20 134:2 136:11 136:18 139:10 142:7 144:14 146:17 147:11 148:22 149:19 149:25 152:20 152:22,23 155:22,24,24 perceive 149:21 percent 26:16,16 47:6 61:5,8 66:25,25 72:19 73:25 75:10 76:15,16,21 90:1 113:22,23 127:20 percentage 74:1 percentages 81:13 Perez 3:8,9 14:2 14:3 157:23,24 perfect 148:14,16 perform 68:11 74:3,19 75:1 84:18,21 performance 75:11 performed 75:12 89:11 performing	18:14,24 21:6 73:20 89:10 141:1 perimeter 76:14 period 80:23 permits 47:19 permitting 49:4 Perry 134:23 135:19,23 person 97:18 109:25 126:23 153:17 personal 7:8 perspective 89:9 perspectives 122:3 persuasive 123:12 Pete 27:19 36:5,6 phone 139:14 phonetic 51:2 113:8 125:1 133:6 physician 102:17 pick 30:19 58:2,2 88:23 picking 42:17 87:14 154:5 picks 55:22 77:19 78:14 picture 66:3 piece 41:19,20 42:19 89:6 144:16 pieces 44:1,4 50:2 Pierre- 114:6 Pierre-Joseph 115:13,15,17 Pinellas 35:14,16 86:18,19 Pinellas-Hillsb... 35:25 pink 34:11 place 93:7 149:14 places 25:11	33:11 87:15,15 plain 52:14,15 plainly 27:9 Plakon 3:10,11 14:4 157:25 158:1 plan 15:19,21,24 16:1,4,8,8,9,10 16:15 19:2,20 19:23,24 20:3,5 20:7,9,12,25 21:3,5,20,20 22:18 23:2,8,18 23:20,21,24 24:19 25:8,9 26:4,14 27:1,2 27:4,12,14 28:22,23,25 29:7 30:2 31:12 35:21 38:10,17 39:4,5,6,6 40:22,23 45:7 46:8,12,16 82:4 89:25 104:8 106:1 108:4,5 117:3 121:19 plans 19:17,18 20:15 33:1 82:12 Plant 27:17 38:3 play 96:22 please 2:4 4:1,2,6 12:10,13 14:25 48:7 63:12 70:13 81:5 97:6 97:16 98:3,4 99:10 104:12 108:6 114:9 129:24 133:22 135:16 153:20 156:21 158:19 pledged 102:18 plenty 48:17 plus 84:8 podium 97:17 98:4 103:2	136:11 Poinciana 42:18 point 11:9 12:2,2 17:20 24:9 28:16 32:1,4,7 37:14,16 54:23 64:24,25 65:16 66:3 67:22,22 82:2 84:3,5 92:24 96:7 129:2 135:4 144:21,24 150:11 151:1 151:22 pointed 145:9 points 26:3 31:1 81:13 113:15 police 142:22 policies 147:2 political 17:22 18:1,4,9 19:15 19:16 23:17 26:19 33:21 35:12 51:8,11 52:2 57:16 76:13 99:5 121:15 128:4 140:4,18 147:10 153:12 politicians 123:16 128:1 Polk 26:7 30:7,11 30:16,18,21 33:7,15,18,24 33:24 34:22 38:1,4 42:7,12 42:19 43:2,6,15 43:25 44:1,16 45:3,13,16,18 55:22 poll 125:12,19 pollical 18:10 pollution 118:1 Polsby 79:5 Polsby-Popper 27:6
--	---	--	--	---

Popper 51:2 79:6 128:22,22 populated 38:6 population 24:6 30:22 32:4,5,15 34:25 36:3 38:16 40:3 41:18,22 43:9 45:2 46:4,19,24 47:4,6 61:8,9 66:14,21 71:25 72:17,19 73:3,4 73:7,11,14,23 74:4 75:9,15,19 78:17 79:9 89:18 115:21 135:11 populations 66:20 Port 27:18 portion 26:12 36:18 42:18 62:20 94:16 portions 20:2 34:24 35:1 46:2 50:12 71:21,21 78:22,25 79:3 posit 146:15 position 23:25 58:3 positions 120:8 positive 39:2 108:15 possible 18:13,21 18:25 149:19 Post-Reconstru... 95:9 posted 9:18 poster 60:8 Powell-Williams 102:25 104:15 104:18,19 power 103:22 113:21 powerful 106:19 118:24	PowerPoint 15:6 15:6 powers 129:18 practice 146:23 practices 99:24 135:8 pray 109:7,8 precedent 154:12 preceding 68:15 preclude 93:4,8 precludes 47:23 precondition 66:11,12,13 preconditions 66:8 predominant 30:21 predominantly 36:16 39:14 60:1 77:16 78:12 79:8,18 preferences 56:25 preferred 25:13 25:21,25 26:22 99:1 premise 71:11 96:19 prepared 85:21 125:9 prerequisite 89:23 present 3:7,23 6:17 8:7 15:17 17:11 62:17 90:15 104:22 110:14 presentation 7:16 8:2 9:15 10:9 16:7 45:6 47:10 50:21 76:6 presented 10:2 50:10 51:4 88:21 110:7,22 111:2 151:23	presenting 9:16 49:14 President 5:17 128:19 142:17 Presidential 141:6 Presley 125:2,23 125:25 126:1,6 126:8 127:2,4 pressed 58:21 95:23 103:4 presumes 74:9 pretend 147:5 pretext 86:3 pretty 45:15 144:5 prevail 52:13 previous 7:19 74:17,23 89:16 103:14 144:18 144:21 previously 6:12 10:11 22:20 26:21 30:25 44:22 45:24 50:6 56:22 94:2 144:25 pride 142:15,16 primarily 22:3 primary 16:9 20:5,25 21:20 21:25 22:8 27:14 45:7 150:16 151:7 principles 24:24 35:8 151:19,24 prior 19:4 20:8 20:12 21:14 23:6 25:24 33:1 46:8 75:6 82:25 89:25 154:8 prioritize 136:18 priority 51:19 154:13 privilege 141:25 141:25	privy 105:2 probably 20:19 20:19 22:14 26:10 62:13 problem 68:20 149:7 problematic 152:2 problems 149:12 procedure 10:22 93:23 94:1 135:8 procedures 99:24 proceed 7:3 12:4 12:17 29:5 99:11 proceedings 110:2 process 4:14 9:1 11:18 12:6 17:2 17:23 18:10,11 19:6,19 35:16 51:8 72:7 77:12 92:4,6,10 115:18 118:6 128:4 140:4 141:4 142:2 143:18,20,25 144:1,7 145:1,5 148:24 149:10 149:25 152:4 153:12 proclamation 5:4 produce 9:11 produced 7:18 136:5 product 9:12 19:25 20:24 82:7,8 83:5 professional 17:12 19:22 24:1 88:8 professionalism 7:3 Professor 128:22 profiles 115:3	profound 118:12 prohibit 99:23 prohibited 135:7 prohibits 123:16 127:25 135:8 proliferate 8:14 promise 116:9 118:22,22 pronounced 98:5 proposal 21:17 proposals 19:5 propose 145:3,5 145:15 proposed 5:9,15 6:10,13,16 7:1 10:1,4 15:19 19:17,20 21:5 22:20 23:2 24:19 26:4,14 27:2 29:7 30:2 30:15,25 31:20 31:22,23 38:17 83:6 98:24 101:6 103:9 110:17,17 146:2 proposing 127:18 143:24 150:17 prosperous 147:22 protect 88:23 100:3,4 107:19 114:23 115:2 118:14 129:6 132:7 136:15 137:25 138:3 protected 24:13 89:10 96:9 protecting 95:16 96:10,14,15 Protection 22:1 64:9 67:20 84:25 85:3 98:16 99:22 protections 106:5 138:5,13
---	--	--	---	--

proud 126:9 128:21 148:12 154:21	60:7 61:1,13 62:6,14,21,25 63:11,23,23 64:25 67:9 71:1 74:15 75:4 77:11 81:14 82:1,13 84:4 85:16 86:2,14 86:14 87:7,18 87:25 88:11,14 89:5 90:24 92:25 93:3,5,9 94:15 95:5 116:25 117:8 117:11	racially 21:17 69:5 140:9,13 radical 103:24 railways 25:14 raise 47:20 106:20 raised 23:1 146:13 150:11 randomly 140:21 Ranking 2:9,10 10:16 11:7,12 14:7 55:5,7 56:2,10,11,12 57:24 91:20,22 139:20 158:4 rational 54:10 rationale 90:25 reaction 108:15 108:15 reactions 58:20 reading 51:3 Reagan 42:23 real 150:14,24 really 16:1,4,4 20:18,21 22:12 22:15 29:8 35:22 37:25 40:10,13 44:16 52:7 73:7 77:23 79:11,25 82:4 83:2,4,6 85:8 88:5,18,19 94:16 95:1 96:16 128:21 132:6 142:2 152:22	recap 4:13 receive 4:21,23 48:18 received 5:8,10 10:23 11:5 25:9 receiving 97:23 recognizable 31:8,10 36:11 37:17 40:14 recognize 6:8 10:6 recognized 8:6 14:24 25:18 28:22 49:6,23 50:15 51:22 53:24 55:5,15 56:1 58:23 60:19 63:2,18 70:7 76:20 81:4 81:23 83:10,18 85:17 86:6 87:7 88:3 89:2 90:15 90:17 91:20 92:19 94:11 98:8 100:18 103:6 104:17 105:23 107:13 109:19 113:10 114:13 117:16 120:25 121:8 122:23 123:24 125:4 126:5 127:9 128:17 130:4,23 133:10 134:25 135:20,24 137:3 138:4 139:19 141:13 156:17 recognizes 77:20 recognizing 76:13 recommendati... 57:7 recommends 28:23	reconcile 59:5,13 reconsider 121:2 reconvene 144:8 record 15:1 117:20 124:12 154:24 recording 1:10 158:25 159:3 recreate 90:4 recreated 89:12 89:25 rectangular 36:13 redescribing 10:10 redistricted 124:19 redistricting 1:11 2:3 4:14,21,23 7:10 8:13 16:20 23:3 54:4 77:19 103:11 104:7 106:1 115:18 115:23 118:5 123:10 124:3 124:14,17 131:4 142:2 145:2 146:8 149:10 151:19 redraw 52:16 56:18 85:1,8 redrawn 103:17 redrew 140:12 reduce 41:1 56:5 104:1 reduced 26:10,14 56:17 reduces 26:4 127:19 reducing 23:15 26:11 119:8 refer 15:23 16:3 16:11 reference 17:3 18:9,10 41:13 44:20 75:6
provided 30:24 50:11 137:20 159:4 provides 94:18 106:6 providing 12:10 16:23 public 4:2 5:14 6:3,4,19 7:5 48:6,18 80:25 82:18 90:10 91:11,14,17 97:12,14,15,22 97:24 105:20 119:9 158:22 published 50:6 57:6 pull 15:12 42:4 42:25 83:6 pulled 79:3 pulling 29:14 72:10 purpose 16:14 66:19 130:14 141:16 purposes 32:4 Pursuant 11:14 purview 59:3 push 73:15 put 10:19 11:2,16 11:24 12:6 39:16 53:10 69:2,19 87:10 109:1 111:13 124:17 131:7 131:11 154:6 puts 39:17 putting 12:9 131:4 151:3	questions 5:14 6:4,18 8:2 10:8 48:10,11,15,21 49:1,4,8 55:6 69:9,22 70:10 76:2 80:24 81:5 81:10,12 83:11 91:9,9 95:18 96:6 118:7,17 146:3,13 quickly 103:20 quite 35:17 72:18 81:12 91:3 Quorum 3:23	R race 22:3,22 24:10,15,23,23 60:2 64:14 67:8 70:11,16 87:19 88:18 99:25 107:5 111:9,10 115:22 129:9 130:16 140:25 146:18,19,23 153:25 154:1 race-based 65:3 67:12 racial 51:7 60:2 88:23 112:1 135:10 140:3 146:20 153:10		
Q question 52:22 53:1 54:22 58:2				

referenced 41:19 43:19 45:9	88:12	152:20	76:1,3 77:10	99:17 104:8
referencing 54:6 87:4	relative 23:4 159:6	representation 70:22,22,23	80:20 81:4,7	140:22 141:1
referred 20:11 23:19	relegated 146:7	95:10,12 100:8	82:13 83:9,10	148:23
referring 16:5 73:3 75:7	reliably 24:7	106:7 107:20	83:12 84:11,12	Republicans 101:9 109:2
154:24	reliance 26:14 67:23	108:3 115:24	85:10,12,15,18	147:15,21
refers 16:13	remain 48:15	116:6 118:3,17	87:6,8,23 88:10	request 11:6
reflected 9:17 62:20	remainder 62:25	122:8,16	88:13 89:5 90:6	requesting 131:10
reflecting 122:4	remaining 48:18	125:15,18	90:12,13,14,17	requests 101:22
refresher 4:12	62:20	127:18,20	90:18 92:18,20	require 66:6
refuse 142:5,6	remarkably 140:25	133:16 137:11	92:22 93:15,16	68:21 129:4
regard 83:16	remedial 95:9	137:12,14,16,25	93:18 94:10,12	required 46:3
regarding 21:5 25:10 26:3	remedy 21:1 60:13	138:23 139:9	95:19,21,24	66:8 67:4,5
42:14 52:5	remember 16:11	145:24 146:16	96:1,5 97:3	83:17
70:20 101:17	105:15 106:23	147:9 149:1	126:11 129:8	requirement 93:6
109:12,17	116:12 120:19	150:7 154:3	137:2,3,4	requires 47:14
regardless 105:10	125:16 155:8	representations 111:1	139:11,18	reshaping 40:25
regards 89:8 137:8	remembers 102:10	representative 2:12,14,16,18	141:12,14	resident 32:13
region 8:5 23:10	remind 101:12	2:20,22,25 3:2	143:12,13	109:21 136:2
23:18 24:22	105:18 109:16	3:5,7,9,11,14,16	145:20,22	residents 30:15
25:2 33:2,4,5	116:6	3:18,20,22 6:2	148:1,4,8 149:3	32:6 34:14 38:6
33:12 34:21	reminder 4:5	6:8 8:6,8 10:14	149:5 152:6,8	42:12 46:6,9,23
38:8 44:21	48:12 58:18	10:15,21 11:11	153:19,21,23	108:21
regional 117:2	reminders 3:25	11:22 12:18,19	154:17,18,24	resolution 60:10
regions 151:25	reminds 114:17	13:2,4,6,8,10,12	156:16,18,25	resolve 5:5
registered 121:14	125:12,13,14	13:14,17,19,21	157:2,4,6,8,10	resolved 63:24
registration 18:5 18:6	reminiscent 113:23	13:23 14:3,9,11	157:12,14,16,18	resolving 22:25
regression 138:1 138:3	removes 91:3	14:15,17,19	157:20,22,24	respect 23:3,23
regrets 156:13	Reock 27:6 79:5	47:9 48:22 49:5	158:1,6,8,12,14	23:24 65:7
regular 8:20 9:22	Rep 91:24 142:15	49:7,12 50:14	158:16	78:24 80:11,15
93:22 136:4	repeat 88:11	50:16 52:20,21	representatives 2:11 13:1 16:21	118:8
150:13	113:14 120:14	52:25 53:3,6,9	51:9 100:24	respectable 7:7
reiterate 92:24	120:17 123:20	55:25 57:19,21	123:19 124:22	respecting 67:1
rejected 101:4,6	repeating 123:7	58:11,12,14,22	126:8 128:5	response 58:1
rejection 127:16	replaced 60:13	58:24 59:16,17	133:20,21	102:12 132:22
related 47:12,14	report 109:24	59:18 60:15,17	140:5 147:12	133:1
87:18 94:20	reported 140:23	60:18,20 61:17	152:13 153:13	responsibilities 101:1
relates 76:5	158:19	61:19,21 62:15	156:24	responsibility 8:13,16,18,19
	represent 98:21	62:20,21 63:6,7	represented 59:1	8:23 9:2,9
	124:15 126:23	63:13 69:19,21	122:1 156:5	103:10 110:10
	142:1 144:14	69:23 70:1,5,7	representing 122:4	121:20 131:2,6
		70:8,18,19 71:5	represents 42:19	responsible 5:21
		71:6 72:24,25	republic 117:25	rest 4:12 56:25
		74:5,7,8 75:25	118:19	
			Republican	

57:2,8,10 restricting 94:16 result 25:1,4 26:23 41:3 45:23 51:6 72:8 99:16 140:6,19 143:19 148:25 153:9,14 resulted 28:8 42:3 140:21 resulting 38:3 45:12 47:5 results 117:5 retains 21:7 retrogressing 105:5 retrogression 70:20 100:4,5 returning 38:9 reversal 69:13 reverse 81:25 review 4:22,23 7:23 reviewed 7:19 76:19 reviewing 52:8 85:21 revised 25:19 revisions 25:24 27:16 revisit 33:4 right 4:10 12:20 30:15 31:11 39:11 41:22 43:10 52:25 54:4 64:12 65:13 66:4 68:5 76:15 83:8 85:18 105:4 106:8 107:5,23 108:25 113:19 116:6 118:14 118:18 120:6,7 120:10,14,20 123:9 125:6 126:25 127:2	131:5 136:20 138:19 141:10 142:13 143:19 146:2 147:12 148:9 150:23 151:5 rightfully 101:5 rights 60:22 61:4 61:4,15 64:23 65:2,8,9,10,11 65:11,21,24 66:1,2,5 67:4,5 68:21 89:20 94:18 102:7 104:4 107:3 110:20,21 118:9,20 119:18 121:16 126:17 129:6 131:2 133:16 135:6 149:13 river 31:3,6,16 32:3,7,8 54:17 road 36:22,24 37:10,11,20,25 40:6,6,12 41:4 41:23 44:21 45:1 46:20,21 46:22,22 77:13 86:21 roadmap 5:25 48:23 roads 34:16 roadway 54:25 77:11,16,22 78:2,7 79:18,19 79:20 80:12 roadway-boun... 43:12 roadways 25:14 35:7 36:11,16 37:17 39:15 40:2,11 41:7 47:3 72:3,6,14 77:17,19 78:10 78:12 79:9 87:1	87:3 Roberts 112:16 112:18,21,21 Robinson 117:15 119:5 120:23 121:1,5,9,13 122:13,15,18 role 6:15 8:25 16:23 roll 2:4 12:23 149:11 156:21 Ron 127:16,24 132:3 Ronald 42:22 117:8 room 97:19 101:19,25 102:1 109:18 141:18 142:12 143:8 Rosemary 107:10 108:9,11 109:13 rotate 49:2 roughly 73:11 round 49:3,9 53:4,4 57:23 61:18 69:22 111:4 route 148:18 Rucker 117:14 119:4,11,13,15 119:16 rule 11:14 132:5 151:16 ruler 102:12 rules 118:8 152:24 ruling 118:24 run 141:20 144:4 145:11 running 144:12 rural 42:13 rush 133:17,19 133:20,25 rushed 8:5 152:2	rushing 134:1 Russia 108:18 Ryan 62:23 63:3 63:16,19 69:10 83:21 <hr/> S <hr/> Sabris 125:1,22 sacrifice 147:8 sadly 102:21 safe 147:23 Saint 34:18 salamander 156:10 salamander-type 68:17 San 34:18 sand 28:18 Sarasota 26:6 28:8,10 30:8,20 34:21,22 45:25 46:1 55:21 sat 125:8,10 satisfied 50:25 55:2 103:16 satisfy 29:19 52:10 64:14 66:11 68:7,8,25 69:16 satisfying 69:14 save 97:21 saw 121:24 saying 12:11 28:14 30:14 52:16 62:10 83:14 97:6 117:9 134:3 140:15 147:1 151:9 153:24 says 67:21 99:4 135:14 137:24 146:3 SB-90 142:21 scenario 61:14 schools 67:19 Scoon 126:4 127:7 128:11	128:14,18,18 129:20,24 scope 110:9 score 27:3,6 scores 7:21 26:24 screen 9:25 10:4 scroll 29:14 scrutiny 5:20 62:2 64:15 68:2 68:7,9,25 69:14 69:15 seat 34:13 35:16 60:1 73:21,24 74:1,4 86:17,18 108:2 146:1 seating 137:18 seats 21:7 57:12 86:10,11,13,25 87:2 91:4 95:3 98:15 111:12 137:13 140:22 140:23 141:1,2 second 11:19,20 17:15 25:8,10 25:16 26:14 49:3 69:20 99:22 105:19 144:24 151:13 secondary 21:20 21:25 22:9 49:17,20 150:19 seconds 125:8 secret 56:24 57:5 82:16 151:3 section 36:3 53:7 64:22,22 65:9 65:10,11,13,15 65:16 66:1,2,4 66:5,9,10 78:9 89:20 90:2,21 99:22 135:6 137:24 see 9:24 27:8 30:7 32:2 36:15 37:7,13 43:22
--	---	---	--	---

44:9 45:14	74:18	117:10 138:15	133:8,10,22	113:6,10 114:4
46:18 48:16	separation	sickness 118:2,19	134:8,10	114:19 115:12
61:14 86:16	129:18	side 43:23 60:5	135:24	116:15 117:12
100:22 111:6	September 4:14	72:10,21,22	Sirois 2:2,5,6	119:3,12,14
112:25 116:9	135:4	73:17 78:2,3	3:24 8:9 9:20	120:22 121:4,7
136:9 147:4,4	Sergeant 4:4 48:8	79:1 116:10	10:6,13,21	122:12,14,17,20
150:23,25	serious 108:18	156:7	11:11,21 12:15	123:21 124:23
151:17,22	serve 67:6 102:20	signature 5:19	12:20,24,25	125:21 127:1,3
153:25 154:2	109:3 121:15	signed 9:13	14:22 15:11	127:5 128:6,8
seeing 6:15 12:21	126:22 152:12	significance	28:16 48:2 49:8	128:11 129:19
91:11,17 93:14	served 16:23	137:17	49:11,23 50:9	129:22,25
94:10 100:23	144:13	significant 26:16	50:17 51:21	130:20 131:17
102:15	serves 67:1	35:7 40:11	52:21 53:2,5,8	132:9,13,17,23
seek 11:2	service 10:25	43:16 57:4 78:2	53:24 55:4,8,14	133:2,22 134:8
seeking 21:1	134:17	80:25 82:21	55:25 56:7,11	134:10,14
102:15	session 4:8 5:5,18	significantly	56:20 57:19	135:18,22
seen 10:3 35:15	6:25 8:20,22	23:16 54:6,7	58:8,11,14 59:8	139:11 141:12
116:3 142:19	9:11,23 93:22	signify 97:6	59:17,22 60:16	143:11 145:20
142:21,21	102:1 130:14	signs 118:2	60:18,24 61:17	148:1,5 149:3
145:4	133:25 136:4	silence 4:1	62:4,16,19 63:1	150:20 152:6
segregating	136:13 137:6	127:21	63:5,10,17 69:7	153:19,22
67:19	150:13	silent 143:3	69:18,22,25	154:16 156:16
segregation	set 19:21 21:12	Silvers 3:12 14:5	70:5,14,18,24	156:20,22,23
95:16 140:10	118:8	158:2	71:5,13 72:24	158:18
Seimone 79:14	shape 34:9 36:13	similar 5:11 7:18	73:5 74:5 75:2	Sirois' 8:11
select 129:7	40:22,22 42:4,5	30:1 37:4 41:5	75:24 76:2,24	sister 134:5
Seminole 77:24	shapes 27:11	82:3,6,11,13	77:4,8 80:20	sit 114:25 132:11
Senate 4:18,19	share 42:10	similarities 23:23	81:22,24 83:3,8	142:5,6
5:16 15:9 19:11	106:9,9	simple 91:3	83:18 84:11,19	situation 52:13
20:2,4 21:19	shared 126:13	simply 124:8	85:12,17 86:6	six 14:20 42:12
23:21,22 24:8	Sheila 112:15,17	129:11	87:5,9,19,23	Skidmore 2:9,10
24:12 25:10	Sheklin 100:16	single 7:10 50:23	88:10 89:2 90:7	10:15,16,21
70:11 103:14	102:24 103:7,7	55:23,23	90:14 91:7	11:7,11,12,22
103:21 110:24	Shelby 65:13	129:16 144:20	92:18,21 93:12	14:6,7 55:5,7
124:11	shift 73:11	Singleton 112:15	93:16 94:9	55:25 56:2,10
Senate's 20:16	shifting 30:23	112:17	95:19,22,25	56:12 57:20,24
25:12,21 26:21	40:21	sir 14:25 49:23	96:3 97:3 99:6	82:14 91:20,22
38:13	shock 98:12	55:4 59:8 61:20	99:10 100:9,12	137:3 139:18
Senator 5:10	Shortly 6:8	69:7 80:21	100:14 101:11	139:20 142:16
sense 8:12 80:22	show 32:2 141:20	112:19 113:6	101:15,17,19	158:3,4
89:1 90:23	158:19	114:13,19	102:23 104:14	skin 125:14
94:16 152:18	showing 26:17	115:12 117:12	105:16 107:9	skinny 156:10
sent 4:25 5:1 9:3	32:22	117:16 119:8	108:8 109:11	skip 20:19 29:25
137:8,9 143:10	shown 21:8	119:10,12	109:14 111:14	slapped 69:4
144:14	shut 96:6	120:22,25	111:18,21	slavery 114:24,25
separate 40:11	sic 33:11 50:5	121:4,8 122:12	112:3,6,10	sleeping 131:14

slide 20:19 33:5,6 34:4 46:18	souls 150:1	135:3 145:18	St 21:10 27:19	12:3 17:8,10,14
slides 26:2 29:8,8 30:24 32:18,18 36:15 38:7 45:21	Sound 36:4	speaks 61:4	31:3,22 32:7	18:16,17,23
slight 75:15	south 32:21	special 4:8 5:5,17 6:25 8:21 9:11 102:1 137:6	36:5,6 54:16 84:6	22:5 24:14 28:6
slightly 39:14 42:21 154:20	33:13 34:3,11 34:20 35:9,19 36:23,25 37:20 41:4,8 44:24 117:21 123:3 151:25	specific 16:5,5 66:19	Staats 98:6 100:16,19,20 101:14,16,18,20	31:5 33:17,23 34:16 37:10,11 37:20,25 40:12 41:4,23 44:21 45:1 46:20,21 46:22 47:12,14 47:14,17,18,19 47:20,20 52:12 53:7 54:14 56:23 59:6,12 59:12,14 60:4 60:23 61:24 62:1,8 64:14 65:17,23 82:21 84:10 86:21 90:23 93:6 94:19,22 95:3 98:4 99:19 102:20 103:18 103:22,25 107:7,19 108:20,21,25 110:1,18 113:16 115:5 115:19 118:9 119:1 121:14 121:18,22 122:5,7,18 124:15 129:16 131:13 135:7 136:16 138:1,4 138:7,8,11,25 139:3,23 142:8 146:5,16 150:5 151:25
slim 144:5	Southeast 21:10 46:14	specifically 16:8 23:24 27:17 63:9 73:3 74:24 76:7,13	stacking 147:14 147:15	
slippery 94:4	southern 31:17 31:18,24,25 35:1 36:2 38:15 44:19,25 86:21 86:24	speculation 6:24	Stacy 114:11 115:14 116:17 116:18	
slope 94:5	Southwest 45:22	speech 125:9	staff 4:4 10:18 15:4 16:19 17:12 19:22 24:1 25:10 51:5 88:8 89:2 153:3	
slow 55:10	southwestern 40:9	spend 97:23	stakeholder 98:20	
small 7:13 156:10	Sowell 136:21	spirit 12:5 109:7	stand 93:25 104:12 106:4 114:25 136:10 136:12	
Smith 134:19	space 80:5	spirited 149:22	standard 24:4 51:10,15,15,16 51:17,19,20 52:2,4,5 53:17 53:22,22 64:8 68:1,24 69:16 84:15,16 99:1,1 106:20 153:15	
smoke 96:16	spans 71:9	split 23:16 26:9 27:15,22 28:6 30:7,19 31:6,9 31:16,22 34:7 35:24 36:6 44:5 44:6 45:10,10 46:20 55:12,19 55:23 56:17 117:3	standards 19:21 35:23 50:25 51:1 84:9 99:3 153:16	
smooth 43:1	speak 15:13 18:22 60:5 61:3 62:19 63:10 88:2,5 97:17,18 105:14 107:16 108:17 113:12 114:8 115:9,9 116:24 121:3 121:11 133:7 145:11 152:19 155:23	splits 7:20 26:5,8 28:3,19,19 38:18 45:7,8 55:17,19 56:5,6 56:16,17	standing 129:11	
smoothing 42:16 43:1,3	speaker 5:16 48:7 103:15 109:14 112:13 112:15,19 119:7 124:7,25 154:22	splitting 27:14 28:9 55:22 72:6	stands 31:7,9 118:25	
solely 51:14 115:25	speakers 4:5 121:7 124:13 154:22 155:1	spoke 57:4 69:3	start 17:1 38:11 81:25 84:8	state-sponsored 118:13
solid 77:22	speaking 4:7 15:8 16:1 43:21 81:11 103:8 105:10 106:15	sponsor 15:25	started 8:14 101:15 119:17	stated 5:17 24:20 81:16 99:14 103:15 104:6 124:19 140:8
solidarity 118:25		sponsor's 98:1	starting 16:22 35:18 150:15 150:21	statement 59:7 81:17 130:12
solidarity 118:25		sprawled 60:9	state 4:20 8:1,4	
solved 149:7		sprawls 60:12		
somebody 121:5 156:9		spread 79:4		
someone's 152:16		square 36:13 38:24 64:9 80:8		
somewhat 59:2		squared 27:10 36:21 111:3		
song 120:2,4		squared-up 34:9		
Sorrento 41:24		squaring 29:19		
sorry 15:11 33:14 33:16 36:20 39:5 43:20 55:23,24 57:13 93:18 114:5 135:22 143:23 150:6		Squire 116:17,19 116:23 117:1		
sort 18:21 27:22 30:4 43:11 50:5 52:15 59:24 61:12 64:11 69:12 73:16 76:9 79:13 141:19				
sought 36:9 138:24				

131:1 states 5:3 22:2 64:10,18 85:1,3 94:23 99:2,23 103:19 117:3 133:13 statewide 29:7,9 29:13 stating 129:5 statistical 28:17 29:17,17 42:16 43:4 80:17 statistically 54:8 statistics 29:3,16 29:23 77:18 78:15 130:9 statute 94:3 statutes 95:9 stay 9:6 131:5 139:16 144:15 stayed 27:12 staying 73:23 stellar 76:21 step 11:1,24 64:11 79:23 106:14 sticks 42:20 stipulates 115:20 stood 155:10 stop 109:9,9,13 109:13 stories 126:16 straight 95:17 straightforward 91:3 94:14 144:13,16 strategy 85:23 street 1:24 156:8 strength 135:9 stretched 156:6 stretching 23:10 strict 62:2 64:15 68:2,7,8,25 69:14,15 strictly 99:23 strip 125:18	strong 8:12 50:21 82:5 107:2 118:20 strongly 117:23 struck 69:12 85:25 Study 127:13 131:23 style 20:15 sub- 53:21 subclause 146:3 Subcommittee 1:11 2:3 10:20 20:11,13 23:20 24:2,21 38:9 39:7 82:4,7,10 117:9 121:12 137:7 Subcommittee's 82:11 subject 24:3 65:23 66:1 137:23 submission 25:7 submissions 20:9 submitted 17:5 18:3 56:23 64:4 82:12,18 91:13 submitting 82:17 subsequently 21:3 substantively 97:1 Substitute 4:19 suddenly 101:6 sufficient 24:6 64:5 65:2,22 137:11 sufficiently 68:4 suggest 28:15,17 suggests 151:18 suit 101:8 Suite 1:24 summarized 84:24 summarizing	20:18 summary 21:24 69:13 Sumpter 40:23 Suncoast 36:20 36:21,22 37:8,9 super 119:17 152:20 supplemental 94:19 support 50:7 92:15 97:20 144:22 supporting 143:16 145:17 156:13 supposed 84:17 129:13 153:4,8 154:1,2 suppression 113:24 supremacy 94:21 114:18 Supreme 4:22 18:18 59:12 63:22,25 64:12 64:19 65:1,4 69:1,3,11 102:8 129:10 146:13 sure 27:21,23 28:3 30:3,12 32:2,2 44:6 45:9 48:17 49:1 52:23 62:6 63:4 63:16,20 71:14 73:22 75:20,22 76:25 88:18,19 92:7 98:5 124:12 129:7 146:15 150:22 154:2 surrounding 81:10,11 survive 68:2 Suwannee 109:24	swap 26:7 27:23 30:8 system 92:14 102:13 147:24 <hr/> T <hr/> table 9:7 tactics 113:24 tailored 22:4 61:24,25 64:16 take 4:2,13 6:22 10:8 11:24 27:20 35:2 37:8 43:17 57:9 74:14 77:7 79:23 90:9 120:13 122:13 125:8 130:12 139:1 146:22 154:11,13 taken 102:19 151:7 takes 34:9 36:22 74:16,21 145:8 145:10,11,12 talk 5:24 71:10 87:11 95:6 110:23 114:25 137:17 152:22 153:24 talked 7:9 29:16 51:17 76:6 93:21 143:21 143:22,24 153:17 talking 76:17 88:25 93:2 119:25 120:11 Tallahassee 66:21 112:20 112:24 113:7 116:22 117:7 117:13,22 128:16 130:2 143:4 155:24 Tameka 107:11 108:9 109:15	109:20,21 111:17,20,23 112:4,8 Tampa 23:9,9 33:12,13 34:2,3 34:20 35:10,11 36:9 85:16 86:1 tantamount 140:9 targeted 129:17 Tavares 41:17 tax 125:13,19 taxpayer 133:13 Tea 116:7 team 6:17 8:24 teenager 119:20 tell 59:19 92:13 96:23 131:5 141:16 telling 74:13 128:24 141:7 tells 108:2 Temple 37:2,2,4 tend 74:19 term 87:20 88:18 143:22,23 145:9 terminal 118:19 terms 54:2 73:22 74:18,24 75:1,5 77:18 96:13 Terrace 37:2,3,4 territories 133:15 test 29:19 79:5,5 118:6 125:13 125:14,20 testified 140:20 testify 139:23 testifying 10:19 11:15 testimony 4:2 6:5 6:20 10:23 12:10 24:17,20 48:7,18 51:25 59:25 72:17 79:19 80:25
--	--	---	---	---

88:1 91:11,15 91:17 97:12,14 97:15,24 119:9 138:20 140:20 151:2,14 tests 125:19 Texas 17:9,10 text 7:22 thank 3:24 8:8 10:13,16 11:12 11:21 14:22 15:2,10,14,15 15:15,16,16 47:9 48:2 49:7 49:14,24 50:16 51:23 53:25,25 55:4,7,9,16 56:2,4,8,12,14 56:21 57:19,24 58:1,1,7,9,12,24 59:18,21 60:17 60:20,25 61:19 61:21 63:3,19 69:10,18 70:1,4 70:5,8,15,25 71:6,14 72:25 73:6 74:8 75:3 75:24 76:1,3,25 77:5 80:21 81:7 81:24 83:8,12 83:19 84:12,20 85:18 86:7 87:5 87:9 88:4 89:4 89:5 90:5,7,18 91:7,22,24 92:22 94:7,7,12 97:2,3 98:9,11 99:6,6,12,12 100:9,12,13 101:14 102:23 104:13,14,18 105:15,16,24 107:8,9,14 108:7,8,11,12 109:20 112:3,6 112:6,10 113:5	113:6,9,11 114:3,4,14 115:12 116:13 116:15,23 117:11,12,17 119:2,2,3,10 120:21,22 121:9,10 122:17,19,20 123:20,21 124:24 125:21 126:6,7 127:4,5 127:6 128:6,10 128:13,18 129:19,21,22,22 129:25 130:5 130:20,24 131:15,17 132:9,13,17,24 133:2 134:15 134:17 135:17 135:18,21,25 136:20,21 137:4 139:11 139:20,22 141:14 143:11 143:13 145:7 145:17,22 149:5 151:21 152:5,8 154:16 154:18 155:22 156:15,18,20 158:18,20,21 thing 7:11 118:18 120:8 126:25 144:24 145:6 151:13 things 42:15 48:24 77:9,11 78:21 89:7 105:21 107:4 119:23 120:13 125:12 128:23 141:2,3 144:12 147:22,25 150:10,14	think 10:25 11:23 12:1 15:24 20:17 21:13,21 28:16 29:9 32:10 59:24 68:13 70:3 71:16 73:24 75:4 77:2,6,14 77:17 78:8 82:7 87:24 88:7 92:4 92:15 95:4 108:6 113:22 119:22 122:6 131:8 146:1 149:24 154:20 155:14 156:13 thinking 74:21 114:16 thinks 151:4 third 9:4 26:24 34:24 84:8 151:22 thirds 30:22 Thompson 159:23 thought 32:22,24 49:20 150:17 155:23 thoughtful 7:7 thoughts 82:19 thousands 127:22 three 19:2 26:13 27:22,22 37:15 37:21 38:19 41:2 102:13 117:4 125:12 144:11 three-quarters 33:17 threefold 42:24 threshold 61:14 74:2 89:18 threw 9:3 tied 117:25 Tier 23:3,16 25:1	25:4,15,18,22 25:25 26:3,20 28:4,12,18,18 30:5,11 31:8 32:23 33:3 35:7 35:12,22,23 36:7,11 37:17 39:22 41:11 42:8 45:19,24 50:20,20,22,24 51:1,10,14,15 51:16,16,19,19 52:2,4,5 53:16 53:17,22,22 55:2 57:1 76:10 78:14,17 87:12 87:12,14 88:16 88:17 96:10,13 98:25 99:3,4 129:3,4,9 153:2 153:2,15,16 Tiers 50:19 time 4:3,12 6:3,6 10:10 17:11 18:8 28:21 48:17 49:4,25 52:23 58:21 60:6,6 64:18 81:6 88:15 95:25 97:21 103:4 106:13 108:14 111:14 111:18 114:10 116:13 119:19 120:12 121:6 122:12,14 123:8 124:23 127:1,3 128:8 129:13 130:12 132:14 134:8 134:10,14 136:13 137:9 139:13 142:19 142:19 144:3,5 148:12 152:2,3 153:1 156:19	times 10:12 37:15 55:20 87:13 89:19 110:22 110:24 124:10 141:9 143:22 Title 137:23 138:2 today 4:2,6,9 5:12 6:17 7:2 7:24 8:24 9:15 10:2,20 12:5,10 15:9,23 17:18 17:21 19:3,23 20:22 21:6 22:12 48:7,20 50:10 55:9 81:1 85:21 89:7,20 90:11 91:16 97:14,22 102:15 104:1 104:22,23 106:4 108:23 111:2 112:9 113:5 118:6 119:2 123:5 126:12,14,18,20 131:10 136:15 137:15 138:21 139:23 141:17 143:1,16,18,21 144:17 145:5 145:14 151:14 152:16 155:23 158:21 today's 5:25 7:2 9:14 10:5 12:2 told 50:22 59:3 87:13 126:16 137:18 144:3 152:21 153:3,6 153:7 tomorrow 112:23 113:5 tone 12:2 top 53:10,13 total 61:6 73:11
---	--	---	---	---

totality 19:5 42:1 72:1	147:17 148:2	38:5 42:11 45:13	unfortunately 101:3 105:1,8	utilized 36:1 38:1 86:19
totally 75:7	trying 25:22	types 55:20	UNIDENTIFI... 11:9,20 13:25	utilizing 39:14,24 40:1 42:22
touching 146:10	32:14,16,23		unincorporated 35:2 36:4 37:13	44:17 47:2
Trabulsky 3:13,14	36:12 43:9	U	41:24 47:2 72:3	72:13
14:8,9 158:5,6	66:13 68:9	U.S 18:16,22 36:2	72:12 73:10	utter 98:12
track 139:17	72:15 83:6 92:9	37:19 44:14,17	unintended 30:3	
tracking 6:6	96:1,6 107:6	52:10 64:25	union 106:3	V
41:22	120:16 129:12	83:23 96:20	United 5:3 22:2	v 1:4
traditional 67:2	149:11	102:20 120:18	64:10,18 85:1,3	values 144:15
67:14	Tubman 109:5	135:5 146:12	99:2 103:19	149:16
training 22:15	Tuck 2:7,8 14:12	Ukrainian	133:13	variety 144:7
transcript 159:3	14:13 158:9,10	108:18 109:6	universe 95:15	various 85:2
TRANSCRIPT...	tuning 4:11	ultimate 118:18	unlawful 84:2	105:9
1:10	turn 4:3,6 37:10	Ultimately 18:25	85:7	vast 44:15
TRANSCRIPT...	95:14 136:13	unaware 59:15	unnecessary	venture 22:13
159:1	turned 38:16	87:3	11:24 92:11	venue 90:21 94:4
transition 7:16	114:22	uncle 134:4	141:23	version 71:8
transparency	turning 38:22	unconscionable	unprecedented	versions 21:18
13:15 118:8	40:20 128:23	122:6	103:18 141:22	22:8
traveled 90:10	twinging 107:24	unconstitutional	unsure 92:1	versus 88:17
139:22	twisting 101:23	92:13 108:5	upcoming 5:7	veteran 108:22
traveling 36:25	Twitter 153:5	110:18 121:23	upheld 139:5	133:14
traverse 32:14	two 12:21 18:2	140:17 150:18	uphold 102:18,20	veto 4:25 8:23
treat 24:13	19:4 20:8 22:18	151:10	upholding	21:1,16 52:7
tremendously	22:21 24:16	unconstitution...	136:17 138:11	56:15 57:3,3
152:14	27:24 28:6,10	130:11	upward 39:13	82:15 137:7
tried 28:2 32:7	29:7 31:1,3,16	underneath 80:2	urge 98:14	143:22 144:1
37:16 80:18	32:1 34:24	understand 24:8	113:20,20	vetoed 5:2 103:17
144:11,13,15	38:18 39:15	77:17 84:16	114:2	144:8 155:15
Trish 112:19	41:2 44:7 45:11	95:24 98:23	usage 23:16	vetoing 101:7
113:7,9,11,12	50:1,2,4,7	110:14 152:1	25:13,14 29:20	vetted 76:11
troubling 103:23	56:23 57:6 65:8	153:23 154:10	35:12 39:1,2	vial 118:17
Troy 116:17,19	74:18 78:3,6	understandable	40:10 57:16,16	Vice 2:7,8 14:13
116:21,23	84:7 86:25 99:8	27:11	USC 94:18	158:10
117:1	99:11 101:21	understanding	use 10:10 28:4	VIDEO 1:10
true 129:3 144:15	103:3 104:3	5:10 49:18	31:20 32:14,16	158:25
159:2	110:24 111:12	52:12	35:23,25 36:7	view 29:9,13
Truenow 3:15,16	111:17 113:15	Understood	37:16 80:5,11	viewpoints 122:1
14:10,11 158:7	119:14,19	148:4	80:12,18 98:25	views 15:17
158:8	120:10 121:2	unelected 9:5	125:9	violate 93:3
trump 67:20	137:16 143:20	Unemployment	uses 98:25	99:20
trust 152:18	150:15,22	147:24	utilize 26:18 45:1	violated 85:2
try 16:11 18:15	two- 30:21	unfair 104:13	51:11 72:15	122:11
74:7 87:8 92:2	two-for-one 26:7	107:22,22		violates 22:1
120:17 144:13	two-part 59:24	108:4		83:23,24 84:25
	two-thirds 30:14	unfairly 132:4,5		

99:21 102:6 140:1,7 violating 104:4 129:9,10 violation 90:3 110:12 virtually 154:23 visible 26:10 29:21 visual 23:14 29:6 42:16 43:1,3,5 43:5,13 57:14 77:3 79:11 visualize 32:19 38:7 visually 27:8,10 35:11 40:19 54:8 111:5 voice 11:23 12:8 12:22 107:2 110:6 130:8 152:19 voices 107:7 127:21 131:12 142:9 Volusia 38:15,18 39:2 42:2 130:7 Volusia-Browa... 38:20 vote 6:20 11:19 12:7,8,22 14:1 74:10 92:16 93:10,11 98:14 105:14 106:13 106:21,25 107:2 108:7 114:2 119:23 120:1,4,6 123:9 123:14 125:16 125:16 127:2 129:24 130:11 130:18 131:16 132:8 135:12 135:16 139:7 139:15 141:8 142:20 150:12	152:15 voted 12:21 49:16 99:19 122:13 142:10 142:11 144:21 154:21 156:3,4 voter 18:5 54:22 54:23 106:10 110:20 113:24 119:17 121:14 126:18 voter's 125:6 voters 22:3 74:10 96:9,11,11 107:20 113:13 113:16 117:20 117:23 120:11 124:5 126:16 127:22 128:3 128:19 130:18 131:7,12 132:7 139:8 142:23 147:11 150:4 155:3 votes 117:10 139:8 156:15 voting 18:6 47:6 60:22 61:3,4,8 61:9,15 64:13 64:23 65:2,8,9 65:10,11,11,20 65:24 66:1,2,5 67:4,5 68:21 72:17,19 73:22 74:4 75:9,15 88:15 89:18,20 94:18 99:24 102:7 104:4 110:21 113:21 116:1 118:9 119:17,19,22 121:16 129:6 135:6,9,10 143:5 148:20 149:13 VRA 137:24	W wage 106:14 waive 97:20,20 132:23 156:19 waives 112:12,14 waiving 136:22 136:24 walk 26:2 64:11 walked 59:25 wall 33:17,18 43:12 78:1 79:21 Walter 134:19 want 6:2 7:2 8:10 10:10 32:2 48:11,17 58:18 62:14,15 65:16 79:16 81:2 85:11 92:2 93:20 95:2 98:11 106:9,9 111:15,24 114:1 119:25 120:3,4,4,9,13 120:14,19,21 122:10 124:2,6 132:11 136:9 139:10,22 143:15 144:4 144:24 145:6,7 146:17 147:4 148:6 151:16 153:17 wanted 29:18 37:25 42:7 44:6 44:22 46:14 75:22 76:8 86:16 90:4 135:4 138:3 wanting 75:20 wants 95:14 102:8 war 108:16,18,18 108:23,25 134:5 warrant 75:17	Washington 1:24 wasn't 44:6 57:5 58:5 61:25 62:1 148:16 watching 73:21 water 87:15,17 118:1 154:11 154:12 waterway 54:25 waterways 25:14 40:2 41:14 47:3 72:14 78:10,12 way 18:18,19 19:6 20:13 26:22 27:25 28:1 30:21 32:17,22 35:18 35:19 41:5 52:15 53:21 71:10,12 75:22 77:10 79:7 83:20 94:1 105:20 108:16 111:1 114:9 116:20 120:5 127:2 132:5 147:13 151:19 156:6 ways 20:14 26:9 38:18 81:20 we'll 7:1 12:17 27:8 38:11 48:15 49:2 53:2 53:8 57:22 62:21 74:7 97:25 103:3 125:2,23 127:8 130:2 131:19 132:19 133:8 we're 48:9,16 49:9 61:19 76:17 80:23,23 81:11 85:13,21 87:14 90:3 91:13,14 93:2 96:13,14,14,24	97:1 105:8,10 105:13,14,14 108:19 109:2,2 109:3 118:6 120:11 123:9 137:6,15,18 138:22 139:14 144:10 146:10 147:1,5 148:15 149:9,10 150:6 154:2,5 155:18 155:19 we've 4:15 7:9 8:1 10:11 17:14 50:2,5,23 52:3 76:19 92:5,24 104:1 107:3 138:15 142:21 142:21 143:21 143:21,23 149:24 151:17 weapon 115:1 weaponing 93:22 weaponize 94:1 weaponizing 92:6 Webber 116:21 117:13,17,19 website 4:15 weeks 6:25 50:19 69:4 128:21 weighing 93:5 weighs 152:14 weird-shaped 154:13 welcome 4:8 97:20 Weldon 127:11 131:22 well-recognized 26:18 40:1 54:20 went 32:24 68:16 68:18 77:1 134:5 144:16 153:2
---	---	---	--	---

west 35:18 37:20	43:18 44:11	yeah 62:18 69:11	87:12 88:16	86:11
western 33:22	45:2 52:8,9	93:20 138:9	96:10 99:3,4	141,000 34:13
40:4,7 46:9	78:4 79:9 82:10	year 16:22	129:3,4,10	14th 62:2 92:25
47:1 71:20	82:11 83:5 92:4	142:22	153:2,15 154:7	93:1,3 95:6,8
77:12 79:21	92:14 98:11	years 16:19 60:11	1-C 6:1,21 7:25	96:20 99:22
wheel 38:23	101:4 143:6	92:6 106:16	8:7 15:7,8	114:21
40:20 96:25	144:6,9 158:21	112:25 113:25	19:24 47:8	15 33:5 34:12,14
white 114:18	worked 19:10	142:10	143:16	34:15,17 36:19
130:16 148:23	20:24 30:10	yeas 12:12 14:20	10 6:11 9:20	38:2,3 42:10
Whitfield 133:6	35:17 150:20	158:17	16:19 20:5	43:20 44:8,14
133:11,12,24	worker 106:2	yelling 106:23	23:25 24:13,23	44:23 45:1
134:9,12	workers 107:1,2	yield 121:6	39:4,8,19,25	86:11 87:1
wholly 35:16	working 12:5	yielding 34:13	40:5,10,11,16	106:2 158:17
37:5 39:16,18	60:6 101:2	young 119:20	41:1 43:13 50:3	1500 32:5
41:9 86:18,18	121:17,22		57:11 76:7,16	16 27:14 34:4
widely 140:23	world 22:14	Z	77:13 78:1,10	35:20 37:23
Williams 114:11	106:24	Zephyrhills	78:11 79:21,25	44:24 45:7
115:14 116:17	worried 140:25	34:17	80:3,14 81:19	86:25
116:18	150:8,8	zero 32:15 45:2	119:16 122:25	17 26:5 34:23
Williamson 3:17	worries 115:15	79:9	124:17 126:10	35:1 46:1,3
3:18 14:14,15	worse 96:12	zero-population	126:24 155:20	1730 1:24
158:11,12	154:14	44:11 78:4	10- 80:5	1773 116:7
willing 64:19	worsen 81:20	Zonia 134:23	100 113:24	18 6:12 16:2,6,15
65:5 147:8	worth 28:12	135:1,2	102 4:19 20:4	17:17,17 20:22
Winter 39:18,20	worthwhile 33:3	zoom 29:24 39:9	21:19	22:16 25:19
80:1 122:22	wouldn't 53:19	39:10 77:20	109 55:12 56:4	26:5 30:15 38:2
wiped 65:13	69:16 75:16,16	zooming 35:14	11 25:6 39:8,20	42:10,11 43:10
Wisconsin 17:9	Wow 70:10	46:17	40:5,12,20,21	43:15,20,24
69:4,11,12,13	wrap 80:24 92:9	ZsaZsa 128:15	41:1,12,17,20	44:3,14 45:1,12
wishing 137:1	111:21 153:20	130:1,21,24,25	42:9 43:10,20	45:19 46:4,20
withstand 5:19	write 129:14		43:20,23 44:1	46:24 56:18
witness 12:9	written 81:16,17	0	44:14 79:12,13	71:24,25 72:2,5
Women 113:13	122:9	0.2 27:7	79:22,25 80:2,6	99:16 119:18
113:16 128:19	wrong 33:8 58:10	0079 17:6,13 20:9	80:7,9 124:18	140:12
155:3	59:4,20 63:8	0094 17:16 20:9	11.5 26:16	180 154:14
won 107:4	67:24 68:14	25:8	12 34:5,8,12,15	19 1:12 2:1 35:4,5
wondered 53:19	113:18 138:21	0109 16:9 19:24	34:19,23 36:19	36:2 47:4
word 124:11	138:22 141:2,4	22:18 23:8,18	37:11 40:19	1940s 114:17
145:10	141:4 150:14	25:9 27:1,4,12	41:1	1950s 114:17
words 18:5 19:13	151:9,15	31:12 40:23	12.5 26:16	1960s 126:15,18
26:20 61:7	wrote 21:16		120 143:9	1965 65:21
work 4:9 9:8,12	www.FloridaR...	1	13 35:18,24 36:3	119:18
15:20 18:9,11	9:19	1 9:23 47:11	37:12 86:11,25	1968 65:19
21:3 28:24 29:1		50:20,24 51:1	1367 94:18	1975 120:1,20
30:2 32:15	X	51:16,16,19	14 32:18 35:24	19th 133:25
41:18,21,24	Y	52:2,4,5 53:17	36:8,13,18 86:1	2
		53:22 55:2		

<p>2 9:23 23:3,17 25:1,4,15,18,22 25:25 26:3,20 28:4,12,18,18 30:5,11 31:8 32:23 33:3 35:7 35:12,22,23 36:7,11 37:18 39:22 41:11 42:8 45:19,24 50:20,22 51:10 51:14,15,19 53:16,22 57:1 64:22 65:9 66:5 66:5,9,10 76:10 78:14,17 87:12 87:14 88:17 89:20 90:2 96:13 98:25 106:13,22 135:6 153:2,16 2-C 15:9 20 9:24 87:21 88:3,6,7,9,12 89:8,16 90:1 99:17 104:8 119:6 121:7 140:11,22 141:1 147:16 200 154:14 2000 32:5 156:4 20036 1:24 2009 60:7 106:12 2010 104:5 110:20 127:24 2012 60:7 202 1:25 2020 121:25 2021 4:15 135:5 2022 1:12 2:1 126:19 2024 130:16 21 9:24 32:18 74:17,23 22 9:24 22nd 134:1</p>	<p>23 9:24 232-0646 1:25 24 9:24 25 9:24 26 10:3 46:25 47:3,5 71:8 72:9,12 74:24 96:8 26's 47:1 27 9:24 42:22 28 5:6 9:24 74:23 94:18 29 46:22 295 32:12 29th 5:1</p> <hr/> <p>3</p> <p>3 25:6 41:3,9 137:23 3-19 10:3 30 125:8 301 37:20 41:4,7 3627 90:20 3647 90:21</p> <hr/> <p>4</p> <p>4 22:19,23 30:23 31:13,14,17,19 31:25 32:3,13 32:14 40:12 43:22,23 44:2 51:14 53:11 54:22 56:15 65:14 81:18 82:22 4:22-cv-109 1:4 40 97:23 44 66:24,25 45 66:25 97:23 45,000 73:12 4500 46:6,23 46 41:23 4th 4:18</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <p>5 21:18,24 22:19 22:23 30:23</p>	<p>31:13,14,17,19 31:25 51:14 52:17 53:10 54:23 56:15 58:4,5 61:16 63:21 64:1,23 65:10,11,15,16 66:1,2,6,17 68:13 81:18 82:23 83:15,16 89:17 109:22 117:2,21 123:15 127:14 127:25 131:25 133:12 136:2 137:24 140:12 5:05 48:16 5:10 48:16 50 61:5,8 90:1 113:22,23 127:20 528 40:12 54 37:10 5th 98:19,21</p> <hr/> <p>6</p> <p>6 25:6 41:12,16 42:3 123:15 127:25 6's 41:3 6:00 119:8 6:02 139:14 6:25 139:16 60 37:20,25 44:21 45:1 60s 123:1 63 76:15 65 120:12</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <p>7 38:19 40:25 42:2 90:21 130:7 158:17 7-11 80:5 7.2 11:14 73 72:19 74:2 75:10</p>	<p>73.22 47:6 74 73:25 75 41:10</p> <hr/> <p>8</p> <p>8 38:14 78:11 99:17 104:9 140:22 141:1 147:16 8011 20:12 23:20 23:24 38:10 39:6 82:4 8019 16:10 17:19 20:5,25 21:3 27:1,14 40:22 50:4 55:12 56:5 76:16 81:17 8060 23:21 76:18 81:13 812 1:24 82 46:21 76:16 846 46:23</p> <hr/> <p>9</p> <p>9 39:8,12,13,18 40:11 42:9,14 42:17,21 43:10 43:15 77:25 78:22,25 9-11 80:6 92 76:20 959221 90:16 98 44:15,17</p>
--	--	--	---

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc.

vs.

Cord Byrd, et al.

Deposition of:

James Kelly

June 07, 2023

Vol 1



IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE
SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY
BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC.,
et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 2022 CA 000666

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State, et al.,

Defendants.

_____ /

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
TALLAHASSEE DIVISION

COMMON CAUSE FLORIDA, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State,

Defendant.

_____ /

DEPOSITION OF JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
(Volume 1, Pages 1 - 194)

Wednesday, June 7, 2023
9:35 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

LOCATION:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY: SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, CM, CRR, CRC, CCR

Job No. 311409

1 APPEARANCES:

2

3 ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS BLACK VOTERS MATTER,
4 et al.:

5 ELIAS LAW GROUP, LLP
6 10 G Street NE
7 Washington, DC 20002
8 202.968.4490

9 BY: JOSEPH POSIMATO, ESQUIRE
10 jposimato@elias.law

11 BY: CHRISTINA FORD ESQUIRE
12 cford@elias.law

13

14 ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS COMMON CAUSE, et al.:

15

16 PATTERSON BELKNAP WEBB & TAYLOR
17 1133 Avenue of the Americas
18 New York, NY 10036
19 212.336.2817
20 BY: CATHERINE J. DJANG, ESQUIRE
21 cdjang@pbwt.com

22

23 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT SECRETARY OF STATE:

24

25 HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.508.7775

BY: MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

BY: ROBERT MICHAEL BEATO, ESQUIRE
mbeato@holtzmanvogel.com

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

1 APPEARANCES: (Continued.)

2 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA SENATE:

3 SHUTTS AND BOWEN
215 S. Monroe Street, #800
4 Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.241.1717
5 BY: DANIEL E. NORDBY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
dnordby@shutts.com

6
7 THE FLORIDA SENATE
302 The Capitol, #404S
Tallahassee, FL 32399
8 850.487.5237
9 BY: KYLE EDWIN GRAY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
gray.kyle@flsenate.gov

10
11 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES:

12
13 GRAY|ROBINSON
301 S. Bronough Street, #600
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
14 850.577.9090
15 BY: ASHLEY H. LUKIS, ESQUIRE
ashley.lukis@gray-robinson.com

16

17

18 ALSO PRESENT:

19 Nicholas Meros, Office of the Governor
Michael Halper, Common Cause Florida
20 Taylor Meehan (Via Zoom.)
David Rosenthal (Via Zoom.)

21

22

23

24

25

1	I N D E X	
2	WITNESS	PAGE
3	JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY	5
4	Direct Examination by Ms. Ford	5
5	CERTIFICATE OF OATH	191
6	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER	192
7	READ AND SIGN LETTER	193
8	ERRATA SHEET	194

9 INDEX OF EXHIBITS

10	NO.	DESCRIPTION	ID
11			
12	1	Order for deposition, Judge Lee Marsh	6
13	2	Stipulation of the parties, Circuit Case	6
14	3	Federal District Court's order, 5-25-23	6
15	4	Notice of deposition	10
16	5	2002 Congressional plan	37
17	6	2012 Congressional plan	37
18	7	2012 Trial testimony by J. Alexander Kelly	49
19	8	Deposition of J. Alexander Kelly, volume 1, dated 3-5-14	60
20	9	Florida Supreme Court Opinion 2012	75
21	10	Article, Mary Ellen Klas, Tampa Bay Times, dated 11-10-21	04
22	11	Politico article, Matt Dixon, 11-29-21	111
23	12	Shape files produced by Dr. Ansolabehere	126
24	13	Florida Congressional redistricting map, CS/FB 2-C, enacted 4-22-22	144
25	14	Letter, Newman to Rep. Rodrigues 4-13-22	160
	15	Plan 0079	164
	16	Plan 0094	164
	17	Presentation by Alex Kelly to the Special Session of the Florida Legislature	175

1 The following proceedings began at 9:35 a.m.:

2 THE STENOGRAPHER: Would you raise your
3 right hand, please?

4 Do you swear or affirm that the testimony
5 you are about to give will be the truth, the
6 whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

7 THE WITNESS: I do.

8 THE STENOGRAPHER: Thank you.

9 Thereupon,

10 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
11 having been first duly sworn or affirmed, as
12 hereinafter certified testified as follows:

13 DIRECT EXAMINATION

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q All right. Good morning, Mr. Kelly.

16 A Good morning.

17 Q My name is Christina Ford. I'm
18 representing the Black Voters Matter plaintiffs in
19 this case. And we're here today, I know we have the
20 federal plaintiffs.

21 MS. FORD: If you guys want to go on the
22 record and sort of explain the merged
23 deposition and what will happen today?

24 MR. JAZIL: How about I start with that?
25 Mohammad Jazil on behalf of Secretary Byrd.

1 I note for the record that this deposition
2 is being taken in Black Voters Matter Capacity
3 Building Institute, Inc., versus Cord Byrd,
4 Case Number 2022-CA-666, which is in the Second
5 Judicial Circuit of Leon County. And it's also
6 being taken in Common Cause Florida v. Cord
7 Byrd, which is in the Northern District of
8 Florida, Case Number 4:22-cv-109.

9 This deposition is being taken consistent
10 with Judge Marsh's order in the Second Circuit,
11 which is Exhibit 1 to the deposition.

12 (Exhibit 1 was marked for identification.)

13 MR. JAZIL: This stipulation of the
14 parties in the Second Circuit case, which is
15 Exhibit 2 to the deposition.

16 (Exhibit 2 was marked for identification.)

17 (Exhibit 3 was marked for identification.)

18 MR. JAZIL: And the Federal District
19 Court's order from May 25th, 2023, which is ECF
20 Number 157.

21 And we are preserving all our privileges,
22 not waiving them. And I apologize in advance
23 for having to interject when my friend asks
24 questions that I think are getting close to the
25 line, but with that, Christina --

1 MS. FORD: Great. Cat, all that works for
2 you?

3 MS. DJANG: Yes.

4 MS. FORD: That all works.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 Q Okay. Mr. Kelly, can you just state your
7 full name for the record?

8 A Sure. James Alexander Kelly.

9 Q All right. And you've been deposed
10 several times before?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Including in the previous litigation over
13 Florida's congressional districts, correct?

14 A Yes, that is --

15 Q 2010?

16 A Yes, 2010 cycle, whenever it was -- 2013,
17 2014.

18 Q Okay. And you've previously given
19 testimony at trial before, correct?

20 A Yes.

21 Q Including in Florida's last cycle of the
22 congressional districting trial?

23 A Yes.

24 Q So I won't spend much time on ground rules
25 because I think you understand them, but you

1 understand your testimony here is under oath?

2 A Yes.

3 Q And your attorney, Mr. Jazil here, may
4 make an objection to my questions and that's fine,
5 but you are required to answer unless Mr. Jazil has
6 specifically instructed you not to answer based on a
7 topic that is privileged.

8 Do you understand that?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And if at any point you don't understand a
11 question that I'm asking, will you please let me
12 know?

13 A Yes.

14 Q If at any time you'd like to take a break,
15 will you let me know?

16 A Yes.

17 Q I will probably need some breaks.

18 And do you agree that during your breaks
19 you will not consult with anyone, including your
20 counsel, about how to substantively answer a
21 question?

22 A I can't consult with him?

23 Q About how to substantively answer a
24 question. So I mean about the content of your
25 answer.

1 A I'm not sure why I would agree to that.

2 **Q Do you object to that instruction?**

3 MR. JAZIL: It's okay.

4 THE WITNESS: Okay?

5 MR. JAZIL: Yeah. I'm okay with that
6 instruction.

7 A Okay. Yes.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 **Q Are you on any medications or drugs today**
10 **that would impair your ability to answer accurately**
11 **or truthfully today?**

12 A No medications, no drugs.

13 **Q Okay. And is there any circumstance that**
14 **would impair your ability to answer my questions**
15 **today?**

16 A No.

17 **Q Okay. Let's just get to the deposition**
18 **notice.**

19 **Okay. This is just the notice of your**
20 **deposition.**

21 MS. FORD: Do you want a copy, Mo?

22 MR. JAZIL: Sure. Yeah.

23 MS. FORD: So this is going to be

24 Exhibit 4.

25

1 (Exhibit 4 was marked for identification.)

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 Q I just want to confirm this is what
4 you're -- you're appearing in response to. I think
5 I have an outdated address, but otherwise --

6 A Yes.

7 Q Okay. What did you do to prepare for
8 today's deposition?

9 A I consulted with our counsel. I reviewed
10 back through the presentation that I gave in the
11 House and the Senate in April of last year -- video,
12 written comments, the maps themselves -- of what I
13 presented.

14 I've reviewed back through the map as it
15 was passed by the legislature.

16 I reviewed the interrogatories that the
17 Secretary of State submitted.

18 I reviewed the questions that I believe
19 I'm responsible for from both sides of this
20 deposition.

21 I reviewed the legal -- the memorandums
22 that our office published when our office requested
23 an opinion before the Supreme Court, when our office
24 provided written guidance to the Florida House of
25 Representatives.

1 I've reviewed the memorandum that Robert
2 Popper provided to the Florida House of
3 Representatives.

4 I've reviewed the veto message that the
5 Governor issued when vetoing the legislature's
6 original plan.

7 I think I've covered in saying that the
8 different legal memorandums that our office -- legal
9 opinions that our office issued, but I reviewed
10 those.

11 I may -- I may be missing something, but I
12 think that probably covers it.

13 **Q Thank you. That's helpful.**

14 **Did you speak to anyone in the Governor's**
15 **Office in preparing for today's deposition?**

16 A Yes.

17 **Q Who did you speak with?**

18 A Our general counsel, Ryan Newman.

19 **Q Anyone else in the Governor's Office?**

20 A Did I speak to anybody else in the
21 Governor's Office?

22 **Q About today's deposition, to prepare.**

23 A To prepare, no.

24 **Q Did you speak to any member or staff of**
25 **the legislature about today's deposition?**

1 A No.

2 Q Did you speak to Mr. Adam Foltz?

3 A No.

4 Q Mr. Thomas Bryan?

5 A No.

6 Q Did you consult with anyone other than
7 Mr. Jazil or Mr. Newman?

8 A Just the legal counsel that we have.

9 Q All right. And you told us about the
10 communications you reviewed, which is great.

11 What's your current job title?

12 A I am one of the deputy chiefs of staff for
13 the Governor.

14 Q And you were promoted -- I think I read?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Okay. Great. Congratulations.

17 How long have you been in your current
18 position?

19 A Since April -- April 7th of 2021.

20 Q Okay. And who do you report to in your
21 position as deputy chief of staff?

22 A The chief of staff.

23 Q Oh, you're not chief of staff?

24 A No, I report to the chief of staff.

25 Q You report to the chief of staff. And who

1 **is that?**

2 A James Uthmeier.

3 **Q What are your general responsibilities as**
4 **deputy chief of staff?**

5 A Sure. A lot.

6 So I cover education policy, economic
7 development policy. In addition to that, the
8 Department of State, a variety of things the
9 Department of State oversees. And then also the
10 Department of the Lottery.

11 And so as a deputy chief, I oversee
12 basically reporting to -- or reporting to our office
13 of those agencies that fall under those umbrellas:
14 Education, economic development, state and lottery.

15 **Q Okay. How did you get the job of deputy**
16 **chief of staff?**

17 A I was offered the job by the former chief
18 of staff there.

19 **Q Who was that?**

20 A Adrian Lukis.

21 **Q Is that someone that you personally had a**
22 **relationship with?**

23 A Yeah, I've known Adrian for several years.

24 **Q And when you were being considered for**
25 **that job -- for your current job, I should say --**

1 **did you discuss the idea of redistricting as**
2 **something you would be working on for the Governor?**

3 A No.

4 **Q You also spent several years at the**
5 **Florida House, right? Previously?**

6 A Yes.

7 **Q And what years were those?**

8 A My first stint with the House was the end
9 of 2002 to mid-2004. And then -- I'm sorry -- I'm
10 sorry. 2000, end of 2000 to mid-2002.

11 And then I returned in late 2004, left
12 late 2005. And then I came back for a third stint
13 in the House September 2009 to September 2012.

14 **Q Okay. Just to each of those, when you**
15 **were there in 2000, what was your role then?**

16 A I was a legislative aide for one of the
17 representatives.

18 **Q Which representative?**

19 A Aaron Bean.

20 **Q And that was your first job in the House?**

21 A Yes.

22 **Q Have you maintained a relationship with**
23 **Representative Bean?**

24 A Not close. It's probably -- probably been
25 quite a while since we talked.

1 **Q And what were your responsibilities in**
2 **that role?**

3 A As a legislative aide?

4 **Q Uh-huh.**

5 A Legislative aide primarily works on
6 legislation for the representative, who essentially
7 is the policy liaison for the representative;
8 constituent matters as well, often representing the
9 representative at community functions, things of
10 that nature, if he couldn't participate in them;
11 working with the other offices in the legislature to
12 advance his legislative priorities.

13 **Q And what area of Florida did**
14 **Representative Bean represent at the time?**

15 A He had all of Nassau County, all of
16 Bradford, all of Baker, all of Union, and a little
17 sliver of Duval.

18 **Q Okay. And you ended that sometime in**
19 **2002, you said?**

20 A Yeah, 2002.

21 **Q Okay. And when you came back in 2004,**
22 **what was that role for?**

23 A I was hired as an analyst in the House
24 Majority Office.

25 **Q Okay. And what did you do in that role?**

1 A I was a policy analyst.

2 Q And when you say the "majority office," is
3 that the Republican Majority Office?

4 A Yes.

5 Q And then when you came back in 2009
6 through 2012, what were your roles then?

7 A Sure. A couple different roles.
8 Initially, the -- not the current Speaker, the
9 incoming Speaker had a select policy council that
10 covered different policies, so I was an analyst for
11 that. And then late 2010, transitioned into
12 redistricting.

13 Q And when you came into the House in 2009,
14 did you understand that you would play a role in
15 redistricting?

16 A Yeah, probably. It wasn't certain. There
17 was a question as to whether I might work in
18 appropriations or redistricting.

19 Q And then you later went on to oversee
20 redistricting for the House, right?

21 A Yes.

22 Q What was your official title at that
23 point?

24 A Staff director.

25 Q For the House Redistricting Committee?

1 A Yes.

2 **Q All right. And previously you've also**
3 **worked as a political analyst for the Republican**
4 **Party of Florida?**

5 A Yeah.

6 **Q When was that?**

7 A That was in 2009. I think probably
8 actually started in late 2008, but I think we
9 were -- I think I was actually on salary
10 January 2009 to September.

11 **Q Okay. And did you -- what was your**
12 **position or title, if you remember?**

13 A I don't remember.

14 **Q What did -- what did you do for them?**

15 A I was responsible for interviewing
16 candidates, helping with fundraising, recruiting
17 candidates. We would do political events, so
18 staffing political events.

19 **Q And when you say interview candidates and**
20 **whatnot, what kind of races were you working on?**

21 A State House races.

22 **Q Were you responsible for just a region or**
23 **all State House races statewide?**

24 A Not all. I don't recall how the work was
25 divided up, but not all.

1 Q Do you remember any particular regions
2 that you were responsible for working in?

3 A I don't remember how it was divided up.

4 Q And so after your work at the Republican
5 Party of Florida, your very next job was with the
6 House, correct?

7 A Yes.

8 Q And you've been a campaign manager for
9 Florida candidates several times, right?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Have those candidates always been
12 Republicans?

13 A Yes.

14 Q And you've worked on Republican campaigns,
15 and I have 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2008 election
16 cycles; is that right?

17 A Yes.

18 Q What were your responsibilities on those
19 campaigns, generally?

20 A Either campaign manager or, in one case,
21 co-campaign manager.

22 Q What did you do in your role as campaign
23 manager?

24 A What campaign managers do. They work with
25 the candidate in every way to support their getting

1 elected: Fundraising, meeting with voter groups,
2 helping candidates with speeches and helping them
3 with policy, policy briefings, putting signs in
4 yards, waving signs, everything that campaign
5 managers do.

6 **Q And where were those campaigns located?**

7 A The 2000 campaign, Lake County was the --
8 was the main part of that district.

9 2002, that district -- large district in
10 what we call our Suncoast, which is kind of in the
11 counties that are north of the Tampa Bay area,
12 mostly.

13 And 2004, a district that was centered in
14 St. Augustine.

15 And then 2008, we're actually sitting in
16 the district, which it was the Tallahassee district.

17 **Q Okay. And you attended the University of**
18 **Florida?**

19 A Yes.

20 MS. FORD: I did as well. Go Gators.

21 THE WITNESS: Go Gators.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q And you got a masters in political**
24 **science?**

25 A Yes.

1 Q Did you have any other degrees from the
2 University of Florida?

3 A That was it.

4 Q And when did you first move to Florida?

5 A The summer of 1998.

6 Q And you've lived in Florida since then?

7 A Yes.

8 Q What cities in Florida have you lived in?

9 A Gainesville, Fernandina Beach, Leesburg,
10 St. Augustine, Tallahassee, Crystal River.

11 I think that's it.

12 Q Have you spent any time in Jacksonville?

13 A Yes.

14 Q So you're familiar generally with
15 Jacksonville?

16 A Generally, yes.

17 Q All right. Have you spent any time in
18 Tampa Bay?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Generally familiar with the cities to
21 Tampa Bay?

22 A Yes.

23 Q Are you aware that St. Petersburg has a
24 substantial minority population?

25 A I've been told, yes.

1 **Q Are you aware that St. Petersburg has a**
2 **substantial Democratic population?**

3 A I don't know the partisan breakdown of
4 St. Petersburg.

5 **Q I'm not asking for the exact breakdown of**
6 **partisanship of St. Petersburg, but you're aware**
7 **that it generally has a substantial number of**
8 **Democratic voters?**

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

10 You can answer.

11 A I'm generally not aware.

12 (Brief interruption.)

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q Are you aware that Tampa has a substantial**
15 **minority population?**

16 A Yes.

17 **Q Are you aware that the city of Tampa also**
18 **has a substantial population that votes Democratic?**

19 A I don't know.

20 **Q You don't know anything about the city of**
21 **Tampa's general electoral behavior?**

22 MR. JAZIL: Object.

23 A I don't know.

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 **Q Do you know who the City of Tampa's mayor**

1 is?

2 A No.

3 Q Do you know who the City of
4 St. Petersburg's mayor is?

5 A No.

6 Q Do you know who the City of Orlando's
7 mayor is?

8 A No.

9 Q Do you know who the City of Tallahassee's
10 mayor is?

11 A Shamefully, no.

12 Q Have you spent any time in Central
13 Florida?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Are you generally familiar with the cities
16 in Central Florida?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Are you aware that Orange County has a
19 substantial minority population?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And are you aware that Orange County has a
22 substantial population that votes Democratic?

23 A I don't know. I can picture the mayor of
24 Tallahassee, by the way, I just literally can't --
25 like, I'm completely blank on his name.

1 **Q Would you agree with me that Volusia**
2 **County is on average a whiter and more Republican**
3 **county than Orange County?**

4 A I don't know.

5 **Q Do you have a Twitter account?**

6 A No.

7 **Q Do you spend any time on Twitter, whether**
8 **or not you personally tweet?**

9 A Barely.

10 **Q Is part of your job to sort of follow the**
11 **news in the political environment?**

12 A No.

13 **Q Is it fair to say that you generally**
14 **follow Florida politics?**

15 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

16 You can answer.

17 A You'd have to define "generally."

18 BY MS. FORD:

19 **Q What do you follow?**

20 A I follow education news, I follow economic
21 development news; more often than not, what people
22 share with me.

23 **Q Do you follow campaign news?**

24 A Um --

25 **Q Actually, let me clarify that.**

1 A Sure.

2 Q Who's running, who's dropped out, who's
3 won, stuff like that?

4 A I follow the Governor's campaign, the
5 statewide campaigns. That's about it.

6 Q Okay. Where do you generally get your
7 news?

8 A Usually -- usually people who share it
9 with me.

10 Q Do you -- are there any websites, like,
11 let's say, where you tend to go to check the news?

12 A No.

13 Q You don't go online to get news?

14 A I don't.

15 Q Do you get the paper delivered?

16 A No.

17 Q And you're not on Twitter?

18 A I'm not on Twitter.

19 Q That's probably a good thing. I spend too
20 much time on Twitter.

21 So you only get news when people
22 personally tell you about news?

23 A Most of the time, yes, that's correct.

24 Q Do you -- do you read any particular
25 redistricting websites or blogs?

1 A No.

2 Q So you don't follow David -- Dave
3 Wasserman at the Cook Political Report?

4 A No.

5 Q You don't follow or read Matt Isbell at
6 MCIMAPS?

7 A No.

8 Q Do you receive news alerts as part of your
9 job to your inbox at work?

10 A Yes.

11 Q And those sometimes -- those news updates
12 sometimes include updates about the redistricting
13 process?

14 A I'm not sure.

15 Q Do you consume news anywhere else that we
16 haven't talked about?

17 A No.

18 Q Okay. Let's get into redistricting.
19 When did you first start doing
20 redistricting work?

21 A Just -- you mean just generally?

22 Q Uh-huh.

23 A Fall of 2009.

24 Q Did you do -- I'm sorry, did you have --

25 A I was just thinking. That sounds right,

1 fall of 2009.

2 Q Did you do anything related to
3 redistricting in the 2002 cycle, redistricting
4 cycle?

5 A Yeah. Yeah, actually, yes.

6 Q What did you do?

7 A I drew a State House map with 108
8 districts.

9 Q And that was while you worked for
10 Representative Bean?

11 A Yeah.

12 Q Was that part of your job or just did it
13 for fun?

14 A He asked me to.

15 Q Okay. What was the purpose of drawing
16 that State House map?

17 A He wanted to propose a district or a State
18 House map with a 10 percent cut in the number of
19 districts.

20 Q Okay. So you drew a map that -- a State
21 House map that was -- did you get it down all the
22 way to equal population, it was a map that could
23 have really been implemented?

24 A That's a long time ago; I don't recall.

25 Q And did you generally follow Florida's

1 2002 redistricting cycle while you were a
2 legislative aide for Representative Bean?

3 MR. JAZIL: Object.

4 A High level, generally.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 Q What was redistricting like in the 2002
7 cycle, to the best of your memory? I realize it was
8 20 years ago.

9 A It was a blur. I'm not sure what more --
10 I'm not sure what you mean by "what was it like?"

11 Q The Governor in 2002 was Jeb Bush, right?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Do you remember Governor Bush playing a
14 role in the redistricting process in that cycle?

15 A Nothing specific.

16 Q Have you ever drawn a redistricting plan
17 for a state other than Florida?

18 A No.

19 Q And have you ever drawn a redistricting
20 plan as part of your work in the private sector?

21 A No.

22 Q Have you ever drawn a redistricting plan
23 in a capacity as a consultant?

24 A No.

25 Q So is it correct to say you've only ever

1 redrawn redistricting plans for your job at the
2 House and then your current job for the Governor?

3 A Correct.

4 Q And so within Florida, I just want to go
5 over the kind of redistricting plans that you've
6 drawn.

7 You said you drew a State House map in
8 2002, right?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And you drew State House maps in the 2010
11 cycle as well?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Did you draw any State House maps this
14 cycle?

15 A No.

16 Q Okay. What about Congressional maps? Did
17 you draw any Congressional maps in the 2002 cycle?

18 A No.

19 Q You did draw Congressional maps in the
20 2010 cycle, right?

21 A Yes.

22 Q And you drew Congressional maps in the
23 2020 cycle, this cycle?

24 A Yes.

25 Q What about Senate maps? Have you ever

1 drawn maps for the Florida Senate?

2 A Yeah.

3 Q When was that?

4 A The 20 -- '10 to 2012 cycle.

5 Q Okay. Did you draw any this cycle for the
6 Florida Senate?

7 A No.

8 Q Have you ever drawn a redistricting plan
9 of a Florida municipality?

10 A No.

11 Q Have you drawn any other kind of
12 redistricting plans within the state of Florida or
13 for the State of Florida?

14 A No.

15 Q Did you personally have a position on the
16 Fair District Amendments when they were first
17 introduced?

18 A Did I personally have a position? What do
19 you mean?

20 Q Did you -- is it correct that you voted
21 against the Fair District Amendments when they were
22 on the ballot in November of 2010?

23 A Yes.

24 Q And what was your -- what was your
25 opposition to the amendments?

1 A I don't really remember what my -- what
2 was my reasons?

3 **Q Yeah.**

4 A I don't know. I may have answered that
5 question on the record 10 years ago, I'm not sure.
6 You can probably consult the transcript from my
7 deposition a decade ago.

8 I don't know if I remember at this point.

9 **Q I don't think you remembered then either.**
10 **I was just wondering.**

11 A Okay.

12 **Q All right. Okay. The 2012 cycle -- so**
13 **you served as the staff director for the House**
14 **Redistricting Committee, right?**

15 A Yes.

16 **Q And you were in that role for a couple of**
17 **years?**

18 A Yes.

19 **Q So you said you did a little bit of**
20 **redistricting work in 2002, but only at a high**
21 **level, right?**

22 A Yes.

23 **Q Okay. So what did you do to get prepared**
24 **for the role of overseeing redistricting for the**
25 **House for that 2010/2012 cycle?**

1 A I remember I went back and -- went and
2 read some recently redistricting cases, get familiar
3 with redistricting law.

4 I remember there was a guide that I want
5 to say I think NCSL produced -- I don't know if they
6 still do, but they used to produce a guide, kind of
7 a legal background guide on redistricting. I
8 remember reviewing that.

9 I went to one of NCSL's conferences,
10 consulted with the legal team that the House
11 developed. That was it, generally speaking.

12 **Q Okay. And what were your responsibilities**
13 **as staff director for the House Redistricting**
14 **Committee?**

15 A Sure. Like any staff director, staff -- I
16 have a group of staff who work for the committee who
17 report to the staff manager, so I was the manager of
18 that team.

19 I was responsible for reporting to and
20 proposing to the leadership of the House as to how
21 we would schedule and run committee meetings, how we
22 would get citizen input, how we would propose maps,
23 what that process would look like; and then, of
24 course, leadership of the House lead the House, so
25 whatever -- they ultimately approved and would

1 execute that vision.

2 Q Is it correct that you helped develop the
3 software that the House used, which was called
4 MyDistrictBuilder?

5 A Yes.

6 Q And you already established you drew maps
7 yourself, including State House maps?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Okay. Sorry, I just have to get it on
10 record.

11 Congressional maps?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And you said you drew Senate maps that
14 cycle?

15 A Yes, the '10 to '12 cycle, yes.

16 Q And overall you were the chief map drawer
17 for the House, correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And you supervised other staff members'
20 map drawing?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Is it fair to say that by the end of the
23 2012 redistricting cycle that you would have drawn
24 hundreds of different maps for the State?

25 A I doubt hundreds, that's a lot. I'm not

1 sure of the number.

2 **Q Dozens of different drafts?**

3 A Yes. Yeah.

4 **Q And is it fair to say by the end of the**
5 **2010 to 2012 redistricting cycle you would have**
6 **spent thousands of hours drawing maps?**

7 A I'm not sure how the hours add up. I
8 don't -- I don't know if it's literally thousands.

9 **Q So several hundred hours?**

10 A Yes.

11 **Q By the time you left the House in -- was**
12 **it September of 2012, you said?**

13 A Yes.

14 **Q By the time you left in September of 2012,**
15 **would you have considered yourself an expert in**
16 **Florida redistricting?**

17 A I'm not sure what qualifies someone as an
18 expert.

19 **Q I'm not speaking in technical terms here.**
20 **You knew a ton about Florida redistricting?**

21 A I'm giving a technical answer. I'm not
22 sure what qualifies as an expert.

23 **Q By the time you left in September of 2012,**
24 **did you know a lot about Florida redistricting?**

25 A Yes.

1 **Q** Is there anyone that you can think of that
2 would have known more about Florida redistricting
3 than you back in the 2012 cycle?

4 **A** I'm sure there were people who knew more
5 than me.

6 **Q** Who were they?

7 **A** Really good legal counsel.

8 **Q** I mean about like the actual process of
9 map drawing and the drawing of the map for the
10 State.

11 Who was more knowledgeable about it than
12 you?

13 **A** I'm not sure.

14 **Q** From your perspective, how did
15 redistricting in the 2012 cycle differ from the 2002
16 cycle?

17 **A** How did it differ?

18 **Q** Uh-huh.

19 **A** Um --

20 **Q** Or how did -- how did it compare?

21 **A** The state had pretty significant growth,
22 so that alone obviously changes the process. The
23 law had changed. Amendments 5 and 6 had passed.
24 That's -- you know, population and the law changing
25 are pretty significant changes.

1 **Q How did the new arrival of the Fair**
2 **District Amendments change how the cycle worked?**

3 A How did it change it?

4 **Q Yeah, from your perspective.**

5 A The State had two constitutional
6 amendments to adhere to. It creates an unknown.
7 New law, untested, creates an element of unknown for
8 the process.

9 **Q And Governor Scott would have been the**
10 **Governor at this time, right, in the 2010 to 2012**
11 **cycle?**

12 A Yes.

13 **Q And to your knowledge, did Governor Scott**
14 **have any role in the redistricting process in that**
15 **cycle?**

16 A Nothing significant.

17 **Q And still talking about the 2012 cycle,**
18 **you served as one of the negotiators for the House**
19 **when the House and the Senate were working out their**
20 **differences on the Congressional map, right?**

21 A Yes.

22 **Q And my understanding is that while the**
23 **House made some concessions to the Senate in those**
24 **negotiations, that the vast majority of the final**
25 **enacted Congressional plan came from the House; is**

1 **that correct?**

2 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

3 You can answer.

4 A Correct, yes.

5 I guess I should say -- I mean, you asked
6 about Governor Bush and Governor Scott. I mean,
7 both have to sign the Congressional map in the
8 traditional general bill, so I don't mean to
9 downplay that.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q **For sure, yeah, I realize that they signed**
12 **it. Just do you remember any other role that they**
13 **played in terms of weighing in on map proposals or**
14 **offering ideas?**

15 A No.

16 Q **And in 2014 after the redistricting trial,**
17 **the Florida House and Senate stated to the trial**
18 **court that you, Jason Poreda, and John Guthrie were**
19 **the primary architects of the 2012 Congressional**
20 **plan.**

21 **Is that a fair characterization of your**
22 **role?**

23 A Yes.

24 MS. FORD: Can we pull up the 2012 plan?

25 Let's make this Exhibit 5?

1 I'll lose track at some point today.

2 (Exhibit 5 was marked for identification.)

3 MS. FORD: Oh, actually, this is 2002.

4 Did I say 2002?

5 Can I get 2012?

6 MR. POSIMATO: Sure.

7 THE WITNESS: Do you want this back?

8 MS. FORD: Sorry about that.

9 Let's just make this Exhibit 6.

10 (Exhibit 6 was marked for identification.)

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q Okay. Let's just look at the 2012 one for
13 now.

14 Does this look like a fair and accurate
15 copy of the Congressional plan that was enacted by
16 the legislature in 2012?

17 A Yes.

18 Q So you were one of the primary drafters of
19 this plan?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And in 2012 you helped the House analyze
22 whether proposed plans would result in diminishment
23 of minority voting strength by conducting a
24 functional analysis, right?

25 A I wouldn't say -- I wouldn't say as a

1 legislative staff we conducted a full functional
2 analysis. It depends on what -- when you're using
3 that phrase, if you're using that phrase in the
4 fairly sort of nuanced way or if you're using it
5 kind of just sort of generally.

6 **Q I didn't mean it in nuanced sense of how**
7 **the Florida Supreme Court has -- has defined the**
8 **term "functional analysis" to determine whether a**
9 **minority district performs or does not perform.**

10 A We as legislative staff did not do a full
11 functional analysis.

12 **Q Did you do functional -- a functional**
13 **analysis on certain districts in drawing this plan?**

14 A Same answer I was giving, that we as staff
15 didn't do what you would consider to be a
16 professional functional analysis.

17 **Q When I say a "functional analysis," do you**
18 **know what that means?**

19 A I have a general concept as to what that
20 means.

21 **Q Okay. What's your best understanding of**
22 **what it means?**

23 A A full functional analysis would be where
24 a professional political scientist would take a look
25 at prior election results and try to determine if

1 there -- to what degree there's a consistent voting
2 block in a district.

3 **Q Okay. And it would involve like a ratio**
4 **voting analysis or analysis of block voting?**

5 A Yes.

6 **Q Can you tell me your best understanding of**
7 **what it means for a district to be diminished?**

8 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, before he answers
9 that question, I have a question about
10 Exhibit 6.

11 MS. FORD: Sure.

12 MR. JAZIL: It says it was legislatively
13 enacted on February 16, 2002, and then it
14 references Senate Bill 2012. Is that just a
15 scrivener's error in the original?

16 MS. FORD: I honestly don't know. I got
17 this from the Florida Senate Committee on
18 Apportionment, which has official plans that
19 were done for publishing images of all. And
20 this is what they have as the 2012 to 2016
21 enacted.

22 MR. JAZIL: I just wanted to note that for
23 the record. It seems to show it was enacted a
24 decade before.

25 MS. FORD: Oh, I see. It says 2002. I'm

1 sorry.

2 I imagine that that is a scrivener's
3 error. To my eyes, this looks like the 2012 to
4 2016 plan.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Mr. Kelly, does this look like the 2012 to**
7 **2016 plan to you?**

8 A Yes.

9 MR. JAZIL: And you've represented on the
10 record that you got it if from the website.
11 That's good enough for me, so --

12 MS. FORD: Okay. Well, Dan, I'm letting
13 you know you have a scrivener's error on the
14 website.

15 I'm sure Dan is not responsible for that.

16 MR. JAZIL: I didn't mean to interrupt
17 you.

18 MS. FORD: That's all right. That's okay.
19 I didn't even notice.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 **Q Okay. I'm sorry. I think I just asked:**
22 **Can you tell me what your best understanding is of**
23 **what it means for a district to be diminished?**

24 A I assume you mean like diminished in
25 the --

1 Q I mean under the Tier 1 framework -- good
2 clarification. Under the Tier 1 framework, we have
3 minority dilution, minority diminishment --

4 A Uh-huh.

5 Q -- and I'm asking what's your best
6 understanding of what it means for a district to be
7 diminished under Tier 1?

8 A Sure. Likelihood to elect a candidate of
9 choice.

10 Q Okay. And if the likelihood were to
11 decrease, that would mean that the district had
12 diminished?

13 A I don't think it's as simple as that,
14 because you can't assume those other factors
15 involved, but that could lead you to that answer.
16 You'd have to look at other factors -- the districts
17 are above or below population, there might be
18 geographical limits. So I wouldn't stop there
19 simply by saying that, but that would certainly
20 start you down the path of that analysis.

21 Q Okay. And I think you said before that
22 you didn't do what you called a "professional
23 functional analysis." But you -- my understanding
24 is in the 2012 cycle you did do some version of a
25 functional analysis for some districts; is that

1 correct?

2 A We as staff for some districts that I
3 would characterize -- I wouldn't characterize it as
4 a professional functional analysis. I would
5 characterize it as a cursory review.

6 Q Did you consult sort of demographic data
7 of minority populations when you were doing your
8 cursory functional analysis?

9 A Yes, in the districts where -- where we --

10 Q Yeah, and I --

11 A -- felt it was necessary.

12 Q I'm only talking about the districts where
13 the Florida House believed that it was a district
14 that --

15 A Uh-huh.

16 Q -- that qualified for Tier 1 protection.
17 And did you consult election data or
18 political data in that cursory functional analysis?

19 A To the extent necessary, if it was -- if
20 it was merited.

21 Q And political data or election data
22 results, those were available in MyDistrictBuilder
23 at the time, correct?

24 A Yes.

25 Q Did you also consider any sort of racially

1 polarized voting analysis for the districts that
2 merited Tier 1 protection?

3 A We as staff didn't do an analysis of
4 racial polarization.

5 Q Were any racially polarized voting
6 analyses available to you as staffers to help in
7 your functional analysis?

8 A Well, again, we didn't do a full
9 professional functional analysis. So, again, more
10 of a cursory review.

11 Q But were those results available to you?

12 A At -- at what stage of the -- what do you
13 mean?

14 Q I'm just -- I'm not trying to ask a trick
15 question here. I'm just saying in your map drawing
16 process --

17 A Uh-huh.

18 Q -- did you have access to or review
19 information about the voting cohesion of certain
20 minority groups or, you know, what candidates those
21 minority groups preferred, as you were trying to
22 comply with Tier 1?

23 A So while --

24 MR. JAZIL: Just so the question is fair,
25 2012?

1 MS. FORD: 2012, I'm sorry. Thank you.

2 A Okay. So you're asking while we were
3 drawing the maps themselves?

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Uh-huh.

6 A No, that data was not available to us.

7 Q Okay. Was that data available to you at
8 any other point in the 2012 cycle?

9 A The results of racial polarization data?

10 Q Yes.

11 A Yes, after we drew the maps.

12 Q Okay. And what was the purpose of
13 consulting that data?

14 A Essentially to check our work.

15 Q To confirm that the district would still
16 perform for the minority voters and their candidate
17 of choice?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And let me go back just a second here. We
20 talked about how election political data, election
21 data, whatever you want to call it, was available in
22 MyDistrictBuilder at the time. You said it was in
23 2012, right?

24 A Yes.

25 Q Did that include voter registration data?

1 A Yes.

2 Q And it included election results?

3 A Yes.

4 Q For over a span of several years of
5 elections?

6 A Three or four election cycles, yes.

7 Q So when you were doing at least your
8 version of a functional analysis and sort of
9 checking your work to make sure the districts would
10 still perform, is there anything else you consulted?

11 A Do you mean outside of the
12 MyDistrictBuilder tool; is that what you mean?

13 Q No, I'm saying outside of what we just
14 talked about.

15 A No.

16 Q Well, what tools were available in
17 MyDistrictBuilder at the time that you relied on?

18 A Census data, American Community Survey
19 data, voter registration and election data that you
20 just referenced. The tool, of course, will tell you
21 population numbers. The tool had alerts for things
22 like contiguity. That covers it.

23 Q And when you were doing a functional
24 analysis, you're looking at both the benchmark map
25 and the new map that you're drawing, right, to

1 **compare the two?**

2 A Yes.

3 Q And when I say the benchmark map, I know
4 **"benchmark map"** can have a lot of meanings. Here, I
5 **just mean the previously --**

6 A Well --

7 Q -- enacted map.

8 A -- for someone who's doing a functional
9 analysis, yes.

10 MS. FORD: Just give me a second here. I
11 want to cross out questions that we've done so
12 we can go as fast as possible.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q Okay. Let's go to this 2002 plan, which I
15 **think is Exhibit 5.**

16 So I have a question here about CD-3 at
17 the time, this blue district on this map that goes
18 from Central Florida up to North Florida and Duval.
19 So this was -- let's call it benchmark CD-3, which
20 later becomes number CD-5 later.

21 So in the last redistricting cycle, you
22 would have done at least a cursory functional
23 analysis on this district, right?

24 A A cursory review. Again, just I need to
25 insist: We, the staff, were not doing a

1 professional functional analysis. You keep saying
2 that we were; we were not.

3 So a cursory review of the data that we
4 mentioned, yes.

5 Q Was someone in -- someone else in the
6 House doing the more professional analysis?

7 A In the House, no.

8 Q Was anyone in the legislature doing a more
9 professional functional analysis?

10 A No.

11 Q In any event, my understanding is that the
12 House concluded that benchmark CD-3, this blue one
13 right here, was entitled to Tier 1 diminishment
14 protection; is that right?

15 A Yes.

16 Q And benchmark CD-3 did not have a
17 50 percent Black voting-age population, correct?

18 A I believe that's correct. Well, at what
19 point in time? I know that it changed during the
20 decade.

21 Q My understanding is at the end of the
22 decade, this at least no longer had a 50 percent
23 Black voting-age population; is that your memory?

24 A Correct.

25 Q And the proposed maps you drew for the

1 House in the 2012 cycle for this district also did
2 not quite reach 50 percent Black voting-age
3 population, correct?

4 A Correct.

5 Q How did you reach the conclusion that the
6 House's version of this district in your new maps
7 would continue to perform for the minority candidate
8 of choice with less than a 50 percent Black
9 voting-age population?

10 MR. JAZIL: In 2012?

11 MS. FORD: 2012.

12 A That ultimately wasn't my conclusion to
13 reach.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Well, in 2012 you offered the opinion
16 that -- I should say in the 2012 redistricting
17 cycle -- that this district would continue to
18 perform for minority voters with a percentage less
19 than 50 percent Black voting-age population.

20 Do you remember that?

21 A Do you have --

22 Q Sure.

23 A -- a copy of -- of the transcript or
24 something that I can review?

25 Q Sure. Give me a second.

1 MS. FORD: This is what really kills
2 trees.

3 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

4 MS. FORD: And let's mark this as
5 Exhibit 7, maybe?

6 THE STENOGRAPHER: Yes.

7 (Exhibit 7 was marked for identification.)

8 MS. FORD: And, Mr. Kelly, I'll tell you I
9 did not print all 3,000 pages of that
10 transcript. I just started here where your
11 testimony picks up and it includes the next
12 several hundred pages, that we hopefully won't
13 get to today.

14 MR. JAZIL: Christina, would you just mind
15 making clear on the record this is an excerpt?

16 MS. FORD: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

17 So this is Exhibit 7. It is a
18 several-hundred-page excerpt of the trial
19 testimony in Romo v. Detzner from the 2012
20 cycle concerning Florida's Congressional
21 districts. And so this is Mr. Kelly's
22 testimony from that trial.

23 Just a second.

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 Q Let's start with page 931.

1 **Mr. Kelly, would you mind reading for the**
2 **record just starting at line 1, and I'll let you**
3 **know when to stop?**

4 A Okay.

5 Question: And that would seem to suggest
6 that you had done these functional analyses for --
7 of those districts, correct?

8 Answer: Yes, sir.

9 Question: For example, in District 5 you
10 would have done a functional analysis, right?

11 Answer: Yes, sir.

12 Question: And your conclusion was that
13 the way you had drawn it with between 47 and a half
14 and 48 plus was a legal and compliant district,
15 correct?

16 Answer: Yes, sir.

17 Question: That provided an
18 African-American candidate of choice the opportunity
19 to be successful in that district, correct?

20 Answer: I wouldn't say it exactly that
21 way. I would say it maintained the opportunity that
22 existed in the benchmark map.

23 Question: Maintained the ability to
24 elect, right?

25 Answer: That existed in the benchmark

1 map. That's a key point.

2 Q Okay. You can stop there for a moment.

3 So here you at least testified that you
4 did do a functional analysis on districts, including
5 District 5.

6 Does that refresh your memory as to
7 anything you did in the 2012 cycle?

8 A It's what I said in the -- you said this
9 is the trial?

10 Q Yes, this is --

11 A This is what I said in the trial.

12 Q Okay. Was that -- was that truthful?

13 A It's what I said.

14 Q I mean, whether it's truthful or not is a
15 yes-or-no question, I would say.

16 A It's what I believed at the time.

17 Q Okay. You now believe that you have
18 better memory now in 2023 about whether or not you
19 did a functional analysis?

20 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

21 A No, I know -- I know better now what
22 really a functional analysis is. And so me saying I
23 did a functional analysis or didn't do one is a very
24 technical thing. I can only surmise that at that
25 time I didn't appreciate the technical nature of

1 that word.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 **Q Okay. Let's go to a different part of**
4 **this transcript. Give me one second.**

5 **Let's go over to 976. Let me find the --**
6 **so let's go to 977.**

7 **Could you start reading at line 6, please.**

8 A Sure.

9 Question: Once you have a benchmark, what
10 do you do to try to determine whether there is a
11 diminishment in a new district as compared to the
12 benchmark districts?

13 Answer: The most practical thing to do is
14 look at them side by side and compare the data. The
15 first thing that I would tend to focus in on would
16 be the actual political party primaries. Sometimes
17 if you recognize that you had reduced the chance of
18 the minority candidate entering the political party
19 primary, you may have very much diminished -- you
20 don't have to go much further in your analysis if
21 you are confident in the primary. You followed the
22 candidate through the process of the general
23 election, the type of candidate they are likely to
24 face. The analysis is going to be typically
25 different for an African-American versus a Hispanic

1 candidate because in most areas, if not all, but
2 most areas a Hispanic candidate could be viable for
3 a Republican or Democratic party whereas an
4 African American candidate is only likely to be
5 viable from a Democratic party.

6 So the analysis can change a little bit
7 depending on the circumstances. But what you have
8 to look at is whether or not there is any potential
9 crossover vote for those candidates, and you just
10 have to look at how cohesive the communities are in
11 each stage of the election.

12 Q Okay, you can stop there. Thank you,
13 Mr. Kelly.

14 So is it correct that you would have
15 looked at political primary data and election
16 results in doing -- I would call a functional
17 analysis, but your -- your view of what the district
18 would perform?

19 A That's definitely what I testified to.

20 Q And you would consider things like how
21 cohesive the minority community is in their voting
22 patterns?

23 A Yes.

24 Q You answered the likelihood that the
25 candidate in the primary would go on to win the

1 **general election?**

2 A Yes.

3 Q Okay. Let's put this away.

4 So in the 2012 cycle, my understanding is
5 that it was the House's position and your position
6 that a district that had less than a 50 percent
7 Black voting-age population could still qualify for
8 Tier 1 protection for diminishment; is that correct?

9 A Yes.

10 Q So there was no specific percentage of a
11 Black voting-age population that needed to qualify
12 for a district to be protected under Tier 1?

13 A For diminishment, yes, correct.

14 Q Let's actually go back to this 2012 map,
15 Exhibit 6.

16 So in 2012, my understanding is that there
17 were some minor disagreements between the House and
18 the Senate as to how to draw CD-3, what became CD-5.

19 Is that your memory too?

20 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

21 A Yes.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q And can you tell me what the basic
24 disagreement was?

25 A I don't remember.

1 Q My understanding is that the ultimate map
2 that you negotiated with the Senate in 2012 ended up
3 being just a hair over a 50 percent Black voting-age
4 population because the Senate was concerned about a
5 potential Section 2 claim.

6 Is that your memory as well?

7 A I don't remember if that was the
8 percentage or the issue.

9 Q All right. So in this version of CD-5
10 that is ultimately enacted in 2012, it sort of
11 starts here in Central Florida, has this little
12 appendage that goes into Sanford, sort of winds
13 north to pick up the Black populations in Hawthorne
14 and Reddick, picks up the east side of Gainesville,
15 picks up Palatka, and it sort of winds all the way
16 up to Jacksonville to pick up the Black populations
17 there.

18 Do you generally agree with that
19 description?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And at the time the House and the Senate
22 determined this district was reasonably compact,
23 correct?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And you yourself previously testified that

1 **you believe this district was reasonably compact,**
2 **correct?**

3 A I don't recall if I testified to it.

4 Q **At the time did you believe this district**
5 **was reasonably compact?**

6 A At -- based on our understanding of the
7 law, yes.

8 MS. FORD: Okay. Can we switch over to
9 Exhibit 5, which is the 2002 enacted
10 Congressional districts.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q **So I'd like to switch over to a different**
13 **area now, which is the Tampa Bay area.**

14 So to bring you back, this one is 2010,
15 2011, 2012. This was still in the era of federal
16 preclearance.

17 A Could you -- I'm sorry, I'm confused. You
18 said the 2002 map and then you said in 2010, 2012.

19 Q **I'm sorry, I'm talking about -- I am going**
20 **to the 2002 map --**

21 A Okay.

22 Q **-- but I'm talking about when you were**
23 **faced with redrawing these districts --**

24 A Sure.

25 Q **-- which would have eventually become the**

1 2012 enacted one.

2 A Gotcha.

3 Q So you were working on this in the span of
4 2010, 2012, right?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. That was still in the era of
7 federal preclearance?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Okay. So Hillsborough County was one of
10 the counties that was still under preclearance at
11 that time, right?

12 A Correct.

13 Q Okay. So the district numbers have
14 changed a little bit over time. But here I'm
15 looking at Tampa Bay in the 2002 map and I'm looking
16 at District 11.

17 Do you see where that is?

18 A The 2002 map, District 11?

19 Q Yes, this green one here in Hillsborough
20 County.

21 A Yes.

22 Q Okay. So at the time, this district was
23 under federal preclearance, right?

24 A Yes.

25 Q Okay. So that meant you could not

1 **diminish the district, right?**

2 A Generally, yes.

3 Q **Generally, yes. I realize there could be**
4 **extenuating --**

5 A Other factors, yeah.

6 Q **-- circumstances, but generally.**

7 **So that meant you would have done a**
8 **functional analysis on this district when redrawing**
9 **Tampa Bay for the 2010 cycle, correct?**

10 A Putting aside our differences in words
11 when you say "functional analysis" and I say
12 "cursory review," we would have done a cursory
13 review of this. And then a functional analysis
14 would have been done.

15 Q **Okay.**

16 **District 11 in the 2012 map had a sizable**
17 **Black population, right?**

18 A District 11 in the 2012 map?

19 Q **I'm sorry. 2002 map.**

20 A Yeah, what --

21 Q **Let me -- let me reask my question for the**
22 **record.**

23 A What is "sizeable"?

24 Q **Let me -- let me reask my question. I'm**
25 **sorry, it was a bad one.**

1 In the 2002 map, District 11 here, this
2 green one in Hillsborough County, this had a
3 significant minority population, right?

4 A I'm not sure about that. I'm not -- I'm
5 not sure of your threshold for significant, but I
6 believe that Black and Hispanic community combined
7 was, give or take, either below or above 50 percent.

8 Q I'm not trying to reach any --

9 A Yeah.

10 Q -- legal threshold here, just asking.
11 Given that it was under preclearance means it had a
12 significant minority population, is all I was
13 getting at.

14 Do you agree with that?

15 A Yes.

16 Q And so your review of this district would
17 have required you to look at elections data for this
18 district, correct?

19 A I don't recall whether we did or didn't.

20 MS. FORD: One second.

21 (Short pause.)

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Do you know that you were deposed over
24 three days in this case?

25 A I think it was two.

1 Q Maybe two. It was three different
2 transcripts.

3 A It was two long days.

4 Q Just making sure I have the right one, I
5 think this is it. All right.

6 Okay. This is your deposition testimony
7 from the 2012 Florida Congressional redistricting
8 cycle in Romo v. Detzner. This is from March 5th,
9 2014, and it's the first volume of your deposition
10 testimony. There are three volumes.

11 MS. FORD: Can we mark this as the next
12 exhibit. Are we on Exhibit 8?

13 THE STENOGRAPHER: Yes.

14 (Exhibit 8 was marked for identification.)

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q Okay. Let's go to page -- one second --
17 26.

18 A You mean the number page on the --

19 Q Sorry, good question. I mean the number
20 in the PDF of the actual testimony.

21 A Got it.

22 Q Can you start reading, please, at line 12
23 where it starts, "And did you look."

24 A Sure.

25 Question: And did you look and do a

1 functional analysis at District 14?

2 Answer: We did. District 14 is a little
3 different from the others because District 14 at the
4 time was not electing a minority candidate.

5 District 14, though, I believe that their -- that
6 when you are looking at the different political
7 data, you can see that the African-American and
8 Hispanic communities -- it's the Hillsborough, yeah,
9 you believe that the African American and Hispanic
10 communities are still coalescing around a candidate
11 of choice and, combined, those two communities are
12 pretty significant. So when you look at the data, I
13 believe that there is a pattern that shows that
14 those communities are, A, a number of functional
15 analyses, right --

16 I'm sorry, I read that in the wrong order.
17 I'll go back.

18 So when you look at the data, I believe
19 that there is a pattern that shows those communities
20 are coalescing around one candidate and supporting
21 that candidate.

22 Question: And did you do a functional
23 analysis on District 9 as regards to the Hispanic
24 population in that district?

25 Q You can pause here.

1 A Sure.

2 Q I think they finished talking about
3 District 14.

4 And here, the reference to District 14, my
5 understanding is that it's a reference to what
6 became 14 in the 2012 map, and its predecessor
7 version is District 11 in the 2002 map.

8 Is that your understanding as well?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Okay. And so here you testify in 2014
11 that you performed what at least this transcript
12 calls a functional analysis and that you did look at
13 the political data and election data for this
14 district, correct?

15 A Correct.

16 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

17 And, Christina, I'd like to explain that
18 objection just a bit.

19 The answer refers to "we." Is he the
20 corporate representative for the House in this,
21 or was he giving testimony in his individual
22 capacity?

23 MS. FORD: I thought it was in his
24 individual capacity, but I'll admit I'm not --

25 MR. JAZIL: Fair enough.

1 MS. FORD: -- certain.

2 MR. JAZIL: And that's the reason why I
3 objected to form.

4 MS. FORD: Okay.

5 MR. JAZIL: Because the answer said "we"
6 and then your question said "you." I didn't
7 know what the "we" was referring to.

8 I apologize for the speaking objection.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q Okay, sorry. Let me gather my thoughts
11 here.

12 All right. Well, at least at the time of
13 this testimony in 2014, you were aware of the
14 political data enough to make the conclusion that
15 the African-American communities and the Hispanic
16 communities in District 14 coalesced around a
17 candidate of choice, correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And District 11 in the 2012 map was
20 electing a Democrat, correct?

21 A District 11 in the 2012 map?

22 Q 20 -- I'm so sorry. I'm going to get this
23 by the end of the day.

24 District 11 in the 2002 map, this
25 Hillsborough-based district was electing a Democrat,

1 correct?

2 A I believe that's correct, yes.

3 Q All right. So when you concluded that the
4 African-American and Hispanic communities here
5 coalesced around the candidate of choice and they
6 would continue to elect that candidate, you would
7 have concluded that they would have continued to
8 elect a Democratic candidate, correct?

9 A Probably.

10 Q Okay. That's fine. You can put this
11 away. Or you can set it aside anyway.

12 MS. FORD: And, Mr. Kelly, let me know if
13 you need a break at any point. We've only been
14 going for a little over an hour.

15 THE WITNESS: I'm good.

16 MS. FORD: We're speeding through, I'll
17 let you know. So we're going to get out of
18 here at a decent time.

19 MR. JAZIL: I like that.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q So let's go back to the Exhibit 6, the
22 2012 Congressional map.

23 A Okay.

24 Q So can you tell me a little bit about how
25 you drew this new district in 2012 -- and by new

1 **district, I mean District 14 -- to ensure it would**
2 **comply with preclearance and comply with Tier 1**
3 **diminishment?**

4 A 10 years later now?

5 Q You don't remember your work drawing this
6 **district?**

7 A I remember working on it, but I don't
8 remember how exactly I did what I did.

9 Q Am I correct that to comply with
10 **preclearance, you attempted to keep the minority**
11 **voters of St. Petersburg with the minority voters of**
12 **Tampa?**

13 A I'm not sure.

14 Q Okay. Let's go back to your trial
15 **testimony.**

16 **It is Exhibit 7. Let's go to 1075, I**
17 **think it is.**

18 **Hold on one second.**

19 MS. FORD: Mo, do you have any objection
20 to starting with part of an answer or would you
21 like to read the whole question and answer for
22 the record?

23 MR. JAZIL: I don't know if you want him
24 to just refresh his recollection.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Yeah, sure.

3 Mr. Kelly, can you start reading -- why
4 don't you just read at page 1074 and let me know
5 when you've finished through 1077.

6 A Through 1077?

7 Q Yeah.

8 A And start where on 1074?

9 My apologies.

10 Q With line 13, where it says, "Okay."

11 A Okay.

12 Question: Okay. Now let's go to slide 8
13 a minute. Now, let's look -- well, let's, generally
14 speaking, if you would, what efforts were made to
15 try to improve upon the benchmark area reflected in
16 the benchmark Tampa Bay and the enacted Tampa Bay,
17 and then I'm going to talk to you more about
18 Pinellas and Hillsborough Counties.

19 Answer: Yes, sir. There were a number of
20 very -- the benchmark map -- very sort of -- I'm not
21 sure the best way to put it, but very odd arms and
22 distortions in the districts. In the enacted map,
23 we were able to -- we recognized population-wise
24 that we have a good opportunity to draw a lot more
25 compact districts. We had to make some decisions

1 about Pasco and Hernando, about whether to align
2 them together in one district or whether to center a
3 district around just Pasco and align it with
4 northern Pinellas and northern Hillsborough.

5 Ultimately, we made the decision to align
6 Pasco with Pinellas and Hillsborough, because if you
7 don't, the peninsula district in Pinellas County,
8 which in any map we did we always have a district
9 that was very -- I'm sorry -- that was entirely
10 included in Pinellas. That was even in the
11 benchmark. The peninsula district would necessitate
12 that if you left that space open, and moved to
13 Pinellas and northern Hillsborough, you would have a
14 district at the top of Pinellas and Hillsborough
15 that much -- that looked much like a saw, very
16 similar to portions of benchmark District 9.

17 We didn't want to repeat that. So it made
18 sense to align Pasco County with the remaining
19 population in Pinellas, and then enough of
20 Hillsborough to keep them more closely aligned
21 together and to avoid the sort of odd-looking
22 appendage in the district.

23 Again, we always had in our map some sort
24 of district wholly in Pinellas County. Pinellas
25 County had the population to do such. The only main

1 issue that we always discussed during the process
2 was that Pinellas County African-American voters had
3 historically been aligned with Hillsborough County
4 African-American voters, in part because
5 Hillsborough County was a Section 5 county.

6 **Q Mr. Kelly, feel free to skip down to**
7 **line 19. Pick up there.**

8 A Okay.

9 Question: Right. And Hillsborough County
10 is one of the five Section 5 preclearance counties;
11 is that correct?

12 Answer: Yes, sir.

13 Question: Am I -- do I understand
14 correctly that any redistricting maps, any changes
15 to any maps would have to be precleared in this area
16 before they could be put into effect for elections?

17 Answer: Yes, sir.

18 Question: Okay. And in the Pinellas
19 County area, you were, I believe, talking about a
20 minority population in south Pinellas?

21 Answer: Yes, sir.

22 Question: Okay.

23 Answer: In St. Petersburg.

24 Question: I'm sorry?

25 Asked as a question.

1 Answer: In St. Petersburg.

2 Question: Right. South St. Pete, which,
3 of course, I'm sure you're fascinated to know that's
4 where I grew up. I just wanted to make sure that's
5 on the record.

6 But in any event, this area here -- this
7 area here, this poly, polyp -- well, I'm not --
8 P-O-L-Y-P, I'm not sure what that is -- whatever,
9 does that go into south Pinellas County and include
10 African-American population into the Hillsborough
11 County district?

12 Answer: Yes, sir.

13 Question: Okay. And over here, in the
14 enacted map, does this reflect a portion of south
15 Pinellas County that is in the Hillsborough
16 district?

17 Answer: Yes, sir.

18 Okay -- or Question: Okay. And what --
19 in the enacted map, what did you do with these
20 appendages going into south Pinellas and into
21 Manatee?

22 Answer: In the enacted map, we eliminated
23 the portion of the district that went into Manatee.
24 That would have been because it went down into
25 Bradenton. We took out -- that out --

1 Let me back up. Page 1078, line 2.

2 We took that out of the district. It went
3 into the African-American community in Bradenton,
4 but it was actually a very small number of actual
5 residents in Bradenton. We took that out of the
6 district. What we did there, a couple of things
7 with the portions that went into St. Pete and
8 Pinellas County.

9 Number 1, we cleaned up the aesthetics of
10 it, the actual visual of it. The other thing that
11 we did was we worked more carefully with the
12 municipal lines around St. Pete, and we were working
13 with that throughout the process. Even up to the
14 final map. Cities like Gulfport, a couple other
15 cities that escape me at the moment, but we made
16 sure not to intrude on those other city lines in the
17 effort to pick up the African-American community in
18 St. Pete.

19 **Q Okay. You can stop there. Thank you for**
20 **reading that.**

21 **So am I correct that to comply with**
22 **preclearance you'd have to keep the minority voters**
23 **of Tampa with the minority voters in St. Petersburg**
24 **to create a performing district -- maintain a**
25 **performing district, I should say?**

1 A You said just a few different things
2 there.

3 Can you break that apart?

4 Q Let me rephrase that question.

5 Is it correct that in the 2012
6 redistricting cycle, that in an attempt to comply
7 with preclearance that was in effect at the time,
8 you made a specific effort to include the minority
9 population of Tampa with the minority population of
10 St. Petersburg to ensure the district would continue
11 to perform for the minority candidate of choice?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Okay.

14 And you expected that this minority
15 community coalesced would elect a Democrat, correct?

16 A Probably.

17 Q And that district that was enacted in 2012
18 did, in fact, elect a Democrat, Kathy Castor, to
19 Congress while this map was in place, correct?

20 A Yes.

21 Q All right. We can put this away.

22 MS. FORD: Are you still good, Mr. Kelly?
23 Do you need a break?

24 THE WITNESS: I'm fine.

25 MS. FORD: Okay.

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q All right. I would like to stay on the
3 2012 Congressional plan for a moment. So we're on
4 Exhibit 6.

5 A Okay.

6 Q So let's talk about District 14's
7 neighbor, District 13 in Pinellas County, which for
8 the record is my hometown.

9 This district contains what I would call
10 the western part of Pinellas County with Seminole,
11 all the beaches along the west coast, Pinellas Park,
12 Clearwater, and a portion of north Pinellas.

13 Do you agree with that characterization?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Was this a district that you drew in the
16 2012 cycle?

17 A I'm -- I'm sure I worked on it.

18 Q And we talked about how District 14 was a
19 district with a significant minority population, but
20 District 13 was much whiter than District 14,
21 correct?

22 A Wider, like east to west wider?

23 Q No, no, I'm sorry, had white voters in it.
24 It was much "whiter." It was not a minority
25 district.

1 A Oh, oh, oh. I don't recall what the
2 racial breakdown of District 13 was.

3 **Q Did District 13 present any Tier 1**
4 **diminishment concerns that you had to comply with?**

5 A None that I recall.

6 **Q Did you consider it to be a minority**
7 **district?**

8 A I don't believe so.

9 **Q I will represent to you that in June of**
10 **2012 after this map was enacted, this district was**
11 **rated, District 13, as a solidly Republican**
12 **district.**

13 **Do you have any reason to dispute that**
14 **characterization?**

15 A I -- I don't have any basis to believe it
16 either way. I have no idea.

17 **Q Do you know if this district did elect a**
18 **Republican in the 2012 and 2014 Congressional**
19 **elections?**

20 A I don't know.

21 **Q Do you know who Bill Young is?**

22 A Yes.

23 **Q Are you aware that he represented this**
24 **district after this map was enacted?**

25 A No.

1 Q Do you know who David Jolly is?

2 A I know who he is.

3 Q Are you aware that he represented this
4 district after the 2014 elections, where he won this
5 district?

6 A As stated earlier, I don't know who won
7 those elections.

8 Q I assume that you're aware that after the
9 redistricting litigation last cycle, that the
10 Florida Supreme Court returned St. Petersburg to
11 District 13, right?

12 A I'm sorry, could you say that again? I'm
13 not following your question.

14 Q Sure. After the end of the entire
15 redistricting trial, the various opinions from the
16 Florida Supreme Court, I assume you're aware that in
17 the new map that the Florida Supreme Court ordered
18 that they returned St. Petersburg or rejoined
19 St. Petersburg to the rest of District 13.

20 Are you aware of that?

21 A Do you have a copy of that? I don't have
22 it in front of me.

23 Q I don't have a copy of it. But we can
24 pull out --

25 (Discussion off the record.)

1 MS. FORD: Sandi, what number are we on?

2 THE STENOGRAPHER: 9.

3 (Exhibit 9 was marked for identification.)

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Did you read the Florida Supreme Court
6 opinions when they came out last cycle about the
7 constitutionality of the 2012 Enacted Plan?

8 A The 2015 ruling?

9 Q Yes.

10 A No, I didn't.

11 Q Did you read any of the Florida
12 Supreme Court opinions that came out?

13 A For the last cycle?

14 Q Yes, for the last cycle.

15 A I read their summary judgment of the State
16 legislative maps.

17 Q Okay.

18 A Which was February or March 2012.

19 Q Do you remember reading the 2014 trial
20 court opinion that came out in that record -- or in
21 that case after the trial was concluded by Judge
22 Lewis?

23 A I did not read the opinion.

24 Q Were you aware of the substance of the
25 Florida Supreme Court's opinion in 2015 that the

1 drawing of District 13 and District 14 in the Tampa
2 Bay area was a partisan gerrymandering?

3 A No, I was not aware.

4 Q Were you aware of any opinions that the
5 Florida Supreme Court reached in its 2015 opinion?

6 A I never read it.

7 Q So in preparing to work on this
8 redistricting cycle for the Governor, you did not
9 read the opinion the Florida Supreme Court wrote in
10 2015 explaining why this map was unconstitutional?

11 A Correct, I did not read it.

12 Q Did anyone relay to you the substance of
13 that opinion?

14 A I would have to get into internal --

15 MR. JAZIL: Yeah, I --

16 A -- conversations.

17 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to ask him not to
18 answer that because that would be
19 attorney/client privilege and it would fall
20 within the legislative privilege, internal
21 deliberations.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Okay. Well, I just want to ask you what
24 you were aware about. We can put conversations with
25 counsel aside.

1 So at the time you started drawing maps
2 for the Governor, you were not aware that the
3 Florida Supreme Court had ruled that this drawing of
4 Tampa Bay where it crosses the bay constituted a
5 partisan gerrymandering?

6 A Correct, I had no awareness of any of
7 that.

8 Q Is today the first day you're learning
9 that the Florida Supreme Court considered this to be
10 a partisan gerrymandering in the Tampa Bay area?

11 A Correct, I've never heard that before.

12 Q Were you aware of anything that the
13 Florida Supreme Court said about Tampa Bay in its
14 2015 opinion?

15 A I don't believe I was aware of anything.

16 Q Do you know who Charlie Crist is?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Who is he?

19 A Former Governor, former member of
20 Congress.

21 Q You're aware that he represented this new
22 District 13, starting after the 2016 elections?

23 A I know he served. I know he served in
24 Congress from Pinellas County, so it would stand
25 that it would probably be District 13.

1 Q And you're aware that Charlie Crist is at
2 least currently a Democrat?

3 A Yes, that we know today.

4 Q All right. Just a couple more questions
5 about your role in the 2012 cycle, and then we'll
6 move on.

7 So in December of 2010 you were working on
8 redistricting for the House, correct?

9 A Say that period again?

10 Q Sure. In December -- I'm sorry, I said
11 that wrong.

12 In December 2010 you were working on
13 redistricting for the House, correct?

14 A Correct.

15 Q Okay. And in December 2010, which would
16 have been about a month after the Fair District
17 Amendments were passed, you were invited to and you
18 attended a meeting to discuss redistricting with
19 several different Republican consultants, correct?

20 A I remember a meeting around that time. I
21 don't remember if it was specifically December, but
22 I remember a meeting around that time.

23 Q And that meeting was held at the office of
24 the Republican Party of Florida?

25 A Not that I recall.

1 Q Do you think it took some -- took place
2 somewhere else, or you just don't remember?

3 A I just don't remember.

4 Q The following month in January 2011 while
5 you were working on redistricting for the House, is
6 it correct that you were invited to and you attended
7 a second meeting about redistricting with several
8 Republican Party consultants?

9 A I only recall one meeting, so I don't -- I
10 mean, I may not be remembering things, but I recall
11 a single meeting, so like I said, December around
12 that time, give or take.

13 Q Okay. And then later in the redistricting
14 cycle, is it correct that before your draft maps
15 released to the public, some of those same
16 Republican consultants received drafts of your maps,
17 correct?

18 A I don't know.

19 Q You do not remember if any Republican
20 consultants in the last redistricting cycle received
21 copies of your maps before they were released to the
22 public?

23 A I don't know. I remember a lot of
24 questions in deposition about that topic, but you're
25 asking really broadly. I mean, we could read back

1 through the deposition again.

2 MS. FORD: All right. Why don't we take a
3 break, if that's okay with you?

4 THE WITNESS: Okay.

5 MS. FORD: 11:10.

6 (A recess took place from 11:10 a.m. to
7 11:20 a.m.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q Okay. Mr. Kelly, between the time you
10 left the House in 2012 and the time you started
11 working for the Governor in 2021 --

12 A Uh-huh.

13 Q -- did you draw any redistricting plans?

14 A No.

15 Q So you didn't, like, casually in your
16 spare time, didn't draw any plans?

17 A I'm boring, but not that boring.

18 Q Between the time you left the House in
19 2012 and the time you started working for the
20 Governor in 2021, did you give any presentations on
21 redistricting?

22 A To when I left the House in 2012 and --
23 no.

24 Q Did you speak to any groups about
25 redistricting?

1 A No.

2 Q Between the time you left the House in
3 2012 and the time you started working for the
4 Governor in 2021, did you discuss the Fair District
5 Amendments with anyone?

6 A Nothing that I can recall. I mean, part
7 of the legal case -- legal case wound up in my trial
8 in '13 or '14, so --

9 Q Sure. I guess between the end of the
10 trial and that litigation starting for the Governor
11 in 2021, did you discuss the Fair District
12 Amendments with anyone?

13 A Yeah, nothing that I can recall.

14 Q And let's say by the time the litigation
15 ended in 2014 and the time you started working for
16 the Governor in 2021, did you discuss redistricting
17 with anyone?

18 A I mean, are you putting aside like just
19 casual conversation? I mean, there's no way I'm
20 going to remember casual conversation, but nothing
21 specific that I recall.

22 Q Your wife became the staff director for
23 the House Redistricting Committee in 2020, right?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And that was actually your prior job?

1 A Say that again?

2 Q **She held your prior job with the House**
3 **Redistricting Committee as staff director?**

4 A We had the same job 10 years apart, yeah.

5 Q **Yeah.**

6 **Did you have any conversations with her**
7 **about redistricting before you started working for**
8 **the Governor in April 2021?**

9 MR. JAZIL: Alex, I'm going to ask you --
10 under spousal privilege, if there's some third
11 party present during those conversations, feel
12 free to talk about them. If it was just you
13 and Leda, I'd ask you not to answer those
14 questions under spousal privilege.

15 MS. LUKIS: I'll join in that objection on
16 behalf of Mrs. Kelly.

17 MS. FORD: My understanding of the spousal
18 privilege is that it only applies to things
19 that are made in confidence. And as it relates
20 to a government matter of redistricting, I
21 don't see any reason why the spousal privilege
22 would apply.

23 MS. LUKIS: I would disagree with that
24 characterization of the law, and I would
25 instruct Mr. Kelly not to answer.

1 MS. FORD: What do you think the law
2 requires for spousal privilege?

3 MS. LUKIS: Two spouses communicating
4 without a third party present.

5 MS. FORD: My understanding of the spousal
6 privilege is that it requires the confi- -- the
7 communication to be made for the purpose that
8 it will be made in confidence. And when
9 spouses discuss business matters or stuff of
10 that nature, it's no longer in confidence and
11 the privilege does not apply.

12 MS. LUKIS: I just don't think that's a
13 correct statement of the law. Would you like
14 me to pull up some cases? I can put it on the
15 record.

16 MR. JAZIL: Can I suggest this: Can we
17 explore first what conversations were had, who
18 was in the room, et cetera? This way perhaps
19 we can avoid a bigger fight on this issue.

20 Maybe we just explore this a little bit
21 without getting into the private conversations
22 the two of them had and see where we are and
23 take that up.

24 MS. FORD: Let's just, like, I guess
25 establish for the record so we can determine

1 whether we're objecting about anything that
2 matters.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 **Q Did you and -- did you and your wife in**
5 **her role as the staff director for the House**
6 **Redistricting Committee have any conversations just**
7 **between the two of you about redistricting before**
8 **you started working for the Governor?**

9 MS. FORD: I'm just asking whether the
10 conversations ever existed so we know whether
11 the objection matters or not.

12 MR. JAZIL: So I think the information
13 that would be on a privilege log, for example,
14 would be, you know, did you have a
15 conversation, when did you have a conversation.

16 So you can establish the -- was there a
17 conversation, when that conversation was had,
18 and who else was in the room. And I think
19 those would be things that would be on a
20 privilege log anyway.

21 If there's a third party in the room, I
22 think we're all in agreement that that isn't
23 covered by the spousal privilege because
24 there's no expectation that that's
25 confidential, right?

1 MS. FORD: So that's what I was intending
2 to ask in my first question, is, like, is it on
3 the log, right; did you have conversations
4 with -- with Mrs. Kelly about redistricting?

5 MR. JAZIL: The if, the when, the how
6 often, I think those are all fair questions.

7 MS. FORD: Yeah, that's where I was going
8 to start at least.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q Did you have conversations with her about
11 redistricting before you started your job with the
12 Governor, I think you said it was April 7th, 2021?

13 A Correct, that's what I said.

14 Yes.

15 Q When would those conversations have
16 occurred?

17 A We're husband and wife, everyday kind of
18 conversations about "how was your day," you know,
19 "you look stressed," just husband and wife
20 conversations.

21 Q Did you have any conversations with your
22 wife about redistricting -- I'm still talking about
23 before you -- before you went to work for the
24 Governor --

25 A Okay.

1 **Q -- about redistricting in which a third**
2 **party would have been present?**

3 A No.

4 **Q This is not a question.**

5 MS. FORD: So, Mr. Jazil, my understanding
6 of the spousal privilege and I'll read here:
7 "For a marital communication to be protected,
8 the Court must determine the couple had a
9 reasonable expectation of privacy at the time
10 the communication took place.

11 "Only communications that are intended to
12 be confidential are privileged. And there is
13 no third-party requirement here if the message
14 itself is not intended to be confidential."

15 Do you still believe that spousal
16 privilege would apply to those conversations,
17 given they concerned redistricting as a matter
18 of public record, Florida's business?

19 MR. JAZIL: Sure. Just a question for you
20 first. Are you reading from something --

21 MS. FORD: Yeah.

22 MR. JAZIL: -- or a case?

23 You want to just put the case on the
24 record?

25 MS. FORD: Yeah. I'll just read the quote

1 again.

2 "For a marital communication to be
3 protected, the Court must determine the couple
4 had a reasonable expectation of privacy at the
5 time that communication took place."

6 That's Boyd v. State, 17 So. 3d, 812-817,
7 Florida Fourth DCA 2009, citing a Fifth DCA
8 case.

9 MR. JAZIL: Now, so the record's clear,
10 I'm going to defer to my colleague in the House
11 who's been doing the research on this spousal
12 privilege issue. I never litigated the spousal
13 privilege issue. I'll defer to them and their
14 perspective on it.

15 MS. LUKIS: Sure. If there is -- if the
16 suggestion is the husband and wife
17 communicating between the two of them is not --
18 that they don't have a reasonable expectation
19 of privacy in that communication, I think I
20 would disagree. Otherwise, you read that case
21 correctly.

22 I'd also add Fourth DCA --

23 THE STENOGRAPHER: I can't hear you.

24 MS. LUKIS: I'm sorry.

25 "Marital communication is presumed

1 confidential, absent evidence to the contrary,"
2 which I think is why the exercise of going
3 through whether there was a third party in the
4 room is a useful -- is a useful line of
5 questioning. But if there's not a third party
6 in the room, I don't think any facts can be
7 established to overcome the strong marital
8 privilege.

9 I also say that there's statutory
10 exemptions that apply to the assertion of the
11 marital privilege under Florida law and
12 district courts are loathed to stray outside of
13 those exceptions.

14 And so I'm not sure -- the fact that a
15 privileged communication occurs in the course
16 of something that's being litigated doesn't
17 waive the privilege.

18 So I feel -- very long-winded -- would say
19 that questions about the substance of the
20 communication between Mr. and Mrs. Kelly when
21 no third party is present is privileged beyond
22 the whether, when, how often, and who, as
23 Mr. Jazil previously indicated. And I would
24 still stand on the instruction not to answer
25 anything further.

1 MS. FORD: Okay. Well, I don't think
2 we're going to resolve this today, so I think
3 at the end we can hold this deposition open.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Are you registered as affiliated with any
6 political party?

7 A Am I a registered voter?

8 Q Yes, are you a registered voter in
9 Florida?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Are you affiliated with any political
12 party?

13 A I'm a registered Republican.

14 Q How long have you been a registered
15 Republican in Florida?

16 A Since 1998.

17 Q I don't want to ask about your entire
18 political history, so let's just talk about the past
19 five years.

20 A Uh-huh.

21 Q So maybe let's go back to 2018.

22 A Okay.

23 Q Since 2018, have you volunteered for any
24 campaign?

25 A No.

1 **Q Have you donated or hosted any fundraisers**
2 **for political candidates?**

3 A Not per se fundraisers. Have I donated?
4 I don't recall if I've donated.

5 **Q Have you attended any Republican Party**
6 **conferences?**

7 A No.

8 **Q Have you attended any Republican Party**
9 **meetings?**

10 A No.

11 **Q Have you had any other participation or**
12 **affiliation with the Republican Party since 2018?**

13 A No.

14 **Q All right. Let's talk about this**
15 **redistricting cycle.**

16 A Uh-huh.

17 **Q So when you were hired for your current**
18 **job as deputy chief of staff, did you understand**
19 **that redistricting would be part of your portfolio?**

20 A No.

21 **Q When did that change? When did you**
22 **understand that it would become part of your**
23 **portfolio?**

24 A Late December of 2021.

25 **Q Okay. What happened at that time that**

1 **made it become something that you would be working**
2 **on?**

3 MR. JAZIL: Alex, to the extent that you
4 can answer that question without getting into
5 internal workings of the Executive Office of
6 the Governor and redistricting issues, you can.

7 A The only way I can answer that question
8 would be to talk about internal conversations.

9 MS. FORD: So Mr. -- I don't want to call
10 you Mr. Jazil -- just so we're on the same
11 page.

12 My understanding of Judge Marsh's order is
13 that Mr. Kelly can be questioned regarding any
14 matter already part of the public record, and
15 he can also be asked about any information
16 received from anyone not part of the Governor's
17 Office.

18 What is off limits are the thoughts or
19 opinions for staff that are those of the
20 Governor.

21 MR. JAZIL: Fair enough, Counsel.

22 So, Mr. Kelly, I will amend my instruction
23 to you. If you can answer that question
24 without getting into the internal deliberations
25 of the Governor's Office, or if you can answer

1 that question based on information you've
2 already shared with the public, perhaps the
3 legislature, you can answer it.

4 To the extent, for example, you got into
5 it with your legislative testimony, you can
6 answer the question.

7 A Okay. I believe I did testify in front of
8 the House and/or Senate, maybe both, that early
9 January I started to get involved in the
10 redistricting process.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q So I believe my question -- I don't know**
13 **exactly what I asked, but I'll just ask it now.**

14 **What happened that changed so that you**
15 **became involved with redistricting when you hadn't**
16 **previously?**

17 A The change was that our office got
18 involved pretty publicly in the redistricting
19 process in early January.

20 **Q Why?**

21 MR. JAZIL: And again, anything that you
22 shared publicly --

23 THE WITNESS: Yeah, sure.

24 MR. JAZIL: -- it's fine.

25 A Okay. The Governor actually was pretty

1 clear publicly around that time about concerns with
2 the maps that the legislature was looking at.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 **Q What were those concerns?**

5 A The Governor made different statements,
6 but a lot of it focused around, as I recall, a lot
7 of it focused around the benchmark District 5, the
8 Northern Florida districts, how that district was
9 shaped in the legislature's proposals.

10 **Q What was the Governor's specific concern**
11 **about benchmark CD-5?**

12 MR. JAZIL: Same instructions, anything
13 publicly stated.

14 A Sure. And I mean, I don't know that I can
15 capture it better than what was already recorded
16 publicly in multiple memorandums by our office
17 representing the position of the Governor and the
18 position of the office. It was shared -- the
19 concerns were shared with pretty exhaustive detail
20 in the written record.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 **Q Yeah, Mr. Kelly, I'm not trying to, like,**
23 **play dumb here, anything like that. Just your**
24 **testimony to the legislature was not necessarily**
25 **part of this case, and that the -- I'm just asking**

1 **you on the record today what the Governor's concerns**
2 **were with the benchmark CD-5. I realize they were**
3 **discussed publicly, but we need a record in this**
4 **case. So what were --**

5 A Yeah, I've said the Governor -- our office
6 published multiple documents regarding CD-5,
7 regarding the 14th Amendment and the United States
8 Constitution, Equal Protection, you know, whether
9 the district was drawn for predominantly race-based
10 purposes, therefore violating the 14th Amendment of
11 the United States Constitution.

12 Q **Is it fair to say that CD-5 was the**
13 **primary reason why the Governor's Office decided to**
14 **become involved in redistricting?**

15 A I'd -- I'd have to -- to answer that
16 question, I'd have to talk about internal
17 conversations.

18 MR. JAZIL: And my instruction, again,
19 Mr. Kelly, is do not talk about the internal
20 conversations unless you discussed these with
21 the legislative committees.

22 If you did discuss them with the
23 legislative committees, you can answer the
24 question.

25 A The way the question was asked, that this

1 being the primary concern, the only way that I can
2 answer that question would be to talk about internal
3 conversations in the Governor's Office.

4 MS. FORD: And, Mr. Jazil, would you agree
5 with me when you give Mr. Kelly instruction,
6 it's not just what he shared with the
7 legislature, but with any third party external
8 to the Governor's Office?

9 MR. JAZIL: Yes. So if you shared any
10 conversations with anyone outside the Executive
11 Office of the Governor, that doesn't include
12 your lawyers or their consultants --

13 THE WITNESS: Sure.

14 MR. JAZIL: -- that's all internal. But
15 if you shared information with folks outside of
16 the Governor's Office, at the legislature, or
17 with any other third party that you explained
18 the map to, please give that information to
19 Ms. Ford.

20 If you can answer her question by relying
21 on that material, it's fine. If, as you said,
22 it's just internal deliberations of the
23 Governor's Office, do not answer that question.

24 A All right. I've already stated it for the
25 record. The only way that I could answer that

1 question the way it was asked would be to reveal
2 internal conversations with the Governor's Office.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 **Q When you started working on redistricting,**
5 **what was your understanding of what your role would**
6 **be?**

7 MR. JAZIL: Same instructions. Go ahead.

8 A And I -- and this is something that I even
9 testified to. I initially started as just observing
10 the process, providing some consultation and
11 guidance as someone who had worked on the process
12 10 years prior.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q When you say you were providing**
15 **consultation and guidance, to whom?**

16 A To our staff, to our legal team.

17 **Q What role did you end up playing in the**
18 **process?**

19 MR. JAZIL: Same instructions, go ahead.

20 A Sure. And -- I walked through this in my
21 opening to the House and the Senate. My role
22 evolved and I eventually became map drawer.

23 MS. FORD: And, Mo, I would agree for the
24 record that your objection is continuing on
25 privilege, so you don't feel the need to state

1 it every time.

2 MR. JAZIL: Yeah, and if it's okay with
3 you, I'll just say "same" -- "same instruction"
4 rather than launch into a monologue each time.

5 So -- and just so the record's clear,
6 "same instruction" means you can talk about
7 things that the Governor's Office shared with
8 the legislature, any other third party.

9 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.

10 MR. JAZIL: Conversations that were had
11 that were internal to the Governor's Office
12 that were not shared outside the Governor's
13 Office, do not talk about those.

14 The Governor's Office includes everyone
15 working at the EOG, your lawyers, i.e., me, and
16 the outside consultant who you retained to help
17 us. Fair enough?

18 THE WITNESS: Okay.

19 MR. JAZIL: So every time I say "same
20 instruction," that is what I mean, so I'm not
21 repeating it.

22 MS. FORD: Thanks.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 **Q So at a broad level, what were your**
25 **responsibilities with regard to redistricting in the**

1 Governor's Office?

2 A The two that I've mentioned, started as
3 providing consultation and guidance and transitioned
4 into actual map drawing.

5 Q Who oversaw your work?

6 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

7 A I'd have to talk about internal Governor's
8 Office conversations to answer that.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q Who was generally your boss -- or who do
11 you generally report to in your job?

12 A As I noted in the opening of the
13 deposition, I report to James Uthmeier.

14 THE STENOGRAPHER: James --

15 THE WITNESS: Uthmeier.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q What did you understand that your goals
18 were as it related to redistricting for the
19 Governor?

20 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

21 A I don't have a way to answer that without
22 talking about internal office conversations.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q Were you given any instructions as it
25 relates to redistricting?

1 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

2 A Again, I don't have any way to answer that
3 without talking about internal office conversations.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Did you follow the legislature's process
6 throughout the fall of 2021 and winter 2022 that
7 started releasing the draft plans and holding the
8 committee meetings?

9 A Generally.

10 Q Did you watch subcommittee meetings or
11 committee meetings?

12 A During which period?

13 Q I'm just talking about -- so let me go
14 back.

15 My understanding is that there was sort of
16 an interim session -- I don't know if I'm using the
17 right word, but before -- before the 2022 session
18 officially began, the House --

19 A Florida has what we call interim committee
20 meetings --

21 Q Interim committee --

22 A -- where policies -- just to give you
23 background, policy can be discussed, presented, and
24 it can even move through the legislative committee
25 process. However, the full Senate and the full

1 House can't take action on that policy as a body
2 until the official legislative session starts.

3 However, you can get a legislative product
4 right up to that penultimate point prior to the
5 session starting.

6 Q Okay. Thank you for that.

7 So there were interim committee meetings
8 relating to redistricting, my understanding is
9 October of '21, November of '21. Did you follow,
10 generally follow those committees and the work
11 product that they were releasing?

12 A Generally.

13 Q Did you take a look at any of the workshop
14 maps that the Senate and House committees were
15 releasing?

16 A During the fall and wintertime?

17 Q Yeah.

18 A Not -- I didn't take a look at the maps
19 themselves until January.

20 Q My understanding is that the Senate, the
21 Florida Senate first released some proposed plans in
22 November of 2021. So based on your answer just now,
23 sounds like you wouldn't have looked at those until
24 January?

25 A Correct.

1 **Q What did you make of the Senate's**
2 **proposals?**

3 A What did I make of them?

4 **Q What was your impression of them?**

5 A I don't know.

6 My impression of their proposals?

7 **Q Did you have any reaction to it?**

8 A Probably -- it's been a while since I
9 looked at them. I don't know if I had any reaction
10 to it.

11 **Q Did you follow any of the news about the**
12 **Senate's proposed maps when they came out in the**
13 **fall of 2021?**

14 A Not very detailed. I generally heard
15 about them, general political chatter, but not
16 really, not closely.

17 **Q What do you mean by general political**
18 **chatter? What was it you remember hearing?**

19 A I think the Senate was progressing quicker
20 than the House. The Senate came into the new year I
21 think with a -- I think the Senate came into the new
22 year with the Congressional map ready to pass; the
23 House had further to go in the process.

24 **Q Were you at least generally aware that the**
25 **Senate's proposals resembled the benchmark plan?**

1 A In what respect?

2 Q **Just visually, looked a lot like the map**
3 **that the Florida Supreme Court had put in place in**
4 **2016?**

5 A The overall map, no, not at that time.

6 Q **Did you later become aware of that?**

7 A I later took a closer look at the map. I
8 don't think I ever had the -- I don't think I ever
9 had the observation that it was very close to the
10 benchmark.

11 Q **And just for purposes of the record, when**
12 **I say "benchmark," at this point I mean the 2016**
13 **plan --**

14 A Sure.

15 Q **-- that was in place 2016 to 2022.**

16 A Sure, and I understood your question.

17 Q **Okay.**

18 A Yeah, I don't think I ever had that
19 thought of this looks similar or dissimilar from the
20 benchmark. But I assume what you're asking, you're
21 talking about the entire map?

22 Q **Yeah, generally the entire map.**

23 A Okay.

24 Q **When the Senate's proposals were first**
25 **released, there was pretty extensive reporting about**

1 **how the plans were likely to elect an estimated 16**
2 **Republicans and 12 Democrats.**

3 **Did you read any of that reporting?**

4 A Doesn't sound familiar.

5 Q **Do you remember having any conversations**
6 **with anyone about the -- sort of the expected**
7 **partisan breakdown or results of the Senate's plans?**

8 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

9 A To the extent that I talked with people
10 outside the office, legislative, I stayed away from
11 any kind of chatter like that.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 Q **So you don't remember seeing any news**
14 **articles or reporting about the potential**
15 **partisanship of the Senate maps?**

16 A No.

17 Q **Do you remember hearing any criticism from**
18 **Republicans who thought the Senate maps were too**
19 **friendly to Democrats?**

20 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

21 Can I start calling it the Marsh
22 instruction? It may sound better than "same
23 instruction."

24 MS. FORD: Sure.

25 A I'm sorry. Could you ask it again?

1 MS. FORD: Sure.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 Q Do you remember hearing any criticism from
4 Republicans who thought the Senate maps were too
5 friendly to Democrats?

6 A No.

7 THE STENOGRAPHER: 10.

8 MS. FORD: Thanks.

9 (Exhibit 10 was marked for
10 identification.)

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q So Mr. Kelly, I -- this is Exhibit 10. I
13 will represent to you that this was produced as a
14 public record --

15 A Uh-huh.

16 Q -- as a document in the possession of the
17 Governor's Office.

18 A Uh-huh.

19 Q This appears to me to be an internal news
20 alert that went out around the Governor's Office.

21 Do you receive news alerts like this as
22 part of your job?

23 A Everybody in the office gets news alerts.
24 So yeah, you would probably have -- if you searched
25 our news alerts, you'd have -- I don't know how

1 many -- tens of thousands --

2 Q Yeah.

3 A -- of news alerts.

4 Q So you received news alerts generally like
5 this as part of your job?

6 A Yes. Yeah. Like I said, everybody in the
7 office gets news alerts throughout the day.

8 Q So this article is titled "Florida Senate
9 releases state redistricting maps as conflicts for
10 incumbents loom." It's dated November 10th, 2021,
11 written by Mary Ellen Klas, and it looks like it was
12 published in the Tampa Bay Times.

13 This article goes on to recount some
14 reactions to the Florida Senate's proposed
15 Congressional maps, and I certainly do not want to
16 read this entire article or most of it. But in
17 particular I note the reaction from Dave Wasserman
18 of the Cook Political Report.

19 Let me find it.

20 Down at the bottom of page 1.

21 A Uh-huh.

22 Q I'll just read it. You've done a lot of
23 reading.

24 A Thank you.

25 Q Here the article says, "An early

1 assessment by mapping expert Dave Wasserman of the
2 nonpartisan Cook Political Report was that the
3 congressional maps were not obviously gerrymanders."

4 And continuing to read, "'Bizarre: These
5 maps shore up Florida-27 Rep. Maria Salazar (R), but
6 otherwise are barely gerrymanders. By my count
7 these maps break down 16-12 Trump-Biden versus 15-12
8 today. Is this a head fake?' Wasserman wrote on
9 Twitter."

10 And just look at the next paragraph,
11 Wasserman continues to write, "These maps would put
12 Florida-15's Rep. Scott Franklin (R) in the new R
13 Florida-28, but turn Florida-15 into a Biden seat in
14 the east Tampa suburbs -- effectively creating a new
15 Dem seat. I can't imagine this is going to be the
16 ultimate GOP plan in Florida."

17 Do you remember reading this article or
18 reading articles like this?

19 A No.

20 Q Do you remember hearing any conversation
21 about this in the Governor's Office?

22 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction, Marsh
23 instruction.

24 A I can't answer the question.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Do you remember hearing any conversations
3 about this outside of the Governor's Office?

4 A No.

5 Q Presumably at some point you did become
6 aware of the general expected partisan breakdown of
7 the Senate's plans; is that correct?

8 A You just made me aware.

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q So before today, is this the first you
12 ever heard about how many Republicans or Democrats
13 the Senate's proposals might have elected?

14 A Yes, this is -- you've made me aware.
15 It's amazing how I stay away from this stuff. I
16 just stay away from it. My life at this point in
17 time in November, December of 2021 was education,
18 economic development; that's what I worked on.

19 Q So you did not become aware in -- I'm
20 not -- to be clear, I'm not just asking November.
21 I'm asking in December of '21, January of '22,
22 February, March, April, you never became aware of
23 the Florida Senate's proposals and their expected
24 partisan breakdown?

25 A Their proposal, I became aware of it. I

1 stayed away from things about partisan breakdowns.
2 I just didn't get involved in that and stayed away
3 from it.

4 Q So before today, you were not aware that
5 the Senate's proposals would have retained CD-7 as a
6 district in which Democrats were likely to win?

7 A Correct.

8 Q Before today, you were not aware that the
9 Senate's proposals retained several competitive
10 districts for Democrats in the Tampa Bay area?

11 A I -- no prior knowledge.

12 Q The Florida House also released some
13 Congressional proposals in the fall of 2021.

14 Did you see those in the fall, or did you
15 similarly not look at any House proposals until
16 January?

17 A Same basic answers, yes. Followed the
18 process generally in the fall, and looked more
19 specifically at their maps come January.

20 Q When you started to look at the House
21 maps, were you generally aware that the House's
22 proposals started to move away from the benchmark
23 plan?

24 MR. JAZIL: Give you the Marsh
25 instruction, but go ahead.

1 A Sure, I never thought about it in that
2 general context. Just wasn't -- like the Senate
3 map, I didn't really look at it through that lens.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q When the House's proposals were first
6 released, there was pretty extensive reporting about
7 how the House's plans were likely to elect
8 18 Republicans and 10 Democrats.

9 Did you see any of this reporting?

10 A Again, same answer as with the prior
11 questions regarding the Senate maps. I just stayed
12 away from this kind of news.

13 Q And similarly, when the House's proposals
14 were first released, there was reporting about how
15 the plans were more favorable for Republicans than
16 the Senate plans.

17 You did not see any of that reporting?

18 A Correct.

19 Q Do you remember any conversations in the
20 Governor's Office to that effect?

21 MR. JAZIL: Marsh instruction.

22 A I can't answer about internal
23 conversations.

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 Q Do you remember hearing any conversations

1 **about this that occurred outside the Governor's**
2 **Office?**

3 A No.

4 Q Before today -- before today's deposition,
5 have you heard anything, any news articles, any
6 reporting, any conversations about the expected
7 potential partisanship of the House proposals?

8 A Have I just heard any general reportings
9 anywhere?

10 Q Yes.

11 A I'm sure somewhere, I'm sure at some
12 point, but I didn't read articles about the stuff.
13 I stayed away from all of that. But I mean, I don't
14 know that at some point in the summer or fall of
15 2022 I wouldn't have heard somewhere something, some
16 comment about all of this.

17 Q Okay.

18 MS. FORD: Do you have next exhibit?

19 THE STENOGRAPHER: Number 11.

20 (Discussion off record.)

21 MS. FORD: Sandi, what exhibit are we on?

22 THE STENOGRAPHER: 11.

23 MS. FORD: Thanks.

24 THE STENOGRAPHER: Uh-huh.

25

1 (Exhibit 11 was marked for
2 identification.)

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q So this is Exhibit 11. It is an article
5 that was -- I'll represent it was published in
6 Politico -- I'm sorry, it doesn't have it in the
7 title here.

8 It's titled "New draft redistricting map
9 in Florida cuts up Murphy's seat, boosts GOP." It's
10 written -- or was published November 29, 2021, by
11 Matt Dixon.

12 This article -- I don't think we should
13 spend time reading it, but I'll represent that it
14 recounts some reactions to the Florida House's
15 proposed Congressional maps.

16 And in particular, on the second page of
17 this article, it notes, "'The second Congressional
18 plan from the Florida House is a pretty notable
19 gerrymander. If nukes Florida-7 Murphy's seat,'
20 tweeted Democrat data consultant Matthew Isbell.
21 'This is by far the most aggressive plan.'"

22 Do you remember reading this article or
23 reading articles like this?

24 A No.

25 Q And before I ask you, let me ask this

1 question I asked, and Mr. Jazil will object. I just
2 want to get something clear on the record.

3 Did you have any conversations -- are you
4 aware of any conversations in the Governor's Office
5 about the proposed or expected partisan breakdown of
6 any of the Senate's proposals or the House's
7 proposals?

8 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
9 Marsh instruction. If it's internal, it wasn't
10 shared with anyone outside, don't talk about
11 it. If it was internal, you discussed it with
12 the legislature or some other third party, talk
13 about it.

14 A I don't have anything responsive. The
15 question is about internal conversations.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q So my question is, is whether the
18 conversation occurred. I agree with Mr. Jazil, you
19 don't have to tell me the substance of it, but I'm
20 asking whether the conversations -- did a
21 conversation occur in the Governor's Office about
22 the -- anything about partisan -- expected
23 partisanship of the Senate's plans or the House's
24 plans?

25 A Again, I'm going to follow the guidance of

1 Counsel.

2 MS. FORD: Mr. Jazil, do you agree with me
3 this is like a privilege log where I'm just
4 asking whether the conversation occurred; I'm
5 not asking about the substance?

6 MR. JAZIL: Well, it's a little different.
7 I think the way Judge Marsh framed his order is
8 he may not be questioned as to information
9 internal to the Governor's Office.

10 It's a little different than a privilege
11 log we traditionally get in an attorney/client
12 privilege type of situation. So I'm going to
13 ask him not to answer.

14 A I'm going to follow the advice of counsel.

15 MS. FORD: Okay. And we may do this a
16 couple of times. I just want to make it clear
17 for the record.

18 MR. JAZIL: That's fair.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 Q Sitting here today, is this the first
21 you've heard about how many Republicans or Democrats
22 the House's proposals might have elected?

23 A Yes.

24 Q So before today you were not aware that
25 the House's proposals would have changed CD-7 from a

1 **Democratic-leaning district to a Republican-leaning**
2 **district?**

3 A Correct.

4 Q And before today you were not aware that
5 the House's proposals were generally viewed as more
6 friendly to Republicans than the Senate's proposals?

7 A Correct.

8 Q By the time you submitted -- actually,
9 before I ask this question, let's get some
10 terminology on the table.

11 There's a lot of names for the Enacted
12 Plan, from Enacted Plan to Plan 109?

13 A Uh-huh.

14 Q Right, the Governor's Plan? I can try to
15 use consistent language today.

16 Is it okay with you if I just say "the
17 Governor's plan"?

18 A Yeah, I would say just, because there were
19 three plans our office --

20 Q That's true.

21 A -- submitted, I would go ahead and refer
22 to it as the Enacted Plan.

23 Q Enacted?

24 A Enacted, meaning the Governor actually
25 signed it into law.

1 **Q Okay. That works for me.**

2 **The Enacted Plan is Plan 109, right?**

3 **A I believe that was the number, yes.**

4 **Q Okay. All right. By the time you**
5 **submitted what became the Enacted Map to the**
6 **legislature, were you aware that some of the**
7 **legislature's redistricting plans, including**
8 **Plan 8019, 8015, and Senate Plan 8060 were likely to**
9 **elect several more Democrats than the Enacted Plan**
10 **was?**

11 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

12 **A I wasn't aware of that with any of the**
13 **plans. I -- the ones you're asking about, I'm not**
14 **sure which is which, but I mean, just broadly, I**
15 **wasn't aware of that with any of the plans.**

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 **Q Okay. And just so we're clear for the**
18 **record on terminology, I should have also clarified**
19 **this. When I say Plan 8019, I mean the plan that**
20 **the legislature passed and that the Governor vetoed;**
21 **does that sound right to you?**

22 **A Even though I wasn't -- I wasn't exactly**
23 **remembering which plan number that was --**

24 **Q Right.**

25 **A -- the statement that I made applies to**

1 any of the plans of the legislature. I wasn't aware
2 of how they compared in any kind of partisan way to
3 the -- ultimately the Enacted Plan.

4 Q Okay. I just realized I should have
5 gotten us on the same page for terminology before I
6 asked that question.

7 A No worries.

8 Q But when I say -- for the future, when I
9 say Plan 8019, do you recall that is the plan that
10 the legislature passed and that the Governor vetoed,
11 it was the primary --

12 A I don't --

13 Q -- primary map.

14 A I don't have any reason to believe that's
15 not the number.

16 Q Okay.

17 A I'm not sure, but I just don't have it in
18 front of me.

19 Q Right.

20 Were you aware that some Republicans --
21 let me strike that question and ask a better
22 question.

23 Sitting here today, are you aware that
24 some Republicans in the Florida House had complained
25 that the legislature's draft plans were too

1 favorable to Democrats?

2 A No.

3 Q Okay. So you don't remember hearing
4 anything about that?

5 A No.

6 Q Did you ever perform your own analysis of
7 the legislature's draft plans?

8 A Analysis of what?

9 Q Yes, I was going to ask you: Did you
10 perform any analyses on them?

11 A I mean, there's a lot of things you can
12 analyze for -- equal population check; so yeah, I
13 made sure they were equal population.

14 Q What else did you look at?

15 A Are you talking about the plan we
16 enacted -- or which plan are you talking about?

17 Q No, I'm talking about the legislature's
18 draft proposals. Did you ever take any of the
19 legislature's draft proposals when you started your
20 work and run any reports on them or --

21 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
22 Marsh instruction, but I note that you did get
23 into some of the stuff in your legislative
24 testimony. To the extent you did, you can
25 answer.

1 A The legislature provided committee
2 packets, public reports, things of that nature. So
3 I took a look at things like compactness scores,
4 cities/counties split, again population.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Did you generate any new analyses that the**
7 **legislature hadn't done?**

8 A No.

9 I'm sorry, I guess -- you mean of their
10 plans?

11 **Q Of their proposed plans, right.**

12 A No, no.

13 MS. FORD: Just to get a sense of time,
14 I'm going to go off the record, Sandi.

15 THE STENOGRAPHER: Okay.

16 (Discussion off record.)

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 **Q Did you conduct your own functional**
19 **analysis on any of the plans this cycle?**

20 A No.

21 **Q And maybe, let's get on the same page**
22 **about what a functional analysis means.**

23 **When I say "functional analysis," what**
24 **does that mean to you?**

25 A A functional analysis to me, a political

1 scientist ultimately is going to have to look into
2 electoral history of a proposed district and look
3 for essentially cohesiveness of voting blocs within
4 the district, to determine some kind of analysis
5 about that cohesiveness, likelihood to elect.

6 **Q Okay. Why didn't you do any functional**
7 **analyses this cycle?**

8 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
9 Marsh instruction. If you can talk about this
10 without getting into any internal
11 communications that weren't shared outside, go
12 ahead and answer.

13 A Well, and I had to -- or I don't know if I
14 had to, but I did testify to this point. In
15 committee this question came up in different --
16 several different forms in committee. Essentially I
17 had no reason to, I had no need to do a functional
18 analysis.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 **Q Why not?**

21 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction. Go ahead.

22 A Generally speaking, just broadly?

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 **Q Yeah.**

25 A Generally speaking, I was able to -- we

1 were able to rely on the functional analysis done by
2 the legislature.

3 **Q Did you receive data from the House and**
4 **Senate on the functional analyses that they had**
5 **performed?**

6 A No.

7 **Q Did you speak with the House and Senate**
8 **about the conclusions they had reached from their**
9 **functional analyses?**

10 A Publicly in committee.

11 **Q Sorry, what does that mean? You spoke**
12 **with them publicly in committee or you watched their**
13 **public?**

14 A No, I was testifying in committee, and the
15 committee chairs -- one of the committees had two
16 chairs, committee chairs; some of the members,
17 staff, had open dialogue in the committee about the
18 work the legislature had done to do a functional
19 analysis.

20 **Q When did you personally start drawing maps**
21 **in the Governor's Office?**

22 A It would have been in the two or three
23 weeks prior to the submission of our office's second
24 map, so I'm not -- I don't recall that date, but if
25 you back up two to three weeks, somewhere in that

1 range.

2 Q Okay. My memory is that a second plan was
3 submitted February 14th. So we're talking like late
4 January, early February?

5 A Yeah, that would be fair.

6 Q Why did you start drawing maps?

7 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
8 Marsh instruction. You can answer based off of
9 what you've already shared with third parties,
10 including but not limited to the legislature.

11 Go ahead.

12 A I started to draw because I saw
13 opportunities to clean up a lot of the county and
14 city boundaries in the visual compactness of the
15 map.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q When you say you saw improvements, as
18 compared to the legislature's plans or as compared
19 to the plans that the Governor's contract map drawer
20 had been drawing?

21 A What I mean is I saw holistic improvements
22 that I could make actually compared to the map, the
23 original map that our office had submitted and also
24 the maps that the House and Senate had.

25 Q Okay. And just for terminology for the

1 record, when you say the "first map your office had
2 submitted," you thought you could make improvements
3 on Plan 0079, I think it was?

4 A That sounds right. That sounds like the
5 number, yes.

6 Q Okay. And that was -- for the purpose of
7 the record again, that was the plan that the
8 Governor's contract map drawer Adam Foltz had drawn?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And when you started drawing maps in late
11 January, early February, were you working off of
12 Plan 0079?

13 A I was both working off that plan and at
14 that point had looked more closely at the House and
15 Senate proposals for the Congressional map, and so I
16 was looking at all three; or I think the House and
17 Senate at that time still had multiple -- I don't
18 remember exactly, but I think they still had
19 multiple proposals at that time.

20 Q When you started drawing a plan, though, I
21 assume you probably downloaded a plan to start with,
22 right, and you worked off of that plan?

23 A I don't know if I did or didn't. I don't
24 recall if I -- I don't recall if I worked off of one
25 of those or started fresh.

1 Q And when you started to draw these maps,
2 what goals or sort of instructions were you given?

3 MR. JAZIL: Let me give you the Marsh
4 instruction.

5 A The only way I can answer that question
6 would be to talk about internal office
7 conversations.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q How many maps would you estimate that you
10 drew?

11 A Me, personally?

12 Q Uh-huh.

13 A Just by myself?

14 Q Sure, let's start with that.

15 A Wholly by myself -- well, and I guess I
16 should use the caveat, the ultimate Enacted Map,
17 because 10 of the districts were drawn by the
18 legislature, so technically that wouldn't actually
19 count towards your question because 10 of those
20 districts were drawn by the legislature, not me.

21 But wholly unto myself, two to three
22 maybe.

23 Q Okay. Were any of those plans submitted
24 to the legislature?

25 A A map that I drew wholly myself, no.

1 Q And when I say "submitted," I guess I mean
2 shared. I'm not sure what the technical word
3 "submitted" means here in this conversation.

4 Were any of those maps shared with the
5 legislature?

6 A I'll take your question to mean both
7 formally and informally, no.

8 Q When I say if any map was sort of drawn by
9 yourself, I didn't mean to exclude the Enacted Map
10 because I didn't realize 10 of the districts are the
11 legislature's?

12 A Okay.

13 Q I mean, those were incorporated. I guess
14 I just mean -- I'm referring to part of your
15 testimony, whether it was for the House or the
16 Senate, where you said you drew some maps with
17 Mr. Foltz and you drew some that were just on your
18 own. And I think in your testimony before the
19 legislature you represented that the Enacted Map you
20 drew yourself, right?

21 A Yes.

22 Q That's what -- that's what I mean.

23 A That --

24 Q Understanding that the --

25 A -- I myself drew those 18 districts.

1 Q Yes.

2 A Yes.

3 Q Okay. Thank you.

4 So you drew other maps by yourself without
5 the assistance of Mr. Foltz throughout the process?

6 A I recall drawing at least one or two,
7 yeah.

8 Q Okay. And that would have been in like
9 February or March of '22?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Okay. What were the -- did those draft
12 plans have titles or names?

13 A Any plan that I drew or Mr. Foltz drew or
14 we drew collaboratively would have had a number for
15 a numbering system.

16 Q What number -- for the ones you drew
17 yourself, what numbers were those?

18 A I would have to go back and look. I don't
19 know.

20 Q My understanding is that there's a -- we
21 have received a full range of redistricting plans
22 from 001W to all the way up to 14B.

23 Did you draw 14B by yourself?

24 A I'm trying to remember, is 14B the Enacted
25 Map?

1 **Q No, 14A is the Enacted Map.**

2 MR. JAZIL: Christina, do you have --

3 THE WITNESS: Yeah, if you have --

4 MR. JAZIL: -- the maps, you could show
5 him?

6 MS. FORD: Yeah.

7 (Discussion off record.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 **Q So this is Exhibit 12. I will represent**
10 **that these are the shapefiles that we received in**
11 **discovery from the Governor's Office that are**
12 **converted into map format and the -- to be clear,**
13 **the Governor's Office did not produce these specific**
14 **images of the Foltz plans. These were generated by**
15 **our expert, Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere, but they have**
16 **just been converted to image form.**

17 MR. JAZIL: So the record's clear, the
18 indentations on the right that shows I assume
19 Republican/Democratic vote share was not
20 created by the Governor's Office.

21 MS. FORD: We did not receive this
22 document from the Governor's Office, correct.

23 (Exhibit 12 was marked for
24 identification.)

25 MS. FORD: But we did receive the

1 shapefiles of Mr. Foltz's drafts.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 **Q Can we flip to the second to the last**
4 **page, which says "Foltz 14B."**

5 A Uh-huh.

6 **Q Did you draw this draft?**

7 A You don't have a version with the county
8 lines, do you?

9 **Q I don't. This is the best I have.**

10 A Okay. Can I see a version with the county
11 lines?

12 **Q Because 14B wasn't enacted, I don't have**
13 **like -- I don't have something like this of 14B.**

14 **Is there something that would help you**
15 **know whether or not this was a draft that you drew?**

16 A I drew districts very, very adherent to
17 county lines and a very geographic approach, and so
18 county lines are helpful, tremendously helpful. I'm
19 not trying to be difficult, but that's how I looked
20 at the maps.

21 **Q Okay. So sitting here right now, you**
22 **aren't able to say whether or not you drew 14B?**

23 A I'm not comfortable representing that
24 unless I can see a map that looks some remote
25 similarity to the way I drew it.

1 **Q Okay. If we flip back a page and go to**
2 **Foltz 14A, my understanding is that this is the**
3 **Enacted Map.**

4 **Is that your understanding?**

5 A 14A rings a bell, but I mean, if you have
6 a better depiction of this, I've never looked at the
7 maps this way. I can see no county lines. I can't
8 see a single county name. I'm missing a lot of
9 detail, and so in deposition there's simply no way
10 I'm going to look at a map in this form and say that
11 this is what I drew.

12 **Q Okay. Maybe the images aren't helpful**
13 **then. We can put this away.**

14 MS. FORD: What did you say this was,
15 Sandi?

16 THE STENOGRAPHER: That was 12.

17 MS. FORD: Thanks.

18 BY MS. FORD:

19 **Q Do you remember the names of any of the**
20 **plans that you drew?**

21 A 14 sounds like the number that we finished
22 on, so that sounds like where we finished. So if
23 that -- if that is where we finished, I just, off
24 the top of my head, I don't know if that's literally
25 the number. I'd have to go back through all the

1 files and really explicitly review them to say this
2 is definitely mine, this is definitely mine.

3 **Q So are there any others, other than you**
4 **think 14, that you drew that you can recall?**

5 A Not by number, but like I said, I believe
6 there was at least one, two, three others that the
7 total work of the map is my product.

8 **Q Okay. Did you use the Florida**
9 **redistricting website to draw your plans?**

10 A Yes. The one the legislature created,
11 yes.

12 **Q That's what I mean.**
13 **Did you use any other mapping software?**

14 A No.

15 **Q What sort of data did the Florida**
16 **redistricting website have for you to consult when**
17 **you were drawing the plans?**

18 A Census data, the -- obviously a lot of
19 geographic features, pretty detailed geographic
20 features. Demographic data was available through
21 the tool. Had a lot of data through their tool.
22 Yeah.

23 **Q Did you have access to any other data --**
24 **any data that was outside the Florida redistricting**
25 **website that you consulted in drawing your plans?**

1 A No.

2 Q So we talked earlier about how Plan 0079
3 was -- that was Mr. Foltz's plan, correct?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Do you happen to remember what Foltz draft
6 that was titled in the sequence from 1 to 14?

7 A No.

8 Q Okay. And then you testified before the
9 Florida legislature that you worked with Mr. Foltz
10 on Plan 0094; is that correct?

11 A That sounds right, yes.

12 Q Do you remember what plan that was in the
13 sequence between 1 through 14?

14 A No.

15 Q All right. Let's go back to the draft
16 that you said you drew on your own, and
17 unfortunately, it sounds like we're not able to give
18 any of those drafts a name, but you did a few; is
19 that correct?

20 A Yes.

21 Q Who saw your drafts?

22 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
23 Marsh instruction. So you can answer to the
24 extent that some third party saw your drafts.

25 A Uh...

1 MS. FORD: Can we back up, Mo, just so I
2 can get it on the record?

3 MR. JAZIL: Sure.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 **Q Did you show other individuals in the**
6 **Governor's Office your draft maps?**

7 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
8 instruction, attorney/client privilege.

9 A I'm going to follow the guidance of my
10 counsel.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q Did you share your draft maps with**
13 **attorneys?**

14 A Yes, our attorneys.

15 **Q Who saw the drafts, which attorney saw the**
16 **drafts?**

17 MS. FORD: I don't believe that's
18 privileged. I just asked who.

19 MR. JAZIL: Just go ahead and answer who
20 among the lawyers saw the drafts.

21 A Just broadly which attorneys saw the
22 draft?

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 **Q Yes.**

25 A Any draft?

1 Q Yeah.

2 A Uh...Ryan Newman, James Uthmeier -- and
3 let me clarify, are you talking during the process
4 of drawing, or are you referring to even in the
5 process of producing documents for this case?

6 Q I'm not sure I understand your question.

7 A In other words, our Office of the General
8 Counsel takes the lead in producing the documents
9 for a case like this, so there are probably
10 attorneys in that office -- Chris DeLorenz, who
11 primarily leads on collecting public records for our
12 office, he had no involvement in --

13 Q Right.

14 A -- the redistricting process, but
15 certainly by this point he has certainly seen the
16 draft maps because he probably --

17 Q Yeah.

18 A -- provided them to you.

19 Q Yeah. Thank you for your question.

20 I do not mean who saw it at the end of the
21 day --

22 A Okay.

23 Q -- in the public records process. I mean
24 at the time you were drawing these and shared them,
25 which attorneys saw it at that point?

1 A Sure. Sure. Ryan Newman, James Uthmeier.
2 I'm not sure who else in our office would
3 have seen draft maps. I know that Dan Nordby saw a
4 couple draft maps.

5 Q Okay. And I'll get to that, I was just
6 asking about the Governor's Office for the moment.

7 A I'm sorry, I had clarified saying "any
8 lawyer," and you said, "yes."

9 Q Oh, I'm sorry, I thought you meant any
10 lawyer with the Governor's Office.

11 What about Mr. Torchinsky, did he see
12 draft maps?

13 A I don't know.

14 Q What about Mr. Foltz, did he see your
15 draft maps?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Why did Mr. Foltz see -- or why did you
18 send them to Mr. Foltz?

19 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
20 Marsh instruction. You talked about
21 Mr. Foltz's role in the legislative process.

22 A Yeah. Adam and I collaborated, so we
23 collaborated and shared work back and forth.

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 Q And did Mr. Foltz provide any input on

1 your drafts?

2 A I mean, part of the collaboration, yeah.

3 Q What was the input he provided?

4 THE WITNESS: Do I have to get into purely
5 internal conversations on his input?

6 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to go back to the
7 Marsh instruction. I believe you testified in
8 front of the legislature that you collaborated.
9 I think she's trying to get to what that means.
10 At least you can answer that.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q Yeah, let me rephrase that question and
13 ask at a broad level.

14 When you say you told the legislature you
15 collaborated with Mr. Foltz, can you talk me through
16 what that meant?

17 A Sure. We both drafted maps. We were
18 trading ideas back and forth, talking to each other
19 about each other's maps. He was very complimentary
20 of my final work.

21 Q Did you share any of your drafts with
22 Thomas Bryan?

23 A I know that Tom -- I know Tom Bryan did
24 get to see some of the drafts.

25 Q And what was the purpose of sharing your

1 drafts with Mr. Bryan?

2 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
3 Marsh instruction.

4 A Yeah. Tom was earlier on the process
5 looking at the maps for citizen voting-age
6 population, which I didn't have access to the
7 legislature's tool -- didn't have access to citizen
8 voting-age population.

9 MR. JAZIL: And I'll note for the record
10 that the citizen voting-age population issue
11 came up in discussions with the House, so he's
12 not --

13 A That's why --

14 (Simultaneous crosstalk.)

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q What was the -- what was the reason that
17 you felt like you needed citizen voting-age
18 population or needed an analysis on citizen
19 voting-age population?

20 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
21 instruction again. To the extent you can
22 answer...

23 A There was no conversation outside our
24 office about why we felt like we needed that, so I
25 don't really have any way to answer that without

1 talking about internal conversations.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 Q Well, I thought -- maybe I misunderstood,
4 but I thought you said the issue came up with the
5 House?

6 A It did.

7 Q What was the issue?

8 A The House brought the conversation up
9 about our use of citizen voting-age population data.

10 Q What was the House's concern?

11 MS. LUKIS: I'm going to object on behalf
12 of the House. He is being asked to speculate
13 about the motivations or internal thoughts of
14 House conversations.

15 A Sure. I can just -- I don't know the
16 internal motivations, so I can only say what was
17 said to me, which was that -- that the House
18 represented the legislature was not using citizen
19 voting-age population data for this process.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q And they represented to you that they felt
22 that they should?

23 A No. No, the House represented to us that
24 they were not using citizen voting-age population
25 data. Therefore, they wouldn't -- they wouldn't

1 factor in whether we were using it.

2 Q I see. I see. What were they using
3 instead?

4 A They weren't using something in the -- to
5 my knowledge, anyway -- at least what was
6 represented to me, they weren't using something in
7 the absence of citizen voting-age population data.

8 Q Okay. So Mr. Bryan's role then was to
9 provide some analysis of -- I'm sorry, I'm not sure
10 I understand.

11 Can you explain to me then what
12 Mr. Bryan's role was in reviewing your plans?

13 A Sure. He literally added a column to the
14 spreadsheets that had citizen voting-age population
15 data for each district.

16 Q Okay. Do you know who -- I'm going to
17 mispronounce his name -- know who Eric Wienckowski
18 is?

19 A I'm not familiar with that name.

20 Q Did Mr. Bryan have an assistant or
21 subcontractor who was working with him to your
22 knowledge?

23 A Not to my knowledge.

24 Q So you mentioned previously that the
25 Senate and the House -- or you did not say the

1 **House, I'm sorry -- that Senate attorneys were given**
2 **copies of some of your draft maps; is that correct?**

3 A I know that Dan Nordby -- yes, Dan Nordby,
4 yes, definitely.

5 Q **What was the -- why did you share your**
6 **drafts with the House -- I'm sorry, with the Senate?**

7 A We were meeting and -- and as I was
8 answering that before, too, I didn't get to Andy
9 Bardos, but we were meeting with the House and
10 Senate, sharing some draft concepts with them.

11 Q **Was that, like, throughout the spring of**
12 **2022?**

13 A No.

14 Q **When was it?**

15 A That would have been in April of 2022.

16 Q **Okay. When you said you were meeting to**
17 **discuss some concepts, what concepts were you**
18 **discussing?**

19 A The map for what ultimately became the
20 special session map.

21 Q **Did they see -- did House and Senate --**
22 **sorry, bad question.**

23 **Did you provide any earlier copies of**
24 **drafts, like beyond those that became the Enacted**
25 **Map, with the House and Senate? Did you share any**

1 drafts with them?

2 A Like earlier in the legislative process,
3 is what you're asking me?

4 Q Yeah, I'm saying before the Enacted Map
5 came to be, did you have any drafts that you shared
6 with the House and Senate?

7 A We had the maps that we published and
8 shared with them that way. I don't recall if we
9 shared a draft of what we were about to publish with
10 them in advance. But we definitely shared the ones
11 that we published.

12 Not to get too technical, just so
13 you're --

14 Q Yeah.

15 A -- asking a draft, a draft may have been
16 the --

17 Q I know --

18 A -- exact same thing --

19 Q -- might have been published.

20 A -- that was published. So I don't know if
21 we -- we gave them the courtesy heads-up, I don't
22 know.

23 Q Okay. So just for clarity for the record,
24 the Governor's Office published Plan 0079, right?

25 A Yes.

1 Q And it published 0094, right?

2 A Right.

3 Q And then there was the Enacted Map, which
4 was Plan 109.

5 Outside of that, do you know if any draft
6 plans were shared with the House and Senate?

7 A When -- what I referenced earlier, meeting
8 in April prior to the special session, yeah.

9 Q Okay. So those were drafts that you had
10 worked on earlier in the process before -- I call it
11 Plan 14A, but there's a million names for this.

12 A Yeah.

13 Q So what did the House and Senate receive
14 before the special session?

15 A We brought two drafts -- two drafts to the
16 meeting.

17 Q Okay. And those are both drafts that you
18 drew?

19 A Those were mine, yes.

20 Q Okay.

21 So one of them I assume went on to become
22 the Enacted Plan?

23 A Yes.

24 Q And you can't remember the name or number
25 of the other one at all?

1 A I wouldn't feel comfortable saying that I
2 do. I'd want to see, you know, the plan in front of
3 me.

4 **Q How did the two drafts differ?**

5 A Do you have a copy of my drafts?

6 **Q To my knowledge I wasn't provided with the**
7 **other copies.**

8 A Okay.

9 **Q So I don't know what it is.**

10 MS. FORD: Do you know, Mr. Jazil, if it
11 was provided in discovery?

12 MR. JAZIL: So during the course of
13 discovery we obviously provided everything
14 which was in Adam Foltz' Google Drive, which
15 has every map that was ever created by anyone
16 either working directly with or contracting
17 with the Executive Office of the Governor. And
18 we provided Mr. Kelly's personal file to the
19 extent that --

20 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.

21 MR. JAZIL: -- you know, Judge Marsh took
22 out some materials in his in-camera review.
23 But the Google Drive should have every plan
24 that was shared with anyone. And to the extent
25 that there was a physical copy in Alex Kelly's

1 personal folder, it would have been provided as
2 well.

3 So I think you have it. And I guess the
4 trouble we have is figuring out which one --

5 MS. FORD: Which one it is.

6 MR. JAZIL: -- was the other map that we
7 shared --

8 MS. FORD: Yeah.

9 MR. JAZIL: -- with the legislature in
10 April.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q Do you think that's something that you**
13 **could fairly figure out this evening if you were to**
14 **go back and reference like what the -- just what the**
15 **name and the number was?**

16 A Yeah. And I want to be clear, I'm not
17 saying that what you've provided, isn't it. Just --

18 **Q Right, you just -- I understand that.**
19 **There were a lot of plans.**

20 A -- working back and forth, I just -- you
21 know, heaven forbid that I tell you it's 14 this and
22 it turns out it's 15 that.

23 **Q Right. That makes sense.**

24 **Okay. Well, why don't we return to that**
25 **tomorrow? We'll come back to the House and Senate**

1 tomorrow.

2 Outside of the House and Senate, did
3 anyone else see any copies of the drafts that you'd
4 worked on?

5 A No.

6 Q Throughout the process, did you receive
7 any input from members of Congress about the
8 Congressional plan?

9 A No.

10 Q Did you receive input from anyone outside
11 of the Governor's Office or the House and Senate?

12 A No.

13 MS. FORD: Do you mind if we take a break?
14 We're about two-thirds of the way through.

15 MR. JAZIL: Sure.

16 MS. FORD: That's pretty good.

17 MR. JAZIL: Ten minutes?

18 MS. FORD: Yeah. Great.

19 (A recess took place from 12:44 p.m. to
20 12:54 p.m.)

21 MS. FORD: And before I forgot, I just
22 want to clarify something for the record.

23 Is it Ms. Lukis?

24 MS. LUKIS: Yes.

25 MS. FORD: Are you representing Ms. Kelly

1 in her individual capacity?

2 MS. LUKIS: Yes, and the House.

3 MS. FORD: So you're representing her in
4 her individual capacity just a public citizen
5 and her capacity as a former staffer for the
6 House?

7 MS. LUKIS: I think that's accurate.

8 MS. FORD: Okay. Thank you.

9 MS. LUKIS: Her job title isn't married to
10 Mr. Kelly. She is, but, yes, I represent her.

11 MS. FORD: Okay. Do we have the 20 -- the
12 new Enacted Plan as an exhibit yet?

13 I think not. Let's grab that.

14 THE STENOGRAPHER: That'll be 13.

15 MR. JAZIL: Thanks.

16 (Exhibit 13 was marked for
17 identification.)

18 BY MS. FORD:

19 Q All right, Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 13.
20 It's labeled CS/SB 2-C, signed into law April 22,
21 2022. I got this from the Florida Senate committee
22 on their website.

23 Does this appear to be a fair and accurate
24 copy of the enacted -- current Enacted Map?

25 A Yes.

1 **Q So this is the same as Plan 109 that was**
2 **submitted from the Governor's Office to the**
3 **legislature?**

4 A Yes.

5 **Q Okay.**

6 All right. I think we established this,
7 **but you drew this plan, correct?**

8 A Yes.

9 **Q Did anyone assist you in drawing this**
10 **plan?**

11 A No one assisted me in drawing this, of
12 course, with the caveat that 10 of these districts,
13 the legislature drew them.

14 **Q Okay. Did anyone provide input or**
15 **feedback on this plan?**

16 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
17 instruction.

18 A Yes.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 **Q Who?**

21 A A lot of people very publicly, two
22 committee meetings, pretty considerable amount of
23 very public feedback.

24 **Q Outside of the committee -- committee**
25 **process, did you receive other feedback on this**

1 plan?

2 A Yes.

3 MR. JAZIL: You can answer as to third
4 parties.

5 A Yes.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 Q From whom?

8 A From the House and the Senate.

**9 Q Did the Governor himself provide any
10 feedback on this plan?**

11 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to direct you not to
12 answer.

13 A I'm going to follow the advice of my
14 counsel.

15 BY MS. FORD:

**16 Q How long would you estimate it took you to
17 draw this plan?**

18 A Probably 40 to 60 hours.

**19 Q And you gave a presentation to the House
20 and Senate redistricting committees about this plan
21 last April, right?**

22 A Yeah, April 2022.

**23 Q Okay. I have a few questions about that
24 presentation.**

25 Feel free to set this aside, but I will

1 **probably come back to it.**

2 A Sure.

3 Q **You were not under oath for your**
4 **presentation to the House and Senate, correct?**

5 A Correct.

6 Q **Did you have a conversation with anyone**
7 **before your presentation about whether or not you**
8 **should be under oath for it?**

9 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
10 Marsh instruction. To the extent you had a
11 conversation with someone at the legislature or
12 elsewhere, go ahead and answer.

13 A I would have to talk about internal office
14 conversations to answer that question.

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q **Did you have a conversation though with**
17 **any member of the House or Senate about whether you**
18 **would be under oath for the presentation?**

19 A No.

20 Q **During your presentation, several**
21 **Democratic members did ask that you be put under**
22 **oath, right?**

23 A Yeah, in both committees, I believe. Yes.

24 Q **But the chairs of the committee decided**
25 **you should not be under oath, right?**

1 Or they didn't ask you to go under oath?

2 A I believe that's accurate. The chairs
3 made that decision.

4 Q Did you volunteer to go under oath?

5 A No.

6 Q Why not?

7 A The appearance forms that the House and
8 Senate have you fill out cite the perjury statute on
9 them, so if you were to not tell the truth
10 knowingly, you would be committing perjury -- to my
11 knowledge they do. At least I know they used to, so
12 it seemed like a useless exercise to essentially go
13 under oath a second time, in layman's terms.

14 Q In your presentation to the House on
15 April 19th, you were asked by Representative
16 Skidmore why the Governor's plan changed
17 18 districts instead of just fixing the issue that
18 the Governor had mentioned in vetoing the plan. By
19 that, I'm going to refer you to CD-5.

20 And you responded to her, "It's no secret
21 that there were other preferences in the rest of the
22 map."

23 What preferences were you referring to?

24 A The Governor had made statements publicly
25 about other portions of the map. There were

1 numerous portions of the map that could be cleaned
2 up and improved upon.

3 **Q When you say the Governor had made public**
4 **statements about other portions of the map, what was**
5 **the, you know, the basic thrust of what those**
6 **statements were?**

7 A I recall the Governor making statements
8 about the use of county boundaries, adherence to --
9 essentially adherence to county lines and reducing
10 county splits. I'm sure you could go back to the
11 public account of exactly what he said, but I
12 remember him talking about that.

13 **Q Were there any other preferences other**
14 **than county splits that you're aware of?**

15 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
16 instruction, but go ahead and answer if you
17 shared other preferences publicly or not shared
18 other preferences publicly.

19 A I'm sorry, I'm going to ask, who -- whose
20 preferences?

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 **Q So I'll read you your quote. We can pull**
23 **it up if you'd like to see it.**

24 **You said, "There is no secret that there**
25 **were other preferences in the rest of the map."**

1 **So I'm just asking, what were the other**
2 **preferences, other than fixing CD-5, which I think**
3 **is pretty obvious?**

4 A I've answered that question. I mean, the
5 Governor publicly talked about use of county
6 boundaries in the map. To my best recollection, he
7 did.

8 Q **Can you recall any other preferences that**
9 **you would have been referencing here?**

10 A Whose preferences?

11 Q **I don't know. You said there were other**
12 **preferences in the rest of the map, so I'm just**
13 **asking what preferences are you talking about?**

14 A I've answered the question twice.

15 Q **All right. I believe that you said that**
16 **the Enacted Plan -- you described it as a compromise**
17 **between the legislature and the Governor's Office?**

18 A Yes.

19 Q **Can you explain what you meant by that?**

20 A Sure. So the plan attempts to take some
21 of the concepts from the maps that we at the
22 Governor's Office submitted, take those concepts and
23 take some of the better -- best -- I'd say best
24 practice concepts from the House and Senate maps,
25 and mesh them together and reconcile them.

1 Q Okay. Did you have an active discussion
2 with anyone from the legislature about what portions
3 would be merged?

4 A Did I?

5 Q Uh-huh.

6 A Yes.

7 Q And that was kind of a vague question.

8 What I mean by that is, I mean I
9 understand that you had a meeting with the House and
10 Senate right before the special session to sort of
11 like go over --

12 A Uh-huh.

13 Q -- plans the Governor's Office had worked
14 on, right?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Prior to that meeting, did you -- did you
17 have a discussion with, you know, the House and
18 Senate on what portions of their map would be
19 included into the Governor's plan?

20 A Prior to -- prior to the -- like, what
21 time period are you talking about?

22 Q So I don't know the date of the meeting
23 with the House and Senate before the special
24 session. I think it was -- do you remember?

25 A No.

1 Q -- around April, so I'm going to guess
2 somewhere around April 10th to 13th range.

3 A Yeah, that's fair, somewhere -- maybe even
4 a little earlier, but somewhere after the conclusion
5 of the session and --

6 Q Right, before the --

7 A -- before the special session.

8 Q Yeah. All I mean is before you showed up
9 to that meeting and sort of presented the Governor's
10 plans, had there been a dialogue between the
11 Governor's Office and the legislature about what
12 portions of their plan would be incorporated to the
13 Governor's plans?

14 MR. JAZIL: This is the meeting before the
15 special session?

16 MS. FORD: Yeah.

17 A No, I don't -- I don't recall giving them
18 any sort of heads-up as to what we were walking into
19 the meeting with.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q Okay. So when you say it was a sort of,
22 like, collaboration or compromise with the
23 legislature, what you mean is by the time this was
24 enacted, we had included some ideas from the
25 legislature?

1 A Yeah, the map, the Enacted Map
2 incorporates some of the concepts and ideas that the
3 legislature -- House and Senate -- had and meshes
4 those concepts with ideas that our office had. And
5 then obviously 10 of the districts are literally the
6 House and Senate's.

7 **Q How did you start drawing this Enacted**
8 **Map? Back to Exhibit 13.**

9 MR. JAZIL: I will give you the Marsh
10 instruction. To the extent you talked through
11 that with the legislature, you can answer it.

12 A How did I begin?

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q Yeah, all I'm asking here is: If you have**
15 **to start with something, like, what do you start**
16 **with?**

17 A I mean, I certainly talked publicly about
18 looking at the maps that we, the Governor's Office,
19 had submitted and looking at the -- not just final
20 map the legislature initially passed, but also some
21 of the House and Senate maps leading up to that
22 point as well, so I looked at and compared those.

23 **Q Okay. In your testimony, your**
24 **presentation to the House and Senate during that**
25 **special session, you said that you worked off the**

1 legislature's primary plan, 8019.

2 Is that correct, you started by uploading
3 that plan and working off of it, or did I not
4 understand what you were telling the legislature?

5 A Certainly worked off of it. I have to
6 think about whether I actually uploaded it.

7 Q And to be clear, I'm not actually sure you
8 said that you uploaded it.

9 A I don't -- I don't --

10 Q You said you worked off of it.

11 A I don't know that I literally uploaded it
12 because there's -- in the application the
13 legislature provided -- I don't recall now, but
14 there's a way that you could, if you really liked or
15 wanted to use a specific district that was drawn in
16 let's say the legislature's map, you could literally
17 copy and paste it into yours through a series of
18 mouse clicks.

19 So I don't recall whether I literally
20 uploaded their map. I may have said that in my
21 testimony, but either way I was obviously -- where I
22 finished, I obviously utilized 10 of the districts
23 that the legislature enacted or initially passed.

24 Q Okay. I was -- actually perfect timing, I
25 was about to just get that on the record.

1 **So 10 of the districts in the Enacted Map**
2 **are exact copies of districts from the legislature's**
3 **Plan 8019, correct?**

4 A Yes.

5 Q **And those are Districts 1, 2, 20 through**
6 **25, 27, and 28; is that right?**

7 A Yes.

8 Q **Why were these districts left alone?**

9 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
10 instruction, but go ahead, if you can answer.

11 A I certainly testified to some of these
12 points about -- and was asked questions about why
13 these districts were left alone. I don't ever think
14 though I would use the phrase "left alone" as much
15 as the legislature had done good work in these
16 districts.

17 There was legal merit to the way the
18 legislature had drawn these districts. They're
19 different. They are not similarly situated, but
20 overall, the legislature had done a reasonably good
21 job of using redistricting criteria to draw those
22 10 districts.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q **Okay. And the new districts that the**
25 **Governor's Office put forward were 3 through 19 and**

1 then District 26, correct?

2 A Correct.

3 Q Why did you choose to alter those
4 districts?

5 MR. JAZIL: The same Marsh instruction.

6 To the extent you talked to third parties like
7 the legislature about it, go ahead and answer.

8 A I don't know that it's any different than
9 what I've said before, which is I was looking at the
10 two maps our office had already prior submitted. I
11 was looking at different maps that the
12 legislature -- not just the initial one they passed,
13 but some of their penultimate and near penultimate
14 maps that they had close at the end of their
15 different processes -- was trying to reconcile in a
16 way that would encapsulate the best of the different
17 maps.

18 You know, I think maybe the only thing I
19 would add is I saw opportunities just to go through,
20 and while doing that, also just reconciling some
21 county boundaries, cleaning up some of the
22 compactness of some of the districts.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q And was it your decision alone to change
25 these districts?

1 MR. JAZIL: Same Marsh instruction.

2 A Yes.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q So you said just now that in drawing this,
5 you drew out some concepts from earlier draft plans.

6 Could we just clarify for the record
7 what -- you know, what draft plans you were drawing
8 from?

9 A The ones that our office submitted, of
10 course. In the legislative process, there were some
11 specific plans and then there were also some types
12 of drawing that the House and Senate used
13 throughout, too. So there was some consistent ways
14 in which they drew the maps. So some of it's
15 specific to actual exact maps and some of it is the
16 way the House or Senate went about their drawing the
17 maps.

18 Q And when you say 'how they went about it,'
19 can you explain what that means?

20 A Yeah. Sure. I can give an example, might
21 be the easiest way.

22 Q Yeah, that would be great.

23 A So one of the things that the House made
24 clear was that they never factored in Census
25 Designated Places -- now sometimes a city is also a

1 Census Designated Place, and in that case they
2 viewed it from the lens of being a corporate
3 municipality, but they never factored in as they
4 were drawing their maps whether -- that something
5 was a total or split Census Designated Place. It
6 was not actually incorporated in government in any
7 way. It's not, you know, a significant recognized
8 political/geographical boundary line.

9 And so, knowing that, I did not then -- in
10 drawing this map, I did not factor in Census
11 Designated Places -- unless, again, unless they also
12 happened to actually be in an incorporated
13 municipality.

14 **Q Okay. That makes sense. Any other**
15 **general approaches to map drawing that you were**
16 **trying to in encapsulate from the House and Senate?**

17 A Sure. I can give a Senate example. The
18 Senate, in their maps, they were very -- they were
19 very goal-oriented for statistically using a large
20 number of well recognized boundaries, whether it be
21 a county line, a city line, a major roadway, a major
22 waterway, a major railway. I might be missing one,
23 but the Senate really was, through their process was
24 very -- and you could see it in their map -- they
25 were very interested in whether they were

1 statistically using a large number of well
2 recognized boundaries. So in doing this map, I was
3 more observant of those actual statistics.

4 **Q Okay. Any other examples that are**
5 **notable?**

6 A Sure. I've talked about -- so the Central
7 Florida districts and how -- what I did here
8 ultimately in this map blended some ideas from the
9 House and Senate maps. The House -- or different
10 maps that they had.

11 The House, until sort of its penultimate
12 map, had a more, very compact sort of middle of
13 Orange County, almost downtown Orlando, although
14 that's not a perfect description because I think
15 Winter Park and Maitland are included in the
16 district, but you get the general idea, downtown
17 Orlando-ish district. They had drawn a district
18 like that; however -- however, going over to the
19 east, the House's map took their district that
20 encapsulated all of Brevard County and brought that
21 district into Volusia.

22 And the Senate drew that Orange County,
23 entirely encapsulating Orange County district pretty
24 differently. They went up to Apopka, that area,
25 couple other cities, and into that district.

1 However, the Senate stopped the Brevard -- all the
2 Brevard County district, they stopped it at the
3 Brevard/Volusia line. And I found by taking the
4 House's Orange County, nice, compact, almost like a
5 brick in Orange County, entirely in one county
6 district; however, encapsulating the Senate's
7 concept of holding the Brevard/Volusia line actually
8 allowed a -- almost sort of a spinning of the wheel
9 in terms of that move there actually allowed me to
10 keep -- to reduce a Marion County split, reduce a
11 Volusia County split, clean up the compactness in
12 several ways of the districts around it just by
13 essentially taking their two concepts and putting
14 them together.

15 **Q Okay. Thank you. And we can come back to**
16 **Central Florida in a little bit. I just have more**
17 **general questions for now.**

18 (Discussion off record.)

19 THE STENOGRAPHER: This one is 14.

20 (Exhibit 14 was marked for
21 identification.)

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q Okay, Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 14. This**
24 **is --**

25 **A Uh-huh.**

1 Q -- a letter that Mr. Newman, counsel for
2 the Governor, submitted to Senator Rodrigues on
3 April 13th -- April 13th, 2022, basically in support
4 of --

5 A Uh-huh.

6 Q -- the Governor's plan.

7 Does this look like a fair and accurate
8 copy of that letter?

9 A Yes, this looks familiar.

10 Q And you've read this letter before. Do
11 you need an opportunity to read it now?

12 A It wouldn't be bad to refresh myself.

13 Q Sure. Why don't you go ahead and just
14 read it. Let me know when you're done.

15 A (Examining document.)

16 Q I'm not going to ask you any questions
17 about the chart, but you can look at them if you
18 would like.

19 A Good.

20 Q Okay. Can you please go to the second
21 paragraph here on this first page --

22 A Uh-huh.

23 Q -- and the second to the last sentence,
24 starting with, "But the proposal."

25 Could you please read that sentence for

1 the record?

2 A "But the proposal adjusts the
3 Congressional districts in and around the Tampa
4 region to align more closely with the proposed by
5 the Executive Office of the Governor Plans P000C0079
6 and P000C0094, and in the Orlando region the
7 proposal aligns more closely with the map referred
8 out of the House Congressional Redistricting
9 Subcommittee."

10 Q Thank you.

11 Do you agree with Mr. Newman that the
12 Tampa Bay districts in the Governor's plan, the
13 Enacted Map, align with the districts that the
14 Governor's Office had previously submitted in Plans
15 0079 and 0094?

16 A I agree with the way this is written,
17 which is more closely -- yeah, more closely.

18 Q More closely than I guess Plan 8019?

19 A More closely than -- well, essentially
20 it's a departure from Plan 8019, moving closer to
21 the plans that the Governor's Office had previously
22 submitted.

23 Q What concepts in Tampa Bay from Plans 79
24 and 94 were you attempting to replicate in the
25 Enacted Map?

1 MR. JAZIL: And I'm going to give you the
2 Marsh instruction. To the extent you talked
3 about the Tampa region with the legislative
4 committee --

5 A Yeah, and I think I answered a lot of
6 questions on the record about this.

7 The Governor's concept, the maps that we
8 had previously submitted and ultimately the Enacted
9 Map were considerably more adherent to county lines,
10 considerably more visually compact. Ultimately,
11 also worked on in a way -- and I testified to
12 this -- were done in a way that actually allowed
13 better uses of county boundaries to the north and
14 south of the Tampa region. So you go from Citrus
15 County, I believe all the way down through Lee
16 County really, up to the Lee County area -- a better
17 use of county boundaries north to south.

18 So the manner in which this Enacted Map
19 draws the Tampa Bay region has a ripple effect, and
20 so the ripple effect in the ultimate Enacted Map has
21 several improvements up and down the coast.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Okay. Well, I have a couple of images to
24 help you.

25 MS. FORD: I'm going to lose track of what

1 maps are in front of me.

2 THE STENOGRAPHER: 15.

3 (Exhibit 15 was marked for
4 identification.) 92

5 MS. FORD: This is Exhibit 16?

6 THE STENOGRAPHER: Yes.

7 (Exhibit 16 was marked for
8 identification.)

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q Okay. So for the record, I have in front
11 of me Exhibit 13, which is the Enacted Plan; I have
12 Exhibit 15, which is Plan 79 --

13 A Uh-huh.

14 Q -- and I have Exhibit 16, which is
15 Plan 94.

16 Mr. Kelly, you have all of these in front
17 of you as well?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Okay. Great.

20 So here -- what would you say these three
21 plans have in common in the Tampa Bay region?

22 A The Plan 0079 in particular, compared to
23 the plan, the Enacted Plan, only splits --

24 Do you have -- I'm sorry, I should have
25 used this a little more closely. My apologies.

1 **Q Yeah, it does have county lines in here.**

2 A Oh, okay, okay.

3 **Q Okay.**

4 A Yeah, I just had to zoom into the
5 regional. My apology.

6 I'm sorry. Anyway, overall, in terms of
7 the similarities really across all three, you have a
8 wholly Pinellas -- or near wholly Pinellas district
9 in all three. There's a district that essentially
10 the vast majority of all the population comes in
11 Pinellas. There's a district that is sort of
12 connecting the Tampa Bay community. There's a
13 district that's pretty significantly represented by
14 Manatee County residents, although differs, as you
15 can see in the maps, because two of the maps keep
16 Manatee whole; one of them -- well, actually all
17 three keep Manatee whole, but how they do so is
18 different.

19 But there's a district that's rooted out
20 of Manatee County and goes into southern
21 Hillsborough, and then there's a district that in
22 different ways is rooted out of the northern --
23 northern-central and northeastern portions of
24 Hillsborough and goes into Pasco, again with some --
25 some differences when you dive into the details.

1 Q Okay. And I'm looking at Exhibit 15,
2 Plan 79 here.

3 A Uh-huh.

4 Q I think you said that there was a district
5 that was pretty wholly Pinellas County. You're
6 referring to District 13?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Okay. But that district also includes
9 portions of Hillsborough, portions of Manatee, it
10 looks like?

11 A It includes a little portion of -- two
12 little portions of Hillsborough. That bottom piece
13 that looks like it's Manatee, that's actually a
14 waterway that's actually in Hillsborough County.

15 Q It's not Hillsborough?

16 A Yes, Hillsborough County has a trailing
17 leg.

18 Q Okay.

19 All right. And you said there's a
20 district here on all these maps that connects Tampa
21 Bay.

22 What do you mean by that?

23 A District 14 is a fairly compact, centrally
24 located seat in all these maps.

25 Q So the Governor's Office had preference

1 for this general setup of Tampa Bay?

2 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
3 instruction.

4 A The general goal that I believe I
5 testified to is that we were trying to get to a map
6 that was more adherent to county lines and compact
7 in the Tampa Bay area. I also talked at length in
8 the committee too about that Tampa area shouldn't be
9 drawn in a way that puts districts to the north and
10 south of it at the mercy of the Tampa Bay area, and
11 so that was an issue that we were trying to
12 reconcile as well.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q **Okay. And let me see if it's worth**
15 **keeping these exhibits out or if we can put them**
16 **away.**

17 **Let's set these aside for at least the**
18 **moment.**

19 **Can you go back to this April 13th letter**
20 **from Mr. Newman to Mr. Rodrigues?**

21 A Sure.

22 Q **And you read it before. Can you just read**
23 **this last sentence that starts with "In the Orlando**
24 **region"?**

25 A Sure.

1 "And In the Orlando region, the proposal
2 aligns more closely with the map referred out of the
3 House Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee Plan
4 H000C8011."

5 **Q Okay. And you started to get into this**
6 **before, but can you explain what concepts from**
7 **Plan 8011 in the Orlando region you were referring**
8 **to here, or that this letter refers to?**

9 A Sure --

10 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
11 instruction, but go ahead.

12 A Sure.

13 That House plan that the subcommittee
14 approved, that House plan drew the Orange
15 County-based seat, entirely based on Orange County,
16 almost in the middle of the county; albeit the
17 county does take sort of a chimney stack to it. The
18 county is not a square block, but to the extent that
19 it's relatively squared off, the county, that plan
20 drew a seat basically in the middle of the county
21 for all intents and purposes, much like a block,
22 with the minor deviations in it being issues of
23 where the Seminole/Orange line meets or issues where
24 cities like Winter Park, Maitland, Belle Isle,
25 Edgewood, Ocoee, some of these cities border either

1 in or out of the district, so it was a very clean,
2 compact, block-like-looking district.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 **Q So you felt it was an improvement over the**
5 **version of Central Florida on Plan 8019?**

6 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
7 instruction, but go ahead.

8 A As the plan that was ultimately enacted,
9 the plan enacted, yes, is an improvement over the
10 work that we, the Governor's Office, originally
11 submitted in Plan 0079.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 **Q I'm sorry, my question was bad.**

14 **You felt that the Central Florida region**
15 **in the Enacted Plan was an improvement over the**
16 **version of Central Florida in the Plan 8019?**

17 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
18 instruction, but you can answer to the extent
19 you already discussed this with the
20 legislature.

21 A Significant improvement.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q Okay. Let's pull these maps back up for a**
24 **quick question, 7994 and the Enacted.**

25 **It's Exhibits 15 -- 13, 15, and 16.**

1 A 13, 15, and 16?

2 Q **Yes, unfortunately they don't go in**
3 **chronological order.**

4 A Oh, sorry -- sorry -- sorry. Gotcha.
5 Sorry.

6 Q **7994 and then --**

7 A I had misordered them, but gotcha.

8 Q **Were there any other concepts from Plan 79**
9 **or 94 that you drew on or incorporated in the final**
10 **plan?**

11 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
12 Marsh instruction, but go ahead and answer to
13 the extent you discussed this with the
14 legislature.

15 A Well, they are two entire maps, so, yes,
16 there are elements of both. And the maps represent
17 a progression and improvement upon themselves as
18 well.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 Q **Can you tell me about North Florida? I'm**
21 **looking here at Districts 3 and 4 in Plan 79,**
22 **Districts 3 and 4 in 94, and then District 4 and 5**
23 **in the Enacted Plan.**

24 A Uh-huh.

25 Q **Do you agree with me here that you just --**

1 **you replicated the districts that were drawn in 79**
2 **and 94 in the final Enacted Plan for these**
3 **districts?**

4 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
5 instruction, but answer --

6 A I gave some details to the changes that
7 were made in committee for the Enacted Plan, two
8 probably key points.

9 The Enacted Plan -- that line between
10 where -- it's St, Johns County, between District 5
11 and District 6, that line there is the exact line
12 that the legislature passed in its plan that the
13 Governor vetoed, so I adopted the line the
14 legislature passed right there.

15 The additional thing that I did -- you
16 have to zoom in to see this -- but I would say the
17 difference between 4 and 5 is it follows the
18 St. Johns River. But at some juncture, of course,
19 you have to get equal population.

20 It doesn't work out perfectly. Where maps
21 79 and 94 -- I don't recall if they were literally
22 exactly the same with each other, but where 79 and
23 94, generally speaking, equaled out population, they
24 did so I want to -- probably by the Mayport naval
25 base in Duval County.

1 What I did instead was I tried to keep the
2 river as much as possible, and where I couldn't,
3 there's a road coming out of Nassau County, and I
4 think it might be the Arlington Expressway, which
5 comes across -- because I needed about, give or
6 take, like 1000 or 1500 people to get to the equal
7 population number. That was the delta when you use
8 the river as the dividing line.

9 So District 4 had to come over into 5. So
10 I used these two major roadways to -- one, the other
11 side of the river into where District 5 is, I used
12 these two major roadways, one -- like both bridges
13 and then they meet, literally. I used that to
14 become my area where I equalized population between
15 the two districts. And I discussed that in the
16 committee.

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 **Q Okay. So here you just talked about how**
19 **the southern boundary of -- I think it's District 5**
20 **in the Enacted Plan -- you adopted the legislature,**
21 **like, cut off the end of that district?**

22 **A Yes.**

23 **Q Is that fair?**

24 **And then you talked about -- how it sounds**
25 **like there was some changes in where you got equal**

1 **population from across the river?**

2 A Yeah.

3 **Q Other than that, would you agree with me**
4 **that District 4 and 5 in the Enacted Plan are**
5 **essentially the same as 3 and 4 in these earlier**
6 **plans from the Governor's Office?**

7 A They're very similar.

8 **Q Okay.**

9 **Are there any other concepts from Plan 79**
10 **and 94 that you drew on when you drew this final**
11 **plan?**

12 A From Plan 79 -- again 79 evolved into 94.
13 But throughout -- throughout the map drawing
14 process, we were trying to keep counties whole,
15 cities whole. We were looking at the legislative
16 product and trying to make improvements in that way.
17 And so when you look at 79 to 94, to then ultimately
18 the Enacted Map, you continue to see improvements in
19 terms of county boundaries or city boundary usage,
20 compactness.

21 **Q Okay. We can set this aside for now.**

22 MS. FORD: And, Michael, let me know if
23 there's an update on lunch.

24 (Discussion off record.)

25

1 BY MS. FORD

2 Q So we already talked about -- I don't
3 think I've asked too many questions about this --
4 that the legislature had some particular purpose to
5 Tier 2, like the Senate trying to adhere to
6 statistical boundaries.

7 In your presentation to the legislature,
8 you mentioned that the legislature and the
9 Governor's Office had different approaches to Tier 2
10 and that you sort of had a discussion with the
11 legislature about how to adopt their approach.

12 Is that what you meant before, the
13 adhering more to statistical boundaries?

14 A I was definitely referring to what I
15 mentioned before about Census Designated Places.

16 Q Okay.

17 A Yeah, yeah, we did have a discussion at
18 some point about statistical boundaries as well.

19 Q Okay. And when you mentioned that the
20 legislature and the Governor's Office had a
21 different approach to Tier 2 compliance, is there
22 anything else that the Governor's Office and
23 legislature had a different approach to?

24 A Uh...

25 Q Just in terms of how they evaluated Tier 2

1 **compliance.**

2 A Oh, just how they evaluated it?

3 Q **Yeah, or approached to try to comply with**
4 **Tier 2.**

5 A Nothing comes to mind at this moment.
6 Something might as we're talking about this come to
7 mind, but nothing at this exact moment.

8 Q **Okay. If you think of anything, let me**
9 **know.**

10 So you provided some basic statistics to
11 the legislature when you gave them your presentation
12 in April comparing Plan 8019 and the Governor's
13 plan. And I would just like to go over a few of
14 those to get them on the record.

15 It might be helpful actually to have your
16 presentation to the legislature.

17 A Sure, that would be great.

18 THE STENOGRAPHER: This will be 17.

19 MS. FORD: Looks like we printed this on a
20 couple of slides.

21 (Discussion off record.)

22 THE STENOGRAPHER: This is 17.

23 (Exhibit 17 was marked for
24 identification.)

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q So, Mr. Kelly, this is a copy of your
3 presentation that you gave to the legislature in the
4 special session, just sort of going --

5 A Uh-huh.

6 Q -- through the Enacted Plan --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- and comparing it to Plan 8019.

9 A Uh-huh.

10 Q Does this look like a fair and accurate
11 copy of that presentation?

12 A Yes.

13 Q I just thought it would be helpful to have
14 it here for reference. I don't have any specific
15 questions on it at the moment.

16 When looking at the map as a whole --

17 A Uh-huh.

18 Q -- in terms of county splits, the Enacted
19 Map -- I'm sorry. Let me start my question over
20 again.

21 When you look at the map as a whole on
22 county splits, the Enacted Map eliminates one county
23 split --

24 A Uh-huh.

25 Q -- as compared to Plan 8019, right?

1 A I believe that's correct, yes.

2 Q It goes from 18 counties split in 8019 to
3 17 split in the Enacted Map?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Okay. Polk County was kept whole in
6 Plan 8019, right?

7 A Yes.

8 Q And in drawing the Enacted Map, you talked
9 about how you made a trade where you split Polk, but
10 you were able to make Sarasota and Citrus County
11 whole; is that correct?

12 A Correct.

13 Q Why did you make that trade?

14 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
15 instruction.

16 A And I talked about this a lot in the
17 committee meeting. Different iterations, including
18 the final iteration of the legislature's map made a
19 decision -- decisions to keep Polk whole, Osceola
20 whole, Brevard whole.

21 The functional result of that is that
22 that's a big wall through most of the middle of the
23 state. And so that -- those three decisions have
24 significant implications for where you're going to
25 put district lines throughout a large portion of the

1 map; because physically, the only way that you can
2 adjust up and down the county -- the district
3 boundaries is suddenly in the Tampa Bay area.

4 So the legislature's ultimate decision to
5 pass the map as they did -- I mean, there's nothing
6 wrong with keeping Polk, Osceola, or Brevard whole,
7 nothing wrong with any of those divisions and those
8 decisions in isolation. However, it was
9 significantly consequential in the decisions that
10 the legislature otherwise left itself in the Tampa
11 Bay region.

12 And so when you are drawing up -- you're
13 drawing a map, you're oftentimes, in terms of
14 figuring out how you're going to, let's say, keep a
15 county whole and pick well recognized
16 political/geographical boundaries, county lines are
17 probably the best recognized lines.

18 When you're going to do that, and you all
19 of a sudden decide that there's a band across
20 three-quarters of your map that is solid and whole,
21 your push and pull in the map, and how you're
22 ultimately going to situate districts to the north
23 and south of the Tampa region and the Tampa region
24 itself is at the mercy -- good or not, it's at the
25 mercy of those other three decisions.

1 Opening up Polk County allowed me as the
2 drawer to have a large number of other decisions
3 available to me, a large number of other options
4 available to me to keep more counties whole, keep
5 more cities whole, and even some counties that were
6 already split, just split them fewer times.

7 So I was able to -- not just going from 18
8 to 17, but I was able to also then reduce the number
9 of total splits of counties. But obviously large
10 counties are going to be split. You can't help it.
11 But I was still able to reduce the number of splits
12 in those counties throughout the map. And I was
13 able to pick more clearly compact lines -- in
14 several cases statistically compact lines, but even
15 just pulling back and looking at that map, more
16 clearly compact lines, I was able to do so in a way
17 to use significantly more well recognized roadways,
18 waterways; because, again, as I mentioned before,
19 taking the Senate approach to more use, greater use
20 of well recognized political and geographical
21 boundary lines.

22 So basically that one decision to split
23 one county allowed me to keep two more whole and
24 created a ripple effect of positive improvements
25 throughout the map.

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Okay. So when you say splitting Polk
3 County allowed you to keep two counties whole, you
4 mean Sarasota and Citrus?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. And keeping Sarasota whole also
7 required you to split Longboat Key, correct?

8 A Correct. Longboat Key is I think one of
9 four cities in the state that's split between two
10 counties. It's split between Manatee and Sarasota.

11 Q Okay. So in splitting Polk, you gained an
12 additional whole county, but you also split an
13 additional city, correct?

14 A I mean, I couldn't view it in isolation
15 like that. There were -- there was a trade of three
16 cities for three cities. There were three cities in
17 the Enacted Map that were newly kept whole in
18 exchange for three cities that in the legislature's
19 8019, that were kept whole in there, so it was a
20 trade of three to three.

21 Q Yes, sir. I wasn't trying to say you
22 split an additional city as compared to the
23 Plan 8019. I just mean in the decision to split
24 Polk, you gained an additional whole county, but you
25 split an additional city to do that, right?

1 A It's related to it, yeah. Yes. But
2 the -- the decision to split Longboat Key is more a
3 function of -- the decision to split Longboat Key
4 specifically is more a function of while keeping
5 Manatee and Sarasota whole; that doesn't work in a
6 singular district. So by keeping them both whole,
7 you have to divide Manatee and Sarasota from each
8 other, and that results in the Longboat Key effect.

9 **Q So that's -- overall, I'd say that you**
10 **were expressing a preference for keeping a county**
11 **whole versus keeping a city whole in making that**
12 **decision?**

13 A Yes.

14 **Q So the Fair District -- do the Fair**
15 **District Amendments value counties over cities?**

16 A Yes.

17 **Q And what's your understanding of where**
18 **that comes from?**

19 MR. JAZIL: If you can answer that --

20 A Yeah.

21 MR. JAZIL: -- pursuant to the Marsh
22 instruction, go ahead.

23 A Counties are often regarded as a proxy for
24 compactness, so to keep a county whole is
25 essentially both satisfying the use of a county

1 boundary and it's equally satisfying the compactness
2 at the same time.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q In the Governor's plan and Plan -- I'm
5 sorry, I have the Governor's plan in my outline, but
6 I think you preferred Enacted -- Enacted Plan; is
7 that helpful?

8 A Sure.

9 Q I'll try to use that when I remember.
10 The Enacted Plan and Plan 8019 split the
11 same number of cities, correct?

12 A Yes.

13 Q 16 cities?

14 A Yes.

15 Q So overall there was no -- there were no
16 cities splits improvement as compared to Plan 8019
17 and the Enacted Plan?

18 A Just comparing city splits to city splits,
19 yes.

20 Q And the legislature's plan, Plan 8019,
21 split Cape Coral, Plant City, and Port Orange?

22 A Yes.

23 Q The Enacted Plan splits Lakeland,
24 St. Petersburg, and Longboat Key, to the extent they
25 are different; is that correct?

1 A Yes.

2 **Q Why did you make those trades?**

3 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
4 instruction, but go ahead and answer if you
5 already discussed it with third parties,
6 including the legislature.

7 A They're all their -- they're all each
8 their own different -- they all -- they're each a
9 different question.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 **Q All right. What did you -- what were you**
12 **able to accomplish by splitting Lakeland?**

13 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
14 instruction, but go ahead.

15 A Sure.

16 The Lakeland split had more to do with
17 what line, knowing that I was making the split to
18 Polk County as a whole, and it was -- if I'm going
19 to do so, how was I going to do so in a meaningful
20 manner that still otherwise adopted other Tier 2
21 standards and made that a sound decision.

22 What I identified is that I could probably
23 use Interstate 4 -- and ultimately, largely I did
24 use Interstate 4. I could probably use Interstate 4
25 in Polk County as a divider.

1 Now there's an issue of some cities -- I
2 want to say Polk City might be one. There's an
3 issue of some cities that cross over -- I'm trying
4 to picture these cities in my head -- but there's an
5 issue with some cities that cross over Interstate 4,
6 and so as you look at what I did with Interstate 4,
7 you'll see that in some cases that there was like an
8 arm of the city that jumped across the Interstate.
9 I tried to keep that arm whole to the greatest
10 extent possible.

11 Lakeland is the one city in that county
12 that just so significantly goes across Interstate 4.
13 If you're using that as the major boundary between
14 those two districts, I think 18 and 11, between 18
15 and 11; Lakeland goes so far over the Interstate
16 that it's just really difficult otherwise to
17 encapsulate all of Lakeland and have it look
18 compact.

19 The district would have kind of an arm at
20 the top. So it made more sense with Lakeland itself
21 to be more adherent to Interstate 4. I had to do a
22 lot of zero population work along the Interstate
23 because of the issues of some of these cities.

24 Auburndale was one of them going across
25 Interstate 4. So when you dive in, you'll see a lot

1 of my zero pop right there along the Interstate, but
2 it was a logical line to use because Interstate 4 is
3 a very clear tier to an Interstate, and it's a very
4 well recognized demarcation in Polk County. It
5 created aesthetically, too.

6 I had to figure out -- with District 11, I
7 was turning District 11 almost on sort of some sort
8 of an axis compared to what the legislature did
9 because, if you think about what I did -- I
10 apologize for the lengthy explanation as all these
11 things interplay.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 Q No, I understand.

14 A As I pushed up along the Nature Coast,
15 which is -- goes up to Citrus County, to keep Citrus
16 County whole, I had to then -- and wanted to create
17 something of a wall to where this intersects with
18 District 11, and also whatever was in Marion County,
19 so I could create more of a flat squared-up
20 appearance to the best extent possible.

21 These roads obviously aren't all perfect
22 straight lines, but to the extent possible that I
23 could use major county boundaries, major roadways, I
24 was turning District 11 to create more of a
25 partially circular, partially squared-up piece.

1 To do that, I had to really factor in what
2 does the southern border of District 11 really look
3 like, just visually as you pull back from the map.
4 And you're just trying to say is this a relatively
5 logical squared-up compact shape.

6 The Interstate gave me the best option
7 possible. So it is a matter of pushing up in the
8 Tampa Bay region to the Nature Coast, turning up the
9 dial on 11 creates the flat bottom -- there's other
10 things that I did to intersect with them where 11
11 goes into Orange County and, again, to try to create
12 a clear, visible wall.

13 So it's almost like the turning of gears.
14 And as you turn the gears, you start to see,
15 depending on where you pick the border, you can get
16 more squared-up, compact-looking shapes.

17 **Q Okay. Thank you.**

18 **And we talked about Longboat Key. What**
19 **did you accomplish by splitting St. Petersburg?**

20 A Pinellas kind of has to be split
21 somewhere. It's larger -- it's larger than a
22 district, obviously, so you have to split it
23 somewhere.

24 You can either split Pinellas County in
25 the northern part of the county, relatively

1 speaking, or you can split it in the southern part
2 of the county, relatively speaking, and still
3 otherwise, either way, have a sort of squared-up
4 looking block of a district, fairly compact
5 district.

6 What I realized about St. Pete was that it
7 offered U.S. 19. That's just a very north-to-south,
8 clean, crisp boundary line.

9 Now, I didn't take that boundary all the
10 way into Manatee County, but visually it creates a
11 clear cohesiveness with where that district
12 intersects then with the district to the east of it.
13 And it allowed me at the same time -- and this is a
14 part, as you go through the map drawing process and
15 you're just looking at the actual population numbers
16 because obviously you have to get the zero pop
17 correct -- it allowed me to say, well, if I'm going
18 to whole Manatee/Sarasota, I need a district from
19 Manatee that's going to go up north into -- into
20 Hillsborough County.

21 I could in theory also take that district
22 over into St. Pete as well. I could block it off,
23 but I didn't feel like that was the decision -- that
24 taking a district from Manatee and southern
25 Hillsborough and going into St. Pete didn't feel

1 like a logical decision.

2 That said, I was still trying to create a
3 juncture between these districts that created some
4 nice, square, clean lines -- clean and compact lines
5 using well recognized boundaries.

6 And so it was a matter of trying to figure
7 out which boundaries, which population-wise gave me
8 the right ways to make that connection. To do that,
9 to hold that line that -- have that U.S. 19 coming
10 out of St. Pete, I had to get my zero pop -- it
11 might have been the Feather Sound area. It was
12 somewhere in that little unincorporated area
13 there -- a little unincorporated area a little above
14 St. Pete -- to get my zero pop right there.

15 But nonetheless gave me a clean line. And
16 it was a matter of trial and error in thinking --
17 what I really -- what I really wanted where all
18 these districts intersect in Hillsborough is I
19 really want one clean, crisp intersection point
20 where, no matter how you're coming at it, from the
21 north from Pasco, if you're coming east to west from
22 Polk, if you're coming south to north from Manatee,
23 you would see that clean intersection point.

24 That was a lot of work to do that. I
25 achieved that -- basically, I think -- I think it

1 was 14 -- I think 14 is using the -- I think that's
2 301. I think it basically just rides down 301, to
3 have that nice, clean boundary, and then that 14,
4 16, and 15, I want to say that intersection is
5 between 301 and State Road 60 probably -- yeah,
6 State Road 60.

7 So it creates this nice, clean line, nice
8 blocked-off shapes, just chunk, compact district;
9 chunk, compact district; chunk, compact district;
10 chunk, compact district.

11 And overall, in terms of figuring just
12 what the sort of ripple effect -- because the ripple
13 effect there that you do -- the decisions you make
14 there, as I described earlier when I was describing
15 Brevard, Osceola, and Polk, they're felt around the
16 map. And so making sure that that decision there is
17 split along 19 had positive benefits elsewhere.

18 Going north to south in Pinellas is a big
19 deal because that allowed me then to not have -- you
20 have two choices: If you're going to come from
21 Hillsborough, you're going to have an arm to the
22 district. If you're going to come from Pasco,
23 you're going to have a trailing leg for the
24 district, if you're going -- if you're going south
25 to north -- so in other words, St. Pete up.

1 But if you're going north to south, so
2 come starting at Tarpon/Dunedin -- if you go north
3 to south, hold that Pinellas/Pasco line, that allows
4 you then to go up and have that Citrus County kept
5 whole. And as I mentioned earlier, kind of turning
6 the dial, turning that, that allowed me then keeping
7 Citrus whole -- that actually at the same time
8 allows me to create something of a wall with county
9 lines and major roadways between that and
10 District 11.

11 So all of these things are pushing and
12 pulling on each other to create a better result in
13 several ways.

14 Q Okay. Thank you.

15 MS. FORD: Okay. Thank you. We've got a
16 good breaking point for lunch here.

17 Does that work for you, Mr. Kelly?

18 THE WITNESS: Yes. I'm pushing back, yes.

19 MS. FORD: All right. Let's go off the
20 record.

21 Thanks, Sandi.

22 (A recess took place from 2:00 p.m. to
23 2:48 p.m. and continues in Volume 2.)

24

25

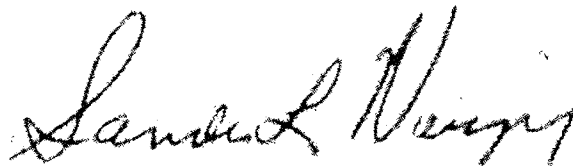
CERTIFICATE OF OATH

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, the undersigned authority, certify that
James Alexander Kelly personally appeared before me
on June 7, 2023, and was duly sworn.

SIGNED AND SEALED on June 10, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
snargiz@comcast.net
Commission #HH239213
EXPIRES: APRIL 18TH, 2026

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

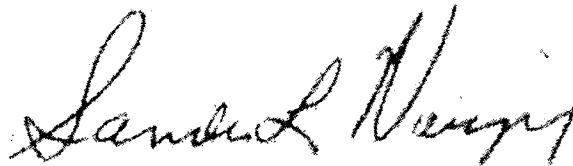
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, SANDRA L. NARGIZ, Registered
Professional Reporter, certify that I was authorized
to and did stenographically report the deposition of
James Alexander Kelly; that a review of the
transcript was requested, and that the foregoing
transcript, pages 1 through 190, is a true record of
my stenographic notes.

I further certify that I am not a
relative, employee, attorney or counsel of any of
the parties, nor am I a relative or employee of any
of the parties' attorney or counsel connected with
the action, nor am I financially interested in the
action.

DATED on June 10, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Notary Public in Florida
snargiz@comcast.net

1 June 10, 2023

2 MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
3 mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

4 RE: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs.
5 Cord Byrd, et al./Common Cause, et al. v. Byrd
6 Case No. 2022 CA 000666/4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
Deposition of James Alexander Kelly
on June 7, 2023

7 Dear Counsel:

8 The transcript of the above proceeding is now
9 available and requires signature by the witness.
10 Please e-mail fl.production@lexitaslegal.com for
11 access to a read-only PDF transcript and
12 PDF-fillable errata sheet via computer or use the
13 errata sheet that is located at the back of the
transcript. Once completed, please print, sign, and
return to the email address listed below for
distribution to all parties. If you are in need of
assistance, please contact Lexitas at 888-811-3408.

14 If the witness does not read and sign the transcript
15 within a reasonable amount of time (or 30 days if
16 Federal), the original transcript may be
17 filed with the Clerk of the court. If the witness
wishes to waive his/her signature now, please have
the witness sign in the blank at the bottom of this
letter and return to the email address listed below.

18 Very truly yours,

19 Sandra L. Nargiz, RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
20 Lexitas
21 1551 Forum Place, Suite 200-E
22 West Palm Beach, Florida 33401
fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
I do hereby waive my signature.

23 _____
24 James Alexander Kelly
25 Job No. 311409

1 ERRATA SHEET - VOLUME 1

2 DO NOT WRITE ON TRANSCRIPT - ENTER CHANGES HERE

3 In Re: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs.
4 Cord Byrd, et al./Common Cause v. Byrd
Case No.: 2022 CA 000666/4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
James Alexander Kelly
5 June 7, 2023

6	PAGE	LINE	CHANGE	REASON
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				

19 Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have
20 read the foregoing transcript of the above
proceeding and I hereby swear that my testimony
21 therein was true at the time it was given and is now
true and correct, including any corrections and/or
amendments listed above.

22 Signature of Witness: _____
23 Dated this ____ day of _____, 2023.
email to: fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
24 Job No. 311409

25

<div>Exhibits</div> <div>Exhibit 001 Kelly 4:11 6:11,12</div> <div>Exhibit 002 Kelly 4:12 6:15,16</div> <div>Exhibit 003 Kelly 4:12 6:17</div> <div>Exhibit 004 Kelly 4:13 9:24 10:1</div> <div>Exhibit 005 Kelly 4:13 36:25 37:2 46:15 56:9</div> <div>Exhibit 006 Kelly 4:14 37:9,10 39:10 54:15 64:21 72:4</div> <div>Exhibit 007 Kelly 4:14 49:5,7, 17 65:16</div> <div>Exhibit 008 Kelly 4:15 60:12,14</div> <div>Exhibit 009 Kelly 4:16 75:3</div> <div>Exhibit 010 Kelly 4:16 104:9,12</div>	<div>Exhibit 011 Kelly 4:17 111:1,4</div> <div>Exhibit 012 Kelly 4:18 126:9,23</div> <div>Exhibit 013 Kelly 4:18 144:16, 19 153:8 164:11</div> <div>Exhibit 014 Kelly 4:19 160:20, 23</div> <div>Exhibit 015 Kelly 4:20 164:3,12 166:1</div> <div>Exhibit 016 Kelly 4:20 164:5,7, 14</div> <div>Exhibit 017 Kelly 4:21 175:23</div> <div>(</div> <div>(R)</div> <div>106:5,12</div> <div>0</div> <div>001W 125:22</div> <div>0079 122:3,12 130:2 139:24 162:15 164:22</div>	<div>169:11</div> <div>0094 130:10 140:1 162:15</div> <div>1</div> <div>1 6:11,12 41:1, 2,7 42:16 43:2,22 47:13 50:2 54:8,12 65:2 70:9 73:3 105:20 130:6,13 155:5</div> <div>10 26:18 29:4 30:5 32:15 65:4 82:4 96:12 104:7, 9,12 109:8 123:17,19 124:10 145:12 153:5 154:22 155:1,22</div> <div>1000 172:6</div> <div>1074 66:4,8</div> <div>1075 65:16</div> <div>1077 66:5,6</div> <div>1078 70:1</div> <div>108 26:7</div> <div>109 114:12 115:2</div>	<div>140:4 145:1</div> <div>10th 105:10 152:2</div> <div>11 57:16,18 58:16,18 59:1 62:7 63:19, 21,24 110:19, 22 111:1,4 184:14,15 185:6,7,18,24 186:2,9,10 190:10</div> <div>11:10 80:5,6</div> <div>11:20 80:7</div> <div>12 32:15 60:22 103:2 126:9, 23 128:16</div> <div>12:44 143:19</div> <div>12:54 143:20</div> <div>13 66:10 72:7,20 73:2,3,11 74:11,19 76:1 77:22,25 81:8 144:14,16,19 153:8 164:11 166:6 169:25 170:1</div> <div>13th 152:2 161:3 167:19</div> <div>14 61:1,2,3,5</div>
---	---	--	---

<p>62:3,4,6 63:16 65:1 72:18,20 76:1 81:8 128:21 129:4 130:6, 13 142:21 160:19,20,23 166:23 189:1, 3 14's 72:6 14A 126:1 128:2,5 140:11 14B 125:22,23,24 127:4,12,13, 22 14th 94:7,10 121:3 15 142:22 164:2, 3,12 166:1 169:25 170:1 189:4 15-12 106:7 1500 172:6 157 6:20 16 39:13 103:1 164:5,7,14 169:25 170:1 182:13 189:4 16-12 106:7 17</p>	<p>87:6 175:18, 22,23 177:3 179:8 18 109:8 124:25 148:17 177:2 179:7 184:14 19 68:7 155:25 187:7 188:9 189:17 1998 20:5 89:16 19th 148:15 <hr/>2 <hr/>2 6:15,16 55:5 70:1 155:5 174:5,9,21,25 175:4 183:20 190:23 2-C 144:20 20 27:8 29:4 63:22 144:11 155:5 2000 14:10,15 18:15 19:7 2002 14:9 15:19,20 18:15 19:9 26:3 27:1,6, 11 28:8,17 30:20 34:15 37:3,4 39:13,</p>	<p>25 46:14 56:9,18,20 57:15,18 58:19 59:1 62:7 63:24 2004 14:11 15:21 18:15 19:13 2005 14:12 2008 17:8 18:15 19:15 2009 14:13 16:5,13 17:7,10 25:23 26:1 87:7 2010 7:15,16 16:11 28:10,20 29:22 33:5 35:10 56:14, 18 57:4 58:9 78:7,12,15 2010/2012 30:25 2011 56:15 79:4 2012 14:13 16:6 29:4 30:12 32:23 33:5, 12,14,23 34:3,15 35:10,17 36:19,24 37:5,12,16,21 39:14,20 40:3,6 41:24 43:25 44:1,8,</p>	<p>23 48:1,10, 11,15,16 49:19 51:7 54:4,14,16 55:2,10 56:15,18 57:1,4 58:16, 18 60:7 62:6 63:19,21 64:22,25 71:5,17 72:3, 16 73:10,18 75:7,18 78:5 80:10,19,22 81:3 2013 7:16 2014 7:17 36:16 60:9 62:10 63:13 73:18 74:4 75:19 81:15 2015 75:8,25 76:5, 10 77:14 2016 39:20 40:4,7 77:22 102:4, 12,15 2018 89:21,23 90:12 2020 28:23 81:23 2021 12:19 80:11, 20 81:4,11,16 82:8 85:12 90:24 99:6</p>
--	---	--	--

<p>100:22 101:13 105:10 107:17 108:13 111:10</p> <p>2022</p> <p>99:6,17 102:15 110:15 138:12,15 144:21 146:22 161:3</p> <p>2022-CA-666</p> <p>6:4</p> <p>2023</p> <p>6:19 51:18</p> <p>21</p> <p>100:9 107:21</p> <p>22</p> <p>107:21 125:9 144:20</p> <p>25</p> <p>155:6</p> <p>25th</p> <p>6:19</p> <p>26</p> <p>60:17 156:1</p> <p>27</p> <p>155:6</p> <p>28</p> <p>155:6</p> <p>29</p> <p>111:10</p> <p>2:00</p> <p>190:22</p> <p>2:48</p> <p>190:23</p> <hr/> <p>3</p> <hr/> <p>3</p> <p>6:17 155:25</p>	<p>170:21,22 173:5</p> <p>3,000</p> <p>49:9</p> <p>301</p> <p>189:2,5</p> <p>3d</p> <p>87:6</p> <hr/> <p>4</p> <hr/> <p>4</p> <p>9:24 10:1 170:21,22 171:17 172:9 173:4,5 183:23,24 184:5,6,12, 21,25 185:2</p> <p>40</p> <p>146:18</p> <p>47</p> <p>50:13</p> <p>48</p> <p>50:14</p> <p>4:22-cv-109</p> <p>6:8</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <p>34:23 36:25 37:2 46:15 50:9 51:5 56:9 68:5,10 93:7 170:22 171:10,17 172:9,11,19 173:4</p> <p>50</p>	<p>47:17,22 48:2,8,19 54:6 55:3 59:7</p> <p>5th</p> <p>60:8</p> <hr/> <p>6</p> <hr/> <p>6</p> <p>34:23 37:9,10 39:10 52:7 54:15 64:21 72:4 171:11</p> <p>60</p> <p>146:18 189:5, 6</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <p>49:5,7,17 65:16</p> <p>79</p> <p>162:23 164:12 166:2 170:8, 21 171:1,21, 22 173:9,12, 17</p> <p>7994</p> <p>169:24 170:6</p> <p>7th</p> <p>12:19 85:12</p> <hr/> <p>8</p> <hr/> <p>8</p> <p>60:12,14 66:12</p> <p>8011</p> <p>168:7</p>	<p>8015</p> <p>115:8</p> <p>8019</p> <p>115:8,19 116:9 154:1 155:3 162:18, 20 169:5,16 175:12 176:8, 25 177:2,6 180:19,23 182:10,16,20</p> <p>8060</p> <p>115:8</p> <p>812-817</p> <p>87:6</p> <hr/> <p>9</p> <hr/> <p>9</p> <p>61:23 67:16 75:2,3</p> <p>92</p> <p>164:4</p> <p>931</p> <p>49:25</p> <p>94</p> <p>162:24 164:15 170:9,22 171:2,21,23 173:10,12,17</p> <p>976</p> <p>52:5</p> <p>977</p> <p>52:6</p> <p>9:35</p> <p>5:1</p> <hr/> <p>A</p> <hr/> <p>a.m.</p>
--	--	---	--

5:1 80:6,7	156:19	aesthetically	147:12 149:16
Aaron	added	185:5	155:10 156:7
14:19	137:13	aesthetics	161:13 168:11
ability	addition	70:9	169:7 170:12
9:10,14 50:23	13:7	affiliated	181:22 183:4,
absence	additional	89:5,11	14
137:7	171:15	affiliation	aide
absent	180:12,13,22,	90:12	14:16 15:3,5
88:1	24,25	affirm	27:2
access	address	5:4	albeit
43:18 129:23	10:5	affirmed	168:16
135:6,7	adhere	5:11	alert
accomplish	35:6 174:5	African	104:20
183:12 186:19	adherence	53:4 61:9	alerts
account	149:8,9	African-	25:8 45:21
23:5 149:11	adherent	american	104:21,23,25
accurate	127:16 163:9	50:18 52:25	105:3,4,7
37:14 144:7,	167:6 184:21	61:7 63:15	Alex
23 148:2	adhering	64:4 68:2,4	82:9 91:3
161:7 176:10	174:13	69:10 70:3,17	141:25
accurately	adjust	agencies	Alexander
9:10	178:2	13:13	5:10 7:8
achieved	adjusts	aggressive	align
188:25	162:2	111:21	67:1,3,5,18
action	admit	agree	162:4,13
100:1	62:24	8:18 9:1 23:1	aligned
active	adopt	55:18 59:14	67:20 68:3
151:1	174:11	72:13 95:4	aligns
actual	adopted	96:23 112:18	162:7 168:2
34:8 52:16	171:13 172:20	113:2 162:11,	allowed
60:20 70:4,10	183:20	16 170:25	160:8,9
98:4 157:15	Adrian	173:3	163:12 179:1,
159:3 187:15	13:20,23	agreement	23 180:3
Adam	advance	84:22	187:13,17
12:2 122:8	6:22 15:12	ahead	189:19 190:6
133:22 141:14	139:10	96:7,19	alter
add	advice	108:25 114:21	156:3
33:7 87:22	113:14 146:13	119:12,21	amazing
		121:11 131:19	107:15

amend 91:22	17:3	82:22 83:11 86:16 88:10	53:1,2
Amendment 94:7,10	analyze 37:21 117:12	Apportionment 39:18	Arlington 172:4
amendments 29:16,21,25 34:23 35:2,6 78:17 81:5,12 181:15	and/or 92:8	approach 127:17 174:11,21,23 179:19	arm 184:8,9,19 189:21
American 45:18 53:4 61:9	Andy 138:8	approached 175:3	arms 66:21
amount 145:22	Ansolabehere 126:15	approaches 158:15 174:9	arrival 35:1
analyses 43:6 50:6 61:15 117:10 118:6 119:7 120:4,9	answering 138:8	appropriations 16:18	article 105:8,13,16, 25 106:17 111:4,12,17, 22
analysis 37:24 38:2,8, 11,13,16,17, 23 39:4 41:20,23,25 42:4,8,18 43:1,3,7,9 45:8,24 46:9, 23 47:1,6,9 50:10 51:4, 19,22,23 52:20,24 53:6,17 58:8, 11,13 61:1,23 62:12 117:6,8 118:19,22,23, 25 119:4,18 120:1,19 135:18 137:9	answers 39:8 108:17	approved 31:25 168:14	articles 103:14 106:18 110:5,12 111:23
	apologies 66:9 164:25	April 10:11 12:19 82:8 85:12 107:22 138:15 140:8 142:10 144:20 146:21,22 148:15 152:1, 2 161:3 167:19 175:12	asks 6:23
	apologize 6:22 63:8 185:10	architects 36:19	assertion 88:10
	apology 165:5	area 15:13 19:11 56:13 66:15 68:15,19 69:6,7 76:2 77:10 108:10 159:24 163:16 167:7,8,10 172:14 178:3 188:11,12,13	assessment 106:1
	Apopka 159:24	areas	assist 145:9
	appearance 148:7 185:20		assistance 125:5
	appearing 10:4		assistant 137:20
	appears 104:19		assisted 145:11
	appendage 55:12 67:22		assume 40:24 41:14 74:8,16 102:20 122:21 126:18 140:21
	appendages 69:20		
	application 154:12		
	applies 82:18 115:25		
analyst 15:23 16:1,10	apply		

attempt 71:6	19,22,25 108:4,8,21	ballot 29:22	72:11
attempted 65:10	112:4 113:24 114:4 115:6, 12,15 116:1, 20,23 149:14	band 178:19	Bean 14:19,23 15:14 26:10 27:2
attempting 162:24		Bardos 138:9	began 5:1 99:18
attempts 150:20	awareness 77:6	barely 23:9 106:6	begin 153:12
attended 19:17 78:18 79:6 90:5,8	axis 185:8	base 171:25	behalf 5:25 82:16 136:11
attorney 8:3 131:15	<hr/> B <hr/>	based 8:6 56:6 92:1 100:22 121:8 168:15	behavior 21:21
attorney/client 76:19 113:11 131:8	back 10:10,14 14:12 15:21 16:5 31:1 34:3 37:7 44:19 54:14 56:14 61:17 64:21 65:14 70:1 79:25 89:21 99:14 120:25 125:18 128:1,25 130:15 131:1 133:23 134:6, 18 142:14,20, 25 147:1 149:10 153:8 160:15 167:19 169:23 179:15 186:3 190:18	basic 54:23 108:17 149:5 175:10	believed 42:13 51:16
attorneys 131:13,14,21 132:10,25 138:1		basically 13:12 161:3 168:20 179:22 188:25 189:2	bell 128:5
Auburndale 184:24		basis 73:15	Belle 168:24
Augustine 19:14 20:10		bay 19:11 20:18, 21 56:13 57:15 58:9 66:16 76:2 77:4,10,13 105:12 108:10 162:12,23 163:19 164:21 165:12 166:21 167:1,7,10 178:3,11 186:8	benchmark 45:24 46:3,4, 19 47:12,16 50:22,25 52:9,12 66:15,16,20 67:11,16 93:7,11 94:2 101:25 102:10,12,20 108:22
average 23:2			benefits 189:17
avoid 67:21 83:19	background 31:7 99:23	Beach 20:9	Biden 106:13
aware 20:23 21:1,6, 11,14,17 22:18,21 63:13 73:23 74:3,8,16,20 75:24 76:3,4, 24 77:2,12, 15,21 78:1 101:24 102:6 107:6,8,14,	bad 58:25 138:22 161:12 169:13	beaches	big 177:22 189:18
	Baker 15:16		bigger 83:19

bill 36:8 39:14 73:21 bit 30:19 53:6 57:14 62:18 64:24 83:20 160:16 Bizarre 106:4 Black 5:18 6:2 47:17,23 48:2,8,19 54:7,11 55:3, 13,16 58:17 59:6 blank 22:25 blended 159:8 block 39:2,4 168:18,21 187:4,22 block-like- looking 169:2 blocked-off 189:8 blocs 119:3 blogs 24:25 blue 46:17 47:12 blur 27:9	body 100:1 boosts 111:9 border 168:25 186:2, 15 boring 80:17 boss 98:10 bottom 105:20 166:12 186:9 boundaries 121:14 149:8 150:6 156:21 158:20 159:2 163:13,17 173:19 174:6, 13,18 178:3, 16 185:23 188:5,7 boundary 158:8 172:19 173:19 179:21 182:1 184:13 187:8,9 189:3 Boyd 87:6 Bradenton 69:25 70:3,5 Bradford 15:16 break 8:14 64:13 71:3,23 80:3 106:7 143:13	breakdown 21:3,5 73:2 103:7 107:6, 24 112:5 breakdowns 108:1 breaking 190:16 breaks 8:17,18 Brevard 159:20 160:1, 2 177:20 178:6 189:15 Brevard/volusia 160:3,7 brick 160:5 bridges 172:12 briefings 19:3 bring 56:14 broad 97:24 134:13 broadly 79:25 115:14 119:22 131:21 brought 136:8 140:15 159:20 Bryan 12:4 134:22, 23 135:1 137:20 Bryan's 137:8,12	Building 6:3 Bush 27:11,13 36:6 business 83:9 86:18 Byrd 5:25 6:3,7 <hr/> C <hr/> call 19:10 44:21 46:19 53:16 72:9 91:9 99:19 140:10 called 32:3 41:22 calling 103:21 calls 62:12 campaign 18:8,20,22,24 19:4,7 23:23 24:4 89:24 campaigns 18:14,19 19:6 24:5 candidate 18:25 41:8 44:16 48:7 50:18 52:18, 22,23 53:1,2, 4,25 61:4,10, 20,21 63:17 64:5,6,8 71:11 candidates 17:16,17,19
--	--	---	---

<p>18:9,11 19:2 43:20 53:9 90:2</p> <p>capacity 6:2 27:23 62:22,24 144:1,4,5</p> <p>Cape 182:21</p> <p>capture 93:15</p> <p>carefully 70:11</p> <p>case 5:19 6:4,8,14 18:20 59:24 75:21 81:7 86:22,23 87:8,20 93:25 94:4 132:5,9 158:1</p> <p>cases 31:2 83:14 179:14 184:7</p> <p>Castor 71:18</p> <p>casual 81:19,20</p> <p>casually 80:15</p> <p>Cat 7:1</p> <p>caveat 123:16 145:12</p> <p>CD-3 46:16,19 47:12,16 54:18</p>	<p>CD-5 46:20 54:18 55:9 93:11 94:2,6,12 148:19 150:2</p> <p>CD-7 108:5 113:25</p> <p>Census 45:18 129:18 157:24 158:1, 5,10 174:15</p> <p>center 67:2</p> <p>centered 19:13</p> <p>Central 22:12,16 46:18 55:11 159:6 160:16 169:5,14,16</p> <p>centrally 166:23</p> <p>certified 5:12</p> <p>cetera 83:18</p> <p>chairs 120:15,16 147:24 148:2</p> <p>chance 52:17</p> <p>change 35:2,3 53:6 90:21 92:17 156:24</p> <p>changed 34:23 47:19 57:14 92:14 113:25 148:16</p>	<p>changing 34:24</p> <p>characterization 36:21 72:13 73:14 82:24</p> <p>characterize 42:3,5</p> <p>Charlie 77:16 78:1</p> <p>chart 161:17</p> <p>chatter 101:15,18 103:11</p> <p>check 24:11 44:14 117:12</p> <p>checking 45:9</p> <p>chief 12:21,22,23, 24,25 13:4, 11,16,17 32:16 90:18</p> <p>chiefs 12:12</p> <p>chimney 168:17</p> <p>choice 41:9 44:17 48:8 50:18 61:11 63:17 64:5 71:11</p> <p>choices 189:20</p> <p>choose 156:3</p>	<p>Chris 132:10</p> <p>Christina 5:17 6:25 49:14 62:17 126:2</p> <p>chronological 170:3</p> <p>chunk 189:8,9,10</p> <p>Circuit 6:5,10,14</p> <p>circular 185:25</p> <p>circumstance 9:13</p> <p>circumstances 53:7 58:6</p> <p>cite 148:8</p> <p>cities 20:8,20 22:15 70:14,15 159:25 168:24,25 173:15 179:5 180:9,16,18 181:15 182:11,13,16 184:1,3,4,5, 23</p> <p>cities/counties 118:4</p> <p>citing 87:7</p> <p>citizen 31:22 135:5, 7,10,17,18 136:9,18,24</p>
---	---	---	--

<p>137:7,14 144:4</p> <p>Citrus 163:14 177:10 180:4 185:15 190:4,7</p> <p>city 21:17,20,25 22:3,6,9 70:16 121:14 157:25 158:21 173:19 180:13,22,25 181:11 182:18,21 184:2,8,11</p> <p>claim 55:5</p> <p>clarification 41:2</p> <p>clarified 115:18 133:7</p> <p>clarify 23:25 132:3 143:22 157:6</p> <p>clarity 139:23</p> <p>clean 121:13 160:11 169:1 187:8 188:4,15,19, 23 189:3,7</p> <p>cleaned 70:9 149:1</p> <p>cleaning 156:21</p> <p>clear 49:15 87:9 93:1 97:5</p>	<p>107:20 112:2 113:16 115:17 126:12,17 142:16 154:7 157:24 185:3 186:12 187:11</p> <p>Clearwater 72:12</p> <p>clicks 154:18</p> <p>close 6:24 14:24 102:9 156:14</p> <p>closely 67:20 101:16 122:14 162:4, 7,17,18,19 164:25 168:2</p> <p>closer 102:7 162:20</p> <p>co-campaign 18:21</p> <p>coalesced 63:16 64:5 71:15</p> <p>coalescing 61:10,20</p> <p>coast 72:11 163:21 185:14 186:8</p> <p>cohesion 43:19</p> <p>cohesive 53:10,21</p> <p>cohesiveness 119:3,5 187:11</p> <p>collaborated 133:22,23</p>	<p>134:8,15</p> <p>collaboration 134:2 152:22</p> <p>collaboratively 125:14</p> <p>colleague 87:10</p> <p>collecting 132:11</p> <p>column 137:13</p> <p>combined 59:6 61:11</p> <p>comfortable 127:23 141:1</p> <p>comment 110:16</p> <p>comments 10:12</p> <p>committee 16:25 30:14 31:14,16,21 39:17 81:23 82:3 84:6 99:8,11,19, 21,24 100:7 118:1 119:15, 16 120:10,12, 14,15,16,17 144:21 145:22,24 147:24 163:4 167:8 171:7 172:16 177:17</p> <p>committees 94:21,23 100:10,14 120:15 146:20 147:23</p>	<p>committing 148:10</p> <p>common 6:6 164:21</p> <p>communicating 83:3 87:17</p> <p>communication 83:7 86:7,10 87:2,5,19,25 88:15,20</p> <p>communications 12:10 86:11 119:11</p> <p>communities 53:10 61:8, 10,11,14,19 63:15,16 64:4</p> <p>community 15:9 45:18 53:21 59:6 70:3,17 71:15 165:12</p> <p>compact 55:22 56:1,5 66:25 159:12 160:4 163:10 166:23 167:6 169:2 179:13, 14,16 184:18 186:5 187:4 188:4 189:8, 9,10</p> <p>compact-looking 186:16</p> <p>compactness 118:3 121:14 156:22 160:11 173:20 181:24 182:1</p>
---	--	---	---

compare 34:20 46:1 52:14	173:9 concern 93:10 95:1 136:10	conflicts 105:9	consistent 6:9 39:1 114:15 157:13
compared 52:11 116:2 121:18,22 153:22 164:22 176:25 180:22 182:16 185:8	concerned 55:4 86:17 concerns 73:4 93:1,4, 19 94:1	confused 56:17 Congratulations 12:16 Congress 71:19 77:20, 24 143:7	constituent 15:8 constituted 77:4 Constitution 94:8,11
comparing 175:12 176:8 182:18	concessions 35:23 concluded 47:12 64:3,7 75:21	congressional 7:13,22 28:16,17,19, 22 32:11 35:20,25 36:7,19 37:15 49:20 56:10 60:7 64:22 72:3 73:18 101:22 105:15 106:3 108:13 111:15,17 122:15 143:8 162:3,8 168:3	constitutional 35:5 constitutionality 75:7 consult 8:19,22 12:6 30:6 42:6,17 129:16
competitive 108:9	conclusion 48:5,12 50:12 63:14 152:4 conclusions 120:8	connecting 165:12 connection 188:8 connects 166:20 consequential 178:9 considerable 145:22 considerably 163:9,10 considered 13:24 33:15 77:9	consultant 27:23 97:16 111:20 consultants 78:19 79:8, 16,20 95:12 consultation 96:10,15 98:3 consulted 10:9 31:10 45:10 129:25 consulting 44:13 consume 25:15 content 8:24 context 109:2 contiguity
complained 116:24 completely 22:25 compliance 174:21 175:1 compliant 50:14 complimentary 134:19 comply 43:22 65:2,9 70:21 71:6 73:4 175:3 compromise 150:16 152:22 concept 38:19 160:7 163:7 concepts 138:10,17 150:21,22,24 153:2,4 157:5 160:13 162:23 168:6 170:8	conduct 118:18 conducted 38:1 conducting 37:23 conferences 31:9 90:6 confi- 83:6 confidence 82:19 83:8,10 confident 52:21 confidential 84:25 86:12, 14 88:1 confirm 10:3 44:15		

<p>45:22</p> <p>continue</p> <p>48:7,17 64:6</p> <p>71:10 173:18</p> <p>continued</p> <p>64:7</p> <p>continues</p> <p>106:11 190:23</p> <p>continuing</p> <p>96:24 106:4</p> <p>contract</p> <p>121:19 122:8</p> <p>contracting</p> <p>141:16</p> <p>contrary</p> <p>88:1</p> <p>conversation</p> <p>81:19,20</p> <p>84:15,17</p> <p>106:20</p> <p>112:18,21</p> <p>113:4 124:3</p> <p>135:23 136:8</p> <p>147:6,11,16</p> <p>conversations</p> <p>76:16,24</p> <p>82:6,11</p> <p>83:17,21</p> <p>84:6,10 85:3,</p> <p>10,15,18,20,</p> <p>21 86:16 91:8</p> <p>94:17,20</p> <p>95:3,10 96:2</p> <p>97:10 98:8,22</p> <p>99:3 103:5</p> <p>107:2 109:19,</p> <p>23,25 110:6</p> <p>112:3,4,15,20</p> <p>123:7 134:5</p> <p>136:1,14</p>	<p>147:14</p> <p>converted</p> <p>126:12,16</p> <p>Cook</p> <p>25:3 105:18</p> <p>106:2</p> <p>copies</p> <p>79:21 138:2,</p> <p>23 141:7</p> <p>143:3 155:2</p> <p>copy</p> <p>9:21 37:15</p> <p>48:23 74:21,</p> <p>23 141:5,25</p> <p>144:24 154:17</p> <p>161:8 176:2,</p> <p>11</p> <p>Coral</p> <p>182:21</p> <p>Cord</p> <p>6:3,6</p> <p>corporate</p> <p>62:20 158:2</p> <p>correct</p> <p>7:13,19 18:6</p> <p>24:23 27:25</p> <p>28:3 29:20</p> <p>32:2,17 36:1,</p> <p>4 42:1,23</p> <p>47:17,18,24</p> <p>48:3,4 50:7,</p> <p>15,19 53:14</p> <p>54:8,13 55:23</p> <p>56:2 57:12</p> <p>58:9 59:18</p> <p>62:14,15</p> <p>63:17,20</p> <p>64:1,2,8 65:9</p> <p>68:11 70:21</p> <p>71:5,15,19</p>	<p>72:21 76:11</p> <p>77:6,11 78:8,</p> <p>13,14,19</p> <p>79:6,14,17</p> <p>83:13 85:13</p> <p>100:25 107:7</p> <p>108:7 109:18</p> <p>114:3,7</p> <p>126:22 130:3,</p> <p>10,19 138:2</p> <p>145:7 147:4,5</p> <p>154:2 155:3</p> <p>156:1,2</p> <p>177:1,11,12</p> <p>180:7,8,13</p> <p>182:11,25</p> <p>187:17</p> <p>correctly</p> <p>68:14 87:21</p> <p>council</p> <p>16:9</p> <p>counsel</p> <p>8:20 10:9</p> <p>11:18 12:8</p> <p>34:7 39:8</p> <p>76:25 91:21</p> <p>113:1,14</p> <p>131:10 132:8</p> <p>146:14 161:1</p> <p>count</p> <p>106:6 123:19</p> <p>counties</p> <p>19:11 57:10</p> <p>66:18 68:10</p> <p>173:14 177:2</p> <p>179:4,5,9,10,</p> <p>12 180:3,10</p> <p>181:15,23</p> <p>county</p> <p>6:5 15:15</p>	<p>19:7 22:18,21</p> <p>23:2,3 57:9,</p> <p>20 59:2 67:7,</p> <p>18,24,25</p> <p>68:2,3,5,9,19</p> <p>69:9,11,15</p> <p>70:8 72:7,10</p> <p>77:24 121:13</p> <p>127:7,10,17,</p> <p>18 128:7,8</p> <p>149:8,9,10,14</p> <p>150:5 156:21</p> <p>158:21</p> <p>159:13,20,22,</p> <p>23 160:2,4,5,</p> <p>10,11 163:9,</p> <p>13,15,16,17</p> <p>165:1,14,20</p> <p>166:5,14,16</p> <p>167:6 168:15,</p> <p>16,17,18,19,</p> <p>20 171:10,25</p> <p>172:3 173:19</p> <p>176:18,22</p> <p>177:5,10</p> <p>178:2,15,16</p> <p>179:1,23</p> <p>180:3,12,24</p> <p>181:10,24,25</p> <p>183:18,25</p> <p>184:11 185:4,</p> <p>15,16,18,23</p> <p>186:11,24,25</p> <p>187:2,10,20</p> <p>190:4,8</p> <p>County-based</p> <p>168:15</p> <p>couple</p> <p>16:7 30:16</p> <p>70:6,14 78:4</p> <p>86:8 87:3</p>
--	---	--	--

<p>113:16 133:4 159:25 163:23 175:20</p> <p>court 10:23 36:18 38:7 74:10, 16,17 75:5, 12,20 76:5,9 77:3,9,13 86:8 87:3 102:3</p> <p>Court's 6:19 75:25</p> <p>courtesy 139:21</p> <p>courts 88:12</p> <p>cover 13:6</p> <p>covered 11:7 16:10 84:23</p> <p>covers 11:12 45:22</p> <p>create 70:24 185:16, 19,24 186:11 188:2 190:8, 12</p> <p>created 126:20 129:10 141:15 179:24 185:5 188:3</p> <p>creates 35:6,7 186:9 187:10 189:7</p> <p>creating 106:14</p>	<p>crisp 187:8 188:19</p> <p>Crist 77:16 78:1</p> <p>criteria 155:21</p> <p>criticism 103:17 104:3</p> <p>cross 46:11 184:3,5</p> <p>crosses 77:4</p> <p>crossover 53:9</p> <p>crosstalk 135:14</p> <p>Crystal 20:10</p> <p>CS/SB 144:20</p> <p>current 12:11,17 13:25 16:8 28:2 90:17 144:24</p> <p>cursor 42:5,8,18 43:10 46:22, 24 47:3 58:12</p> <p>cut 26:18 172:21</p> <p>cuts 111:9</p> <p>cycle 7:16,21 26:3, 4 27:1,7,14 28:11,14,17, 20,23 29:4,5</p>	<p>30:12,25 32:14,15,23 33:5 34:3,15, 16 35:2,11, 15,17 41:24 44:8 46:21 48:1,17 49:20 51:7 54:4 58:9 60:8 71:6 72:16 74:9 75:6,13, 14 76:8 78:5 79:14,20 90:15 118:19 119:7</p> <p>cycles 18:16 45:6</p> <hr/> <p>D</p> <hr/> <p>Dan 40:12,15 133:3 138:3</p> <p>data 42:6,17,18,21 44:6,7,9,13, 20,21,25 45:18,19 47:3 52:14 53:15 59:17 61:7, 12,18 62:13 63:14 111:20 120:3 129:15, 18,20,21,23, 24 136:9,19, 25 137:7,15</p> <p>date 120:24 151:22</p> <p>dated 105:10</p>	<p>Dave 25:2 105:17 106:1</p> <p>David 25:2 74:1</p> <p>day 63:23 77:8 85:18 105:7 132:21</p> <p>days 59:24 60:3</p> <p>DCA 87:7,22</p> <p>deal 189:19</p> <p>decade 30:7 39:24 47:20,22</p> <p>December 78:7,10,12, 15,21 79:11 90:24 107:17, 21</p> <p>decent 64:18</p> <p>decide 178:19</p> <p>decided 94:13 147:24</p> <p>decision 67:5 148:3 156:24 177:19 178:4 179:22 180:23 181:2, 3,12 183:21 187:23 188:1 189:16</p> <p>decisions 66:25 177:19,</p>
--	--	---	--

23 178:8,9,25 179:2 189:13 decrease 41:11 defer 87:10,13 define 23:17 defined 38:7 degree 39:1 degrees 20:1 deliberations 76:21 91:24 95:22 delivered 24:15 Delorenz 132:10 delta 172:7 Dem 106:15 demarcation 185:4 Democrat 63:20,25 71:15,18 78:2 111:20 Democratic 21:2,8,18 22:22 53:3,5 64:8 147:21 Democratic- leaning 114:1	Democrats 103:2,19 104:5 107:12 108:6,10 109:8 113:21 115:9 117:1 demographic 42:6 129:20 Department 13:8,9,10 departure 162:20 depending 53:7 186:15 depends 38:2 depiction 128:6 deposed 7:9 59:23 deposition 5:23 6:1,9, 11,15 9:17,20 10:8,20 11:15,22,25 30:7 60:6,9 79:24 80:1 89:3 98:13 110:4 128:9 deputy 12:12,21 13:4,11,15 90:18 describing 189:14 description 55:19 159:14 Designated 157:25 158:1,	5,11 174:15 detail 93:19 128:9 detailed 101:14 129:19 details 165:25 171:6 determine 38:8,25 52:10 83:25 86:8 87:3 119:4 determined 55:22 Detzner 49:19 60:8 develop 32:2 developed 31:11 development 13:7,14 23:21 107:18 deviations 168:22 dial 186:9 190:6 dialogue 120:17 152:10 differ 34:15,17 141:4 difference 171:17 differences 35:20 58:10 165:25 differently 159:24	differs 165:14 difficult 127:19 184:16 dilution 41:3 diminish 58:1 diminished 39:7 40:23,24 41:7,12 52:19 diminishment 37:22 41:3 47:13 52:11 54:8,13 65:3 73:4 direct 5:13 146:11 directly 141:16 director 16:24 30:13 31:13,15 81:22 82:3 84:5 disagree 82:23 87:20 disagreement 54:24 disagreements 54:17 discovery 126:11 141:11,13 discuss 14:1 78:18 81:4,11,16 83:9 94:22 138:17
--	---	---	---

<p>discussed 68:1 94:3,20 99:23 112:11 169:19 170:13 172:15 183:5</p> <p>discussing 138:18</p> <p>discussion 74:25 110:20 118:16 126:7 151:1,17 160:18 173:24 174:10,17 175:21</p> <p>discussions 135:11</p> <p>dispute 73:13</p> <p>dissimilar 102:19</p> <p>distortions 66:22</p> <p>district 6:7,18 19:8, 9,13,16 26:17 29:16,21 35:2 38:9 39:2,7 40:23 41:6,11 42:13 44:15 46:17,23 48:1,6,17 50:9,14,19 51:5 52:11 53:17 54:6,12 55:22 56:1,4 57:13,16,18, 22 58:1,8,16, 18 59:1,16,18 61:1,2,3,5, 23,24 62:3,4,</p>	<p>7,14 63:16, 19,21,24,25 64:25 65:1,6 67:2,3,7,8, 11,14,16,22, 24 69:11,16, 23 70:2,6,24, 25 71:10,17 72:6,7,9,15, 18,19,20,25 73:2,3,7,10, 11,12,17,24 74:4,5,11,19 76:1 77:22,25 78:16 81:4,11 88:12 93:7,8 94:9 108:6 114:1,2 119:2,4 137:15 154:15 156:1 159:16, 17,19,21,23, 25 160:2,6 165:8,9,11, 13,19,21 166:4,6,8,20, 23 169:1,2 170:22 171:10,11 172:9,11,19, 21 173:4 177:25 178:2 181:6,14,15 184:19 185:6, 7,18,24 186:2,22 187:4,5,11, 12,18,21,24 189:8,9,10, 22,24 190:10</p> <p>districting 7:22</p>	<p>districts 7:13 26:8,19 38:13 41:16, 25 42:2,9,12 43:1 45:9 49:21 50:7 51:4 52:12 56:10,23 66:22,25 93:8 108:10 123:17,20 124:10,25 127:16 145:12 148:17 153:5 154:22 155:1, 2,5,8,13,16, 18,22,24 156:4,22,25 159:7 160:12 162:3,12,13 167:9 170:21, 22 171:1,3 172:15 178:22 184:14 188:3, 18</p> <p>dive 165:25 184:25</p> <p>divide 181:7</p> <p>divided 17:25 18:3</p> <p>divider 183:25</p> <p>dividing 172:8</p> <p>divisions 178:7</p> <p>Dixon 111:11</p>	<p>DJANG 7:3</p> <p>document 104:16 126:22 161:15</p> <p>documents 94:6 132:5,8</p> <p>donated 90:1,3,4</p> <p>doubt 32:25</p> <p>downloaded 122:21</p> <p>downplay 36:9</p> <p>downtown 159:13,16</p> <p>Dozens 33:2</p> <p>draft 79:14 99:7 111:8 116:25 117:7,18,19 125:11 127:6, 15 130:5,15 131:6,12,22, 25 132:16 133:3,4,12,15 138:2,10 139:9,15 140:5 157:5,7</p> <p>drafted 134:17</p> <p>drafters 37:18</p> <p>drafts 33:2 79:16 127:1 130:18, 21,24 131:15,</p>
---	---	--	---

<p>16,20 134:1, 21,24 135:1 138:6,24 139:1,5 140:9,15,17 141:4,5 143:3</p> <p>draw</p> <p>28:13,17,19 29:5 54:18 66:24 80:13, 16 121:12 123:1 125:23 127:6 129:9 146:17 155:21</p> <p>drawer</p> <p>32:16 96:22 121:19 122:8 179:2</p> <p>drawing</p> <p>26:15 32:20 33:6 34:9 38:13 43:15 44:3 45:25 65:5 76:1 77:1,3 98:4 120:20 121:6, 20 122:10,20 125:6 129:17, 25 132:4,24 145:9,11 153:7 157:4, 7,12,16 158:4,10,15 173:13 177:8 178:12,13 187:14</p> <p>drawn</p> <p>27:16,19,22 28:6 29:1,8, 11 32:23 50:13 94:9</p>	<p>122:8 123:17, 20 124:8 154:15 155:18 159:17 167:9 171:1</p> <p>draws</p> <p>163:19</p> <p>drew</p> <p>26:7,20 28:7, 10,22 32:6,13 44:11 47:25 64:25 72:15 123:10,25 124:16,17,20, 25 125:4,13, 14,16 127:15, 16,22,25 128:11,20 129:4 130:16 140:18 145:7, 13 157:5,14 159:22 168:14,20 170:9 173:10</p> <p>Drive</p> <p>141:14,23</p> <p>dropped</p> <p>24:2</p> <p>drugs</p> <p>9:9,12</p> <p>duly</p> <p>5:11</p> <p>dumb</p> <p>93:23</p> <p>Duval</p> <p>15:17 46:18 171:25</p>	<p>E</p> <p>earlier</p> <p>74:6 130:2 135:4 138:23 139:2 140:7, 10 152:4 157:5 173:5 189:14 190:5</p> <p>early</p> <p>92:8,19 105:25 121:4 122:11</p> <p>easiest</p> <p>157:21</p> <p>east</p> <p>55:14 72:22 106:14 159:19 187:12 188:21</p> <p>ECF</p> <p>6:19</p> <p>economic</p> <p>13:6,14 23:20 107:18</p> <p>Edgewood</p> <p>168:25</p> <p>education</p> <p>13:6,14 23:20 107:17</p> <p>effect</p> <p>68:16 71:7 109:20 163:19,20 179:24 181:8 189:12,13</p> <p>effectively</p> <p>106:14</p> <p>effort</p> <p>70:17 71:8</p>	<p>efforts</p> <p>66:14</p> <p>elect</p> <p>41:8 50:24 64:6,8 71:15, 18 73:17 103:1 109:7 115:9 119:5</p> <p>elected</p> <p>19:1 107:13 113:22</p> <p>electing</p> <p>61:4 63:20,25</p> <p>election</p> <p>18:15 38:25 42:17,21 44:20 45:2,6, 19 52:23 53:11,15 54:1 62:13</p> <p>elections</p> <p>45:5 59:17 68:16 73:19 74:4,7 77:22</p> <p>electoral</p> <p>21:21 119:2</p> <p>element</p> <p>35:7</p> <p>elements</p> <p>170:16</p> <p>eliminated</p> <p>69:22</p> <p>eliminates</p> <p>176:22</p> <p>Ellen</p> <p>105:11</p> <p>enacted</p> <p>35:25 37:15 39:13,21,23</p>
---	---	--	--

<p>46:7 55:10 56:9 57:1 66:16,22 69:14,19,22 71:17 73:10, 24 75:7 114:11,12,22, 23,24 115:2, 5,9 116:3 117:16 123:16 124:9,19 125:24 126:1 127:12 128:3 138:24 139:4 140:3,22 144:12,24 150:16 152:24 153:1,7 154:23 155:1 162:13,25 163:8,18,20 164:11,23 169:8,9,15,24 170:23 171:2, 7,9 172:20 173:4,18 176:6,18,22 177:3,8 180:17 182:6, 10,17,23 encapsulate 156:16 158:16 184:17 encapsulated 159:20 encapsulating 159:23 160:6 end 14:8,10 32:22 33:4 47:21 63:23 74:14</p>	<p>81:9 89:3 96:17 132:20 156:14 172:21 ended 15:18 55:2 81:15 ensure 65:1 71:10 entering 52:18 entire 74:14 89:17 102:21,22 105:16 170:15 entitled 47:13 environment 23:11 EOG 97:15 equal 26:22 94:8 117:12,13 171:19 172:6, 25 equaled 171:23 equalized 172:14 equally 182:1 era 56:15 57:6 Eric 137:17 error 39:15 40:3,13 188:16</p>	<p>escape 70:15 essentially 15:6 44:14 119:3,16 148:12 149:9 160:13 162:19 165:9 173:5 181:25 establish 83:25 84:16 established 32:6 88:7 145:6 estimate 123:9 146:16 estimated 103:1 evaluated 174:25 175:2 evening 142:13 event 47:11 69:6 events 17:17,18 eventually 56:25 96:22 everyday 85:17 evidence 88:1 evolved 96:22 173:12 exact 21:5 139:18 155:2 157:15 171:11 175:7</p>	<p>EXAMINATION 5:13 examining 161:15 examples 159:4 exceptions 88:13 excerpt 49:15,18 exchange 180:18 exclude 124:9 execute 32:1 Executive 91:5 95:10 141:17 162:5 exemptions 88:10 exercise 88:2 148:12 exhaustive 93:19 exhibit 6:11,12,15, 16,17 9:24 10:1 36:25 37:2,9,10 39:10 46:15 49:5,7,17 54:15 56:9 60:12,14 64:21 65:16 72:4 75:3 104:9,12 110:18,21 111:1,4</p>
--	---	--	---

<p>126:9,23 144:12,16,19 153:8 160:20, 23 164:3,5,7, 11,12,14 166:1 175:23</p> <p>exhibits 167:15 169:25</p> <p>existed 50:22,25 84:10</p> <p>expectation 84:24 86:9 87:4,18</p> <p>expected 71:14 103:6 107:6,23 110:6 112:5, 22</p> <p>expert 33:15,18,22 106:1 126:15</p> <p>explain 5:22 62:17 137:11 150:19 157:19 168:6</p> <p>explained 95:17</p> <p>explaining 76:10</p> <p>explanation 185:10</p> <p>explicitly 129:1</p> <p>explore 83:17,20</p> <p>expressing 181:10</p>	<p>Expressway 172:4</p> <p>extensive 102:25 109:6</p> <p>extent 42:19 91:3 92:4 103:9 117:24 130:24 135:21 141:19,24 147:10 153:10 156:6 163:2 168:18 169:18 170:13 182:24 184:10 185:20,22</p> <p>extenuating 58:4</p> <p>external 95:7</p> <p>eyes 40:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p> <hr/> <p>face 52:24</p> <p>faced 56:23</p> <p>fact 71:18 88:14</p> <p>factor 137:1 158:10 186:1</p> <p>factored 157:24 158:3</p> <p>factors 41:14,16 58:5</p> <p>facts</p>	<p>88:6</p> <p>fair 23:13 29:16, 21 32:22 33:4 35:1 36:21 37:14 43:24 62:25 78:16 81:4,11 85:6 91:21 94:12 97:17 113:18 121:5 144:23 152:3 161:7 172:23 176:10 181:14</p> <p>fairly 38:4 142:13 166:23 187:4</p> <p>fake?' 106:8</p> <p>fall 13:13 25:23 26:1 76:19 99:6 100:16 101:13 108:13,14,18 110:14</p> <p>familiar 20:14,20 22:15 31:2 103:4 137:19 161:9</p> <p>fascinated 69:3</p> <p>fast 46:12</p> <p>favorable 109:15 117:1</p> <p>Feather 188:11</p>	<p>features 129:19,20</p> <p>February 39:13 75:18 107:22 121:3, 4 122:11 125:9</p> <p>federal 5:20 6:18 56:15 57:7,23</p> <p>feedback 145:15,23,25 146:10</p> <p>feel 68:6 82:11 88:18 96:25 141:1 146:25 187:23,25</p> <p>felt 42:11 135:17, 24 136:21 169:4,14 189:15</p> <p>Fernandina 20:9</p> <p>fewer 179:6</p> <p>fight 83:19</p> <p>figure 142:13 185:6 188:6</p> <p>figuring 142:4 178:14 189:11</p> <p>file 141:18</p> <p>files 129:1</p>
---	---	---	--

fill 148:8	76:5,9 77:3, 9,13 78:24	99:5 100:9,10 101:11 112:25	75:1,4 76:22 80:2,5,8
final 35:24 70:14 134:20 153:19 170:9 171:2 173:10 177:18	87:7 88:11 89:9,15 93:8 99:19 100:21 102:3 105:8, 14 106:16 107:23 108:12 111:9,14,18 116:24 129:8, 15,24 130:9 144:21 159:7 160:16 169:5, 14,16 170:20	113:14 131:9 146:13 Foltz 12:2 122:8 124:17 125:5, 13 126:14 127:4 128:2 130:5,9 133:14,17,18, 25 134:15	82:17 83:1,5, 24 84:3,9 85:1,7,9 86:5,21,25 89:1,4 91:9 92:11 93:3,21 95:4,19 96:3, 13,23 97:22, 23 98:9,16,23 99:4 103:12, 24 104:1,2,8, 11 107:1,10 109:4,24
find 52:5 105:19		Foltz' 141:14	110:18,21,23 111:3 112:16 113:2,15,19 115:16 118:5, 13,17 119:19, 23 121:16
fine 8:4 64:10 71:24 92:24 95:21	Florida's 7:13,21 26:25 49:20 86:18	Foltz's 127:1 130:3 133:21	123:8 126:6, 8,21,25 127:2 128:14,17,18 131:1,4,11, 17,23 133:24 134:11 135:15 136:2,20 141:10 142:5, 8,11 143:13, 16,18,21,25 144:3,8,11,18 145:19 146:6, 15 147:15 149:21 152:16,20 153:13 155:23 156:23 157:3 160:22 163:22,25 164:5,9 167:13 169:3,
finished 62:2 66:5 128:21,22,23 154:22	Florida-15 106:13	forbid 142:21	
fixing 148:17 150:2	Florida-15's 106:12	Ford 5:14,17,21 7:1,4,5 9:8, 21,23 10:2 19:20,22 21:13,24 23:18 27:5 36:10,24 37:3,8,11 39:11,16,25 40:5,12,18,20 44:1,4 46:10, 13 48:11,14 49:1,4,8,16, 24 52:2 54:22 56:8,11 59:20,22 60:11,15 62:23 63:1,4, 9 64:12,16,20 65:19 66:1 71:22,25 72:1	
flat 185:19 186:9	Florida-27 106:5		
flip 127:3 128:1	Florida-28 106:13		
Florida 6:6,8 10:24 11:2 14:5 15:13 17:4 18:5,9 19:18 20:2,4,6,8 22:13,16 23:14 27:17 28:4 29:1,6, 9,12,13 33:16,20,24 34:2 36:17 38:7 39:17 42:13 46:18 55:11 60:7 74:10,16,17 75:5,11,25	Florida-7 111:19 focus 52:15 focused 93:6,7 folder 142:1 folks 95:15 follow 23:10,14,19, 20,23 24:4 25:2,5 26:25		

12,22 170:19 172:17 173:22 174:1 175:19 176:1 180:1 182:3 183:10 185:12 190:15,19	friend 6:23 friendly 103:19 104:5 114:6 front 74:22 92:7 116:18 134:8 141:2 164:1, 10,16 full 7:7 38:1,10, 23 43:8 99:25 125:21 fun 26:13 function 181:3,4 functional 37:24 38:1,8, 11,12,16,17, 23 41:23,25 42:4,8,18 43:7,9 45:8, 23 46:8,22 47:1,9 50:6, 10 51:4,19, 22,23 53:16 58:8,11,13 61:1,14,22 62:12 118:18, 22,23,25 119:6,17 120:1,4,9,18 177:21 functions 15:9 fundraisers 90:1,3	fundraising 17:16 19:1 future 116:8 <hr/> G <hr/> gained 180:11,24 Gainesville 20:9 55:14 gather 63:10 Gators 19:20,21 gave 10:10 139:21 146:19 171:6 175:11 176:3 186:6 188:7, 15 gears 186:13,14 general 11:18 13:3 21:21 36:8 38:19 52:22 54:1 101:15, 17 107:6 109:2 110:8 132:7 158:15 159:16 160:17 167:1,4 generally 18:19 20:14, 16,20 21:7,11 22:15 23:13, 17 24:6 25:21 26:25 27:4 31:11 38:5	55:18 58:2,3, 6 66:13 98:10,11 99:9 100:10,12 101:14,24 102:22 105:4 108:18,21 114:5 119:22, 25 171:23 generate 118:6 generated 126:14 geographic 127:17 129:19 geographical 41:18 179:20 gerrymander 111:19 gerrymandering 76:2 77:5,10 gerrymanders 106:3,6 give 5:5 46:10 48:25 52:4 59:7 79:12 80:20 95:5,18 99:22 108:24 112:8 117:21 119:8 121:7 123:3 130:17, 22 131:7 133:19 135:2, 20 145:16 147:9 149:15 153:9 155:9 157:20 158:17 163:1 167:2 168:10 169:6,
forgot 143:21 form 21:9 23:15 36:2 51:20 54:20 62:16 63:3 107:9 115:11 126:16 128:10 formally 124:7 format 126:12 forms 119:16 148:7 forward 155:25 found 160:3 Fourth 87:7,22 framed 113:7 framework 41:1,2 Franklin 106:12 free 68:6 82:12 146:25 fresh 122:25			

17 170:11 171:4 172:5 177:14 183:3, 13 giving 33:21 38:14 62:21 152:17 goal 167:4 goal-oriented 158:19 goals 98:17 123:2 good 5:15,16 24:19 34:7 40:11 41:1 60:19 64:15 66:24 71:22 143:16 155:15,20 161:19 178:24 190:16 Google 141:14,23 GOP 106:16 111:9 gotcha 57:2 170:4,7 government 82:20 158:6 Governor 11:5 12:13 14:2 27:11,13 28:2 35:9,10, 13 36:6 76:8 77:2,19 80:11,20 81:4,10,16 82:8 84:8	85:12,24 91:6,20 92:25 93:5,17 94:5 95:11 98:19 114:24 115:20 116:10 141:17 146:9 148:18, 24 149:3,7 150:5 161:2 162:5 171:13 Governor's 11:14,19,21 24:4 91:16,25 93:10 94:1,13 95:3,8,16,23 96:2 97:7,11, 12,14 98:1,7 104:17,20 106:21 107:3 109:20 110:1 112:4,21 113:9 114:14, 17 120:21 121:19 122:8 126:11,13,20, 22 131:6 133:6,10 139:24 143:11 145:2 148:16 150:17,22 151:13,19 152:9,11,13 153:18 155:25 161:6 162:12, 14,21 163:7 166:25 169:10 173:6 174:9, 20,22 175:12 182:4,5 grab 144:13	great 7:1 12:10,16 143:18 157:22 164:19 175:17 greater 179:19 greatest 184:9 green 57:19 59:2 grew 69:4 ground 7:24 group 31:16 groups 19:1 43:20,21 80:24 growth 34:21 guess 36:5 81:9 83:24 118:9 123:15 124:1, 13 142:3 152:1 162:18 guidance 10:24 96:11, 15 98:3 112:25 131:9 guide 31:4,6,7 Gulfport 70:14 Guthrie 36:18 guys	5:21 <hr/> H <hr/> H000c8011 168:4 hair 55:3 half 50:13 hand 5:3 happen 5:23 130:5 happened 90:25 92:14 158:12 Hawthorne 55:13 head 106:8 128:24 184:4 heads-up 139:21 152:18 hear 87:23 heard 77:11 101:14 107:12 110:5, 8,15 113:21 hearing 101:18 103:17 104:3 106:20 107:2 109:25 117:3 heaven 142:21 held 78:23 82:2
---	---	---	---

<p>helped 32:2 37:21</p> <p>helpful 11:13 127:18 128:12 175:15 176:13 182:7</p> <p>helping 17:16 19:2</p> <p>hereinafter 5:12</p> <p>Hernando 67:1</p> <p>high 27:4 30:20</p> <p>Hillsborough 57:9,19 59:2 61:8 66:18 67:4,6,13,14, 20 68:3,5,9 69:10,15 165:21,24 166:9,12,14, 15,16 187:20, 25 188:18 189:21</p> <p>Hillsborough- based 63:25</p> <p>hired 15:23 90:17</p> <p>Hispanic 52:25 53:2 59:6 61:8,9, 23 63:15 64:4</p> <p>historically 68:3</p> <p>history 89:18 119:2</p>	<p>hold 65:18 89:3 188:9 190:3</p> <p>holding 99:7 160:7</p> <p>holistic 121:21</p> <p>hometown 72:8</p> <p>honestly 39:16</p> <p>hosted 90:1</p> <p>hour 64:14</p> <p>hours 33:6,7,9 146:18</p> <p>House 10:11,24 11:2 14:5,8,13,20 15:23 16:13, 20,25 17:21, 23 18:6 26:7, 16,18,21 28:2,7,10,13 30:13,25 31:10,13,20, 24 32:3,7,17 33:11 35:18, 19,23,25 36:17 37:21 42:13 47:6,7, 12 48:1 54:17 55:21 62:20 78:8,13 79:5 80:10,18,22 81:2,23 82:2 84:5 87:10 92:8 96:21</p>	<p>99:18 100:1, 14 101:20,23 108:12,15,20 110:7 111:18 116:24 120:3, 7 121:24 122:14,16 124:15 135:11 136:5,8,12, 14,17,23 137:25 138:1, 6,9,21,25 139:6 140:6, 13 142:25 143:2,11 144:2,6 146:8,19 147:4,17 148:7,14 150:24 151:9, 17,23 153:3, 6,21,24 157:12,16,23 158:16 159:9, 11 162:8 168:3,13,14</p> <p>House's 48:6 54:5 108:21 109:5, 7,13 111:14 112:6,23 113:22,25 114:5 136:10 159:19 160:4</p> <p>hundred 33:9 49:12</p> <p>hundreds 32:24,25</p> <p>husband 85:17,19 87:16</p>	<p>I</p> <p>i.e. 97:15</p> <p>idea 14:1 73:16 159:16</p> <p>ideas 36:14 134:18 152:24 153:2, 4 159:8</p> <p>identification 6:12,16,17 10:1 37:2,10 49:7 60:14 75:3 104:10 111:2 126:24 144:17 160:21 164:4,8 175:24</p> <p>identified 183:22</p> <p>image 126:16</p> <p>images 39:19 126:14 128:12 163:23</p> <p>imagine 40:2 106:15</p> <p>impair 9:10,14</p> <p>implemented 26:23</p> <p>implications 177:24</p> <p>impression 101:4,6</p> <p>improve</p>
--	--	---	---

66:15	incumbents	99:1 103:8, 20,22,23	96:2 97:11
improved	105:10	106:22,23	98:7,22 99:3
149:2	indentations	108:25 109:21	104:19 109:22
improvement	126:18	112:9 117:22	112:9,11,15
169:4,9,15,21	individual	119:9,21	113:9 119:10
170:17 182:16	62:21,24	121:8 123:4	123:6 134:5
improvements	144:1,4	130:23 131:8	136:1,13,16
121:17,21	individuals	133:20 134:7	147:13
122:2 163:21	131:5	135:3,21	interplay
173:16,18	informally	145:17 147:10	185:11
179:24	124:7	149:16 153:10	interrogatories
in-camera	information	155:10 156:5	10:16
141:22	43:19 84:12	157:1 163:2	interrupt
inbox	91:15 92:1	167:3 168:11	40:16
25:9	95:15,18	169:7,18	interruption
include	113:8	170:12 171:5	21:12
25:12 44:25	initial	177:15 181:22	intersect
69:9 71:8	156:12	183:4,14	186:10 188:18
95:11	initially	instructions	intersection
included	16:8 96:9	93:12 96:7,19	188:19,23
45:2 67:10	153:20 154:23	98:24 123:2	189:4
151:19 152:24	input	intended	intersects
159:15	31:22 133:25	86:11,14	185:17 187:12
includes	134:3,5	intending	Interstate
49:11 97:14	143:7,10	85:1	183:23,24
166:8,11	145:14	intents	184:5,6,8,12,
including	insist	168:21	15,21,22,25
7:12,21 8:19	46:25	interested	185:1,2,3
32:7 51:4	Institute	158:25	186:6
115:7 121:10	6:3	interim	interview
177:17 183:6	instruct	99:16,19,21	17:19
incoming	82:25	100:7	interviewing
16:9	instructed	interject	17:15
incorporated	8:6	6:23	introduced
124:13 152:12	instruction	internal	29:17
158:6,12	9:2,6 88:24	76:14,20	intrude
170:9	91:22 94:18	91:5,8,24	70:16
incorporates	95:5 97:3,6,	94:16,19	invited
153:2	20 98:6,20	95:2,14,22	78:17 79:6

involve 39:3	132:2 133:1	126:2,4,17	6:10 75:21
involved 41:15 92:9, 15,18 94:14 108:2	January 17:10 79:4 92:9,19 100:19,24 107:21 108:16,19 121:4 122:11	130:22 131:3, 7,19 133:19 134:6 135:2, 9,20 141:10, 12,21 142:6,9 143:15,17 144:15 145:16 146:3,11 147:9 149:15 152:14 153:9 155:9 156:5 157:1 163:1 167:2 168:10 169:6,17 170:11 171:4 177:14 181:19,21 183:3,13	91:12 113:7 141:21
involvement 132:12			judgment 75:15
Isbell 25:5 111:20	Jason 36:18		Judicial 6:5
Isle 168:24	Jazil 5:24,25 6:13, 18 8:3,5 9:3, 5,22 12:7 21:9,22 23:15 27:3 36:2 39:8,12,22 40:9,16 43:24 48:10 49:14 51:20 54:20 62:16,25 63:2,5 64:19 65:23 76:15, 17 82:9 83:16 84:12 85:5 86:5,19,22 87:9 88:23 91:3,10,21 92:21,24 93:12 94:18 95:4,9,14 96:7,19 97:2, 10,19 98:6,20 99:1 103:8,20 106:22 107:9 108:24 109:21 112:1,8,18 113:2,6,18 115:11 117:21 119:8,21 121:7 123:3		jumped 184:8
isolation 178:8 180:14			junction 171:18 188:3
issue 55:8 68:1 83:19 87:12, 13 135:10 136:4,7 148:17 167:11 184:1,3,5			June 73:9
issued 11:5,9			<hr/> K <hr/>
issues 91:6 168:22, 23 184:23		Jeb 27:11	Kathy 71:18
iteration 177:18		job 12:11 13:15, 17,25 14:20 18:5 23:10 25:9 26:12 28:1,2 81:25 82:2,4 85:11 90:18 98:11 104:22 105:5 144:9 155:21	keeping 167:15 178:6 180:6 181:4, 6,10,11 190:6
iterations 177:17		John 36:18	Kelly 5:10,15 7:6,8 40:6 49:8 50:1 53:13 64:12 66:3 68:6 71:22 80:9 82:16,25 85:4 88:20 91:13,22 93:22 94:19 95:5 104:12 143:25 144:10,19 160:23 164:16 176:2 190:17
<hr/> J <hr/>		Johns 171:10,18	
Jacksonville 20:12,15 55:16		join 82:15	
James 5:10 7:8 13:2 98:13,14		Jolly 74:1	Kelly's 49:21 141:18, 25
		Judge	

key 51:1 171:8 180:7,8 181:2,3,8 182:24 186:18 kills 49:1 kind 17:20 19:10 28:5 29:11 31:6 38:5 85:17 103:11 109:12 116:2 119:4 151:7 184:19 186:20 190:5 Klas 105:11 knew 33:20 34:4 knowing 158:9 183:17 knowingly 148:10 knowledge 35:13 108:11 137:5,22,23 141:6 148:11 knowledgeable 34:11 <hr/> L <hr/> labeled 144:20 Lake 19:7 Lakeland 182:23 183:12,16	184:11,15,17, 20 language 114:15 large 19:9 158:19 159:1 177:25 179:2,3,9 largely 183:23 larger 186:21 late 14:11,12 16:11 17:8 90:24 121:3 122:10 launch 97:4 law 31:3 34:23,24 35:7 56:7 82:24 83:1,13 88:11 114:25 144:20 lawyer 133:8,10 lawyers 95:12 97:15 131:20 layman's 148:13 lead 31:24 41:15 132:8 leadership 31:20,24 leading 153:21	leads 132:11 learning 77:8 Leda 82:13 Lee 163:15,16 Leesburg 20:9 left 14:11 33:11, 14,23 67:12 80:10,18,22 81:2 155:8, 13,14 178:10 leg 166:17 189:23 legal 10:21 11:8 12:8 31:7,10 34:7 50:14 59:10 81:7 96:16 155:17 legislation 15:6 legislative 14:16 15:3,5, 12 27:2 38:1, 10 75:16 76:20 92:5 94:21,23 99:24 100:2,3 103:10 117:23 133:21 139:2 157:10 163:3 173:15 legislatively 39:12	legislature 10:15 11:25 15:11 37:16 47:8 92:3 93:2,24 95:7, 16 97:8 112:12 115:6, 20 116:1,10 118:1,7 120:2,18 121:10 123:18,20,24 124:5,19 129:10 130:9 134:8,14 136:18 142:9 145:3,13 147:11 150:17 151:2 152:11, 23,25 153:3, 11,20 154:4, 13,23 155:15, 18,20 156:7, 12 169:20 170:14 171:12,14 172:20 174:4, 7,8,11,20,23 175:11,16 176:3 178:10 183:6 185:8 legislature's 11:5 93:9 99:5 115:7 116:25 117:7, 17,19 121:18 124:11 135:7 154:1,16 155:2 177:18 178:4 180:18 182:20
--	--	---	--

length 167:7	188:4 190:9	102:2 108:18	115:25 117:13
lengthy 185:10	literally 22:24 33:8	122:14 127:19	148:3,24
lens 109:3 158:2	128:24 137:13	128:6 153:22	149:3 157:23
Leon 6:5	153:5 154:11,	loom 105:10	171:7 177:9,
letter 161:1,8,10 167:19 168:8	16,19 171:21	lose 37:1 163:25	18 183:21
letting 40:12	172:13	lot 13:5 32:25	184:20
level 27:4 30:21 97:24 134:13	litigated 87:12 88:16	33:24 46:4	main 19:8 67:25
Lewis 75:22	litigation 7:12 74:9	66:24 79:23	maintain 70:24
liaison 15:7	81:10,14	93:6 102:2	maintained 14:22 50:21,
life 107:16	lived 20:6,8	105:22 114:11	23
likelihood 41:8,10 53:24 119:5	loathed 88:12	117:11 121:13	Maitland 159:15 168:24
limited 121:10	located 19:6 166:24	128:8 129:18,	major 158:21,22
limits 41:18 91:18	log 84:13,20 85:3	21 142:19	172:10,12
lines 70:12,16 127:8,11,17, 18 128:7 149:9 163:9 165:1 167:6 177:25 178:16,17 179:13,14,16, 21 185:22	113:3,11	145:21 163:5	184:13 185:23
	logical 185:2 186:5	177:16	190:9
	188:1	184:22,25	majority 15:24 16:2,3
	long 12:17 26:24	188:24	35:24 165:10
	60:3 89:14	lottery 13:10,14	make 8:4 36:25
	146:16	Lukis 13:20 82:15,	37:9 45:9
	long-winded 88:18	23 83:3,12	63:14 66:25
	Longboat 180:7,8	87:15,24	69:4 101:1,3
	181:2,3,8	136:11	113:16 121:22
	182:24 186:18	143:23,24	122:2 173:16
	longer 47:22 83:10	144:2,7,9	177:10,13
	looked 53:15 67:15	lunch 173:23 190:16	183:2 188:8
	100:23 101:9		189:13
		M	makes 142:23 158:14
		made 35:23 66:14	making 49:15 60:4
		67:5,17 70:15	149:7 181:11
		71:8 82:19	183:17 189:16
		83:7,8 91:1	
		93:5 107:8,14	

manager 18:8,20,21,23 31:17 managers 18:24 19:5 Manatee 69:21,23 165:14,16,17, 20 166:9,13 180:10 181:5, 7 187:10,19, 24 188:22 Manatee/ sarasota 187:18 manner 163:18 183:20 map 10:14 26:7, 16,18,20,21, 22 28:7 32:16,20 34:9 35:20 36:7,13 43:15 45:24, 25 46:3,4,7, 17 50:22 51:1 54:14 55:1 56:18,20 57:15,18 58:16,18,19 59:1 62:6,7 63:19,21,24 64:22 66:20, 22 67:8,23 69:14,19,22 70:14 71:19 73:10,24 74:17 76:10 95:18 96:22 98:4 101:22 102:2,5,7,21,	22 109:3 111:8 115:5 116:13 120:24 121:15,19,22, 23 122:1,8,15 123:16,25 124:8,9,19 125:25 126:1, 12 127:24 128:3,10 129:7 138:19, 20,25 139:4 140:3 141:15 142:6 144:24 148:22,25 149:1,4,25 150:6,12 151:18 153:1, 8,20 154:16, 20 155:1 158:10,15,24 159:2,8,12,19 162:7,13,25 163:9,18,20 167:5 168:2 173:13,18 176:16,19,21, 22 177:3,8,18 178:1,5,13, 20,21 179:12, 15,25 180:17 186:3 187:14 189:16 mapping 106:1 129:13 maps 10:12 28:10, 13,16,17,19, 22,25 29:1 31:22 32:6,7, 11,13,24 33:6	44:3,11 47:25 48:6 68:14,15 75:16 77:1 79:14,16,21 93:2 100:14, 18 101:12 103:15,18 104:4 105:9, 15 106:3,5,7, 11 108:19,21 109:11 111:15 120:20 121:6, 24 122:10 123:1,9 124:4,16 125:4 126:4 127:20 128:7 131:6,12 132:16 133:3, 4,12,15 134:17,19 135:5 138:2 139:7 150:21, 24 153:18,21 156:10,11,14, 17 157:14,15, 17 158:4,18 159:9,10 163:7 164:1 165:15 166:20,24 169:23 170:15,16 171:20 March 60:8 75:18 107:22 125:9 Maria 106:5 Marion 160:10 185:18	marital 86:7 87:2,25 88:7,11 mark 49:4 60:11 marked 6:12,16,17 10:1 37:2,10 49:7 60:14 75:3 104:9 111:1 126:23 144:16 160:20 164:3,7 175:23 married 144:9 Marsh 103:21 106:22 108:24 109:21 112:9 113:7 117:22 119:9 121:8 123:3 130:23 131:7 133:20 134:7 135:3,20 141:21 145:16 147:10 149:15 153:9 155:9 156:5 157:1 163:2 167:2 168:10 169:6, 17 170:12 171:4 177:14 181:21 183:3, 13 Marsh's 6:10 91:12 Mary 105:11 masters
---	---	---	---

19:23	57:25 58:7	mentioned	minor
material	133:9 134:16	47:4 98:2	54:17 168:22
95:21	150:19 174:12	137:24 148:18	minority
materials	medications	174:8,15,19	20:24 21:15
141:22	9:9,12	179:18 190:5	22:19 37:23
Matt	meet	mercy	38:9 41:3
25:5 111:11	172:13	167:10	42:7 43:20,21
matter	meeting	178:24,25	44:16 48:7,18
5:18 6:2	19:1 78:18,	merged	52:18 53:21
82:20 86:17	20,22,23	5:22 151:3	59:3,12 61:4
91:14 186:7	79:7,9,11	merit	65:10,11
188:6,16,20	138:7,9,16	155:17	68:20 70:22,
matters	140:7,16	merited	23 71:8,9,11,
15:8 83:9	151:9,16,22	42:20 43:2	14 72:19,24
84:2,11	152:9,14,19	mesh	73:6
Matthew	177:17	150:25	minute
111:20	meetings	meshes	66:13
mayor	31:21 90:9	153:3	minutes
21:25 22:4,7,	99:8,10,11,20	message	143:17
10,23	100:7 145:22	11:4 86:13	misordered
Mayport	meets	Michael	170:7
171:24	168:23	173:22	mispronounce
MCIMAPS	member	mid-2002	137:17
25:6	11:24 77:19	14:10	missing
meaning	147:17	mid-2004	11:11 128:8
114:24	members	14:9	158:22
meaningful	120:16 143:7	middle	misunderstood
183:19	147:21	159:12	136:3
meanings	members'	168:16,20	Mo
46:4	32:19	177:22	9:21 65:19
means	memorandum	million	96:23 131:1
38:18,20,22	11:1	140:11	Mohammad
39:7 40:23	memorandums	mind	5:25
41:6 59:11	10:21 11:8	49:14 50:1	moment
97:6 118:22	93:16	143:13 175:5,	51:2 70:15
124:3 134:9	memory	7	72:3 133:6
157:19	27:7 47:23	mine	167:18 175:5,
meant	51:6,18 54:19	129:2 140:19	7 176:15
	55:6 121:2		monologue

97:4	nature	25 105:3,4,7 109:12 110:5	notes 111:17
month	15:10 51:25		notice 9:18,19 40:19
78:16 79:4	83:10 118:2	nice 160:4 188:4 189:3,7	November 29:22 100:9, 22 105:10 107:17,20 111:10
morning	185:14 186:8	nonetheless 188:15	nuanced 38:4,6
5:15,16	naval 171:24	nonpartisan 106:2	nukes 111:19
motivations	NCSL 31:5	Nordby 133:3 138:3	number 6:4,8,20 21:7 26:18 33:1 46:20 60:18, 19 61:14 66:19 70:4,9 75:1 110:19 115:3,23 116:15 122:5 125:14,16 128:21,25 129:5 140:24 142:15 158:20 159:1 172:7 179:2,3,8,11 182:11
136:13,16	NCSL's 31:9	north 19:11 46:18 55:13 72:12 163:13,17 167:9 170:20 178:22 187:19 188:21,22 189:18,25 190:1,2	numbering 125:15
mouse	necessarily 93:24	north-to-south 187:7	numbers 45:21 57:13 125:17 187:15
154:18	necessitate 67:11	northeastern 165:23	numerous 149:1
move	needed 54:11 135:17, 18,24 172:5	northern 6:7 67:4,13 93:8 165:22 186:25	oath
20:4 78:6	negotiated 55:2	northern-central 165:23	
99:24 108:22	negotiations 35:24	notable 111:18 159:5	
160:9	negotiators 35:18	note 6:1 39:22 105:17 117:22 135:9	
moved	neighbor 72:7	noted 98:12	
67:12	newly 180:17		
moving	Newman 11:18 12:7 132:2 133:1 161:1 162:11 167:20		
162:20	news 23:11,20,21, 23 24:7,11, 13,21,22 25:8,11,15 101:11 103:13 104:19,21,23,		
multiple			
93:16 94:6			
122:17,19			
municipal			
70:12			
municipality			
29:9 158:3,13			
Murphy's			
111:9,19			
Mydistrictbuild er			
32:4 42:22			
44:22 45:12, 17			
<hr/>			
N			
<hr/>			
names			
114:11 125:12			
128:19 140:11			
Nassau			
15:15 172:3			

<p>8:1 147:3,8, 18,22,25 148:1,4,13</p> <p>object 9:2 21:9,22 23:15 27:3 36:2 51:20 54:20 62:16 107:9 112:1 115:11 136:11</p> <p>objected 63:3</p> <p>objecting 84:1</p> <p>objection 8:4 62:18 63:8 65:19 82:15 84:11 96:24</p> <p>observant 159:3</p> <p>observation 102:9</p> <p>observing 96:9</p> <p>obvious 150:3</p> <p>occur 112:21</p> <p>occurred 85:16 110:1 112:18 113:4</p> <p>occurs 88:15</p> <p>Ocoee 168:25</p> <p>October 100:9</p>	<p>odd 66:21</p> <p>odd-looking 67:21</p> <p>offered 13:17 48:15 187:7</p> <p>offering 36:14</p> <p>office 10:22,23 11:8,9,15,19, 21 13:12 15:24 16:2,3 78:23 91:5, 17,25 92:17 93:16,18 94:5,13 95:3, 8,11,16,23 96:2 97:7,11, 13,14 98:1,8, 22 99:3 103:10 104:17,20,23 105:7 106:21 107:3 109:20 110:2 112:4, 21 113:9 114:19 120:21 121:23 122:1 123:6 126:11, 13,20,22 131:6 132:7, 10,12 133:2, 6,10 135:24 139:24 141:17 143:11 145:2 147:13 150:17,22 151:13 152:11 153:4,18</p>	<p>155:25 156:10 157:9 162:5, 14,21 166:25 169:10 173:6 174:9,20,22</p> <p>office's 120:23</p> <p>offices 15:11</p> <p>official 16:22 39:18 100:2</p> <p>officially 99:18</p> <p>oftentimes 178:13</p> <p>online 24:13</p> <p>open 67:12 89:3 120:17</p> <p>opening 96:21 98:12 179:1</p> <p>opinion 10:23 48:15 75:20,23,25 76:5,9,13 77:14</p> <p>opinions 11:9 74:15 75:6,12 76:4 91:19</p> <p>opportunities 121:13 156:19</p> <p>opportunity 50:18,21 66:24 161:11</p>	<p>opposition 29:25</p> <p>option 186:6</p> <p>options 179:3</p> <p>Orange 22:18,21 23:3 159:13,22,23 160:4,5 168:14,15 182:21 186:11</p> <p>order 6:10,19 61:16 91:12 113:7 170:3</p> <p>ordered 74:17</p> <p>original 11:6 39:15 121:23</p> <p>originally 169:10</p> <p>Orlando 159:13 162:6 167:23 168:1, 7</p> <p>Orlando's 22:6</p> <p>Orlando-ish 159:17</p> <p>Osceola 177:19 178:6 189:15</p> <p>other's 134:19</p> <p>outdated 10:5</p>
--	---	--	--

outline 182:5	19:8 23:10 25:8 26:12	112:12 130:24	22 48:2,8,19 54:6 55:3 59:7
overcome 88:7	27:20 52:3 65:20 68:4	Pasco 67:1,3,6,18 165:24 188:21 189:22	percentage 48:18 54:10 55:8
oversaw 98:5	72:10 81:6 90:19,22 91:14,16	pass 101:22 178:5	perfect 154:24 159:14 185:21
oversee 13:11 16:19	93:25 104:22 105:5 124:14	passed 10:15 34:23 78:17 115:20 116:10 153:20 154:23 156:12 171:12,14	perfectly 171:20
overseeing 30:24	134:2 186:25 187:1,14	past 89:18	perform 38:9 44:16 45:10 48:7,18 53:18 71:11 117:6,10
oversees 13:9	partially 185:25	paste 154:17	performed 62:11 120:5
<hr/> P <hr/>	participate 15:10	path 41:20	performing 70:24,25
P-O-L-Y-P 69:8	participation 90:11	pattern 61:13,19	performs 38:9
p.m. 143:19,20 190:22,23	parties 6:14 121:9 146:4 156:6 183:5	patterns 53:22	period 78:9 99:12 151:21
P000c0079 162:5	partisan 21:3 76:2 77:5,10 103:7 107:6,24	pause 59:21 61:25	perjury 148:8,10
P000c0094 162:6	partisanship 21:6 103:15 110:7 112:23	PDF 60:20	personal 141:18 142:1
packets 118:2	party 17:4 18:5 52:16,18 53:3,5 78:24 79:8 82:11 83:4 84:21 86:2 88:3,5, 21 89:6,12 90:5,8,12 95:7,17 97:8	peninsula 67:7,11	personally 13:21 23:8 24:22 29:15, 18 120:20 123:11
pages 49:9,12		penultimate 100:4 156:13 159:11	perspective 34:14 35:4 87:14
Palatka 55:15		people 23:21 24:8,21 34:4 103:9 145:21 172:6	Pete 69:2 70:7,12,
paper 24:15		percent 26:18 47:17,	
paragraph 106:10 161:21			
Park 72:11 159:15 168:24			
part			

<p>18 187:6,22, 25 188:10,14 189:25</p> <p>Petersburg 20:23 21:1,4, 6 65:11 68:23 69:1 70:23 71:10 74:10, 18,19 182:24 186:19</p> <p>Petersburg's 22:4</p> <p>phrase 38:3 155:14</p> <p>physical 141:25</p> <p>physically 178:1</p> <p>pick 55:13,16 68:7 70:17 178:15 179:13 186:15</p> <p>picks 49:11 55:14, 15</p> <p>picture 22:23 184:4</p> <p>piece 166:12 185:25</p> <p>Pinellas 66:18 67:4,6, 7,10,13,14, 19,24 68:2, 18,20 69:9, 15,20 70:8 72:7,10,11,12 77:24 165:8, 11 166:5 186:20,24</p>	<p>189:18</p> <p>Pinellas/pasco 190:3</p> <p>place 71:19 79:1 80:6 86:10 87:5 102:3,15 143:19 158:1, 5 190:22</p> <p>Places 157:25 158:11 174:15</p> <p>plaintiffs 5:18,20</p> <p>plan 11:6 27:16, 20,22 29:8 35:25 36:20, 24 37:15,19 38:13 40:4,7 46:14 72:3 75:7 101:25 102:13 106:16 108:23 111:18 114:12,14,17, 22 115:2,8,9, 19,23 116:3,9 117:15,16 121:2 122:3, 7,12,13,20, 21,22 125:13 130:2,3,10,12 139:24 140:4, 11,22 141:2, 23 143:8 144:12 145:1, 7,10,15 146:1,10,17, 20 148:16,18 150:16,20 151:19 152:12</p>	<p>154:1,3 155:3 161:6 162:12, 18,20 164:11, 12,15,22,23 166:2 168:3, 7,13,14,19 169:5,8,9,11, 15,16 170:8, 10,21,23 171:2,7,9,12 172:20 173:4, 9,11,12 175:12,13 176:6,8,25 177:6 180:23 182:4,5,6,10, 16,17,20,23</p> <p>plan.' 111:21</p> <p>plans 28:1,5 29:12 37:22 39:18 80:13,16 99:7 100:21 103:1, 7 107:7 109:7,15,16 112:23,24 114:19 115:7, 13,15 116:1, 25 117:7 118:10,11,19 121:18,19 123:23 125:12,21 126:14 128:20 129:9,17,25 137:12 140:6 142:19 151:13 152:10,13 157:5,7,11 162:5,14,21,</p>	<p>23 164:21 173:6</p> <p>Plant 182:21</p> <p>play 16:14 93:23</p> <p>played 36:13</p> <p>playing 27:13 96:17</p> <p>point 8:10 16:23 30:8 37:1 44:8 47:19 51:1 64:13 100:4 102:12 107:5,16 110:12,14 119:14 122:14 132:15,25 153:22 174:18 188:19,23 190:16</p> <p>points 155:12 171:8</p> <p>polarization 43:4 44:9</p> <p>polarized 43:1,5</p> <p>policies 16:10 99:22</p> <p>policy 13:6,7 15:7 16:1,9 19:3 99:23 100:1</p> <p>political 17:3,17,18 19:23 23:11 25:3 38:24</p>
--	---	---	---

<p>42:18,21 44:20 52:16, 18 53:15 61:6 62:13 63:14 89:6,11,18 90:2 101:15, 17 105:18 106:2 118:25 179:20</p> <p>political/ geographical 158:8 178:16</p> <p>Politico 111:6</p> <p>politics 23:14</p> <p>Polk 177:5,9,19 178:6 179:1 180:2,11,24 183:18,25 184:2 185:4 188:22 189:15</p> <p>poly 69:7</p> <p>polyp 69:7</p> <p>pop 185:1 187:16 188:10,14</p> <p>Popper 11:2</p> <p>population 20:24 21:2, 15,18 22:19, 22 26:22 34:24 41:17 45:21 47:17, 23 48:3,9,19 54:7,11 55:4</p>	<p>58:17 59:3,12 61:24 67:19, 25 68:20 69:10 71:9 72:19 117:12, 13 118:4 135:6,8,10, 18,19 136:9, 19,24 137:7, 14 165:10 171:19,23 172:7,14 173:1 184:22 187:15</p> <p>population-wise 66:23 188:7</p> <p>populations 42:7 55:13,16</p> <p>Poreda 36:18</p> <p>Port 182:21</p> <p>portfolio 90:19,23</p> <p>portion 69:14,23 72:12 166:11 177:25</p> <p>portions 67:16 70:7 148:25 149:1, 4 151:2,18 152:12 165:23 166:9,12</p> <p>POSIMATO 37:6</p> <p>position 12:18,21 17:12 29:15, 18 54:5</p>	<p>93:17,18</p> <p>positive 179:24 189:17</p> <p>possession 104:16</p> <p>potential 53:8 55:5 103:14 110:7</p> <p>practical 52:13</p> <p>practice 150:24</p> <p>preclearance 56:16 57:7, 10,23 59:11 65:2,10 68:10 70:22 71:7</p> <p>precleared 68:15</p> <p>predecessor 62:6</p> <p>predominantly 94:9</p> <p>preference 166:25 181:10</p> <p>preferences 148:21,23 149:13,17,18, 20,25 150:2, 8,10,12,13</p> <p>preferred 43:21 182:6</p> <p>prepare 10:7 11:22,23</p> <p>prepared 30:23</p> <p>preparing 11:15 76:7</p>	<p>present 73:3 82:11 83:4 86:2 88:21</p> <p>presentation 10:10 146:19, 24 147:4,7, 18,20 148:14 153:24 174:7 175:11,16 176:3,11</p> <p>presentations 80:20</p> <p>presented 10:13 99:23 152:9</p> <p>preserving 6:21</p> <p>presumed 87:25</p> <p>pretty 34:21,25 61:12 92:18, 25 93:19 102:25 109:6 111:18 129:19 143:16 145:22 150:3 159:23 165:13 166:5</p> <p>previous 7:12</p> <p>previously 7:18 14:5 17:2 46:5 55:25 88:23 92:16 137:24 162:14,21 163:8</p> <p>primaries 52:16</p>
---	---	---	--

<p>primarily 15:5 132:11</p> <p>primary 36:19 37:18 52:19,21 53:15,25 94:13 95:1 116:11,13 154:1</p> <p>print 49:9</p> <p>printed 175:19</p> <p>prior 38:25 81:25 82:2 96:12 100:4 108:11 109:10 120:23 140:8 151:16, 20 156:10</p> <p>priorities 15:12</p> <p>privacy 86:9 87:4,19</p> <p>private 27:20 83:21</p> <p>privilege 76:19,20 82:10,14,18, 21 83:2,6,11 84:13,20,23 86:6,16 87:12,13 88:8,11,17 96:25 113:3, 10,12 131:8</p> <p>privileged 8:7 86:12 88:15,21 131:18</p>	<p>privileges 6:21</p> <p>proceedings 5:1</p> <p>process 25:13 27:14 31:23 34:8,22 35:8,14 43:16 52:22 68:1 70:13 92:10, 19 96:10,11, 18 99:5,25 101:23 108:18 125:5 132:3, 5,14,23 133:21 135:4 136:19 139:2 140:10 143:6 145:25 157:10 158:23 173:14 187:14</p> <p>processes 156:15</p> <p>produce 31:6 126:13</p> <p>produced 31:5 104:13</p> <p>producing 132:5,8</p> <p>product 100:3,11 129:7 173:16</p> <p>professional 38:16,24 41:22 42:4 43:9 47:1,6,9</p> <p>progressing 101:19</p> <p>progression</p>	<p>170:17</p> <p>promoted 12:14</p> <p>proposal 107:25 161:24 162:2,7 168:1</p> <p>proposals 36:13 93:9 101:2,6,25 102:24 107:13,23 108:5,9,13, 15,22 109:5, 13 110:7 112:6,7 113:22,25 114:5,6 117:18,19 122:15,19</p> <p>propose 26:17 31:22</p> <p>proposed 37:22 47:25 100:21 101:12 105:14 111:15 112:5 118:11 119:2 162:4</p> <p>proposing 31:20</p> <p>protected 54:12 86:7 87:3</p> <p>protection 42:16 43:2 47:14 54:8 94:8</p> <p>provide 133:25 137:9 138:23 145:14 146:9</p>	<p>provided 10:24 11:2 50:17 118:1 132:18 134:3 141:6,11,13, 18 142:1,17 154:13 175:10</p> <p>providing 96:10,14 98:3</p> <p>proxy 181:23</p> <p>public 79:15,22 86:18 91:14 92:2 104:14 118:2 120:13 132:11,23 144:4 145:23 149:3,11</p> <p>publicly 92:18,22 93:1,13,16 94:3 120:10, 12 145:21 148:24 149:17,18 150:5 153:17</p> <p>publish 139:9</p> <p>published 10:22 94:6 105:12 111:5, 10 139:7,11, 19,20,24 140:1</p> <p>publishing 39:19</p> <p>pull 36:24 74:24 83:14 149:22</p>
---	--	---	---

169:23 178:21 186:3 pulling 179:15 190:12 purely 134:4 purpose 26:15 44:12 83:7 122:6 134:25 174:4 purposes 94:10 102:11 168:21 pursuant 181:21 push 178:21 pushed 185:14 pushing 186:7 190:11, 18 put 54:3 64:10 66:21 68:16 71:21 76:24 83:14 86:23 102:3 106:11 128:13 147:21 155:25 167:15 177:25 puts 167:9 putting 19:3 58:10 81:18 160:13	<hr/> Q <hr/> qualified 42:16 qualifies 33:17,22 qualify 54:7,11 question 8:11,21,24 16:17 30:5 39:9 43:15,24 46:16 50:5,9, 12,17,23 51:15 52:9 58:21,24 60:19,25 61:22 63:6 65:21 66:12 68:9,13,18, 22,24,25 69:2,13,18 71:4 74:13 85:2 86:4,19 91:4,7,23 92:1,6,12 94:16,24,25 95:2,20,23 96:1 102:16 106:24 112:1, 15,17 114:9 116:6,21,22 119:15 123:5, 19 124:6 132:6,19 134:12 138:22 147:14 150:4, 14 151:7 169:13,24 176:19 183:9	questioned 91:13 113:8 questioning 88:5 questions 6:24 8:4 9:14 10:18 46:11 78:4 79:24 82:14 85:6 88:19 109:11 146:23 155:12 160:17 161:16 163:6 174:3 176:15 quick 169:24 quicker 101:19 quote 86:25 149:22 <hr/> R <hr/> race-based 94:9 races 17:20,21,23 racial 43:4 44:9 73:2 racially 42:25 43:5 railway 158:22 raise 5:2 range 121:1 125:21 152:2	rated 73:11 ratio 39:3 reach 48:2,5,13 59:8 reached 76:5 120:8 reaction 101:7,9 105:17 reactions 105:14 111:14 read 12:14 24:24 25:5 31:2 61:16 65:21 66:4 75:5,11, 15,23 76:6,9, 11 79:25 86:6,25 87:20 103:3 105:16, 22 106:4 110:12 149:22 161:10,11,14, 25 167:22 reading 50:1 52:7 60:22 66:3 70:20 75:19 86:20 105:23 106:17,18 111:13,22,23 ready 101:22 realize 27:7 36:11 58:3 94:2 124:10
--	--	--	--

realized 116:4 187:6	190:22	175:14,21 190:20	11,22 86:1,17 90:15,19 91:6 92:10,15,18 94:14 96:4 97:25 98:18, 25 100:8 105:9 111:8 115:7 125:21 129:9,16,24 132:14 146:20 155:21 162:8 168:3
reask 58:21,24	recognize 52:17	record's 87:9 97:5 126:17	redrawing 56:23 58:8
reason 63:2 73:13 82:21 94:13 116:14 119:17 135:16	recognized 66:23 158:7, 20 159:2 178:15,17 179:17,20 185:4 188:5	recorded 93:15	redrawn 28:1
reasonable 86:9 87:4,18	recollection 65:24 150:6	records 132:11,23	reduce 160:10 179:8, 11
reasons 30:2	reconcile 150:25 156:15 167:12	recount 105:13	reduced 52:17
recall 17:24 26:24 56:3 59:19 73:1,5 78:25 79:9,10 81:6, 13,21 90:4 93:6 116:9 120:24 122:24 125:6 129:4 139:8 149:7 150:8 152:17 154:13,19 171:21	reconciling 156:20	recounts 111:14	reducing 149:9
receive 25:8 104:21 120:3 126:21, 25 140:13 143:6,10 145:25	record 5:22 6:1 7:7 30:5 32:10 39:23 40:10 49:15 50:2 58:22 65:22 69:5 72:8 74:25 75:20 83:15,25 86:18,24 91:14 93:20 94:1,3 95:25 96:24 102:11 104:14 110:20 112:2 113:17 115:18 118:14,16 122:1,7 126:7 131:2 135:9 139:23 143:22 154:25 157:6 160:18 162:1 163:6 164:10 173:24	recruiting 17:16	refer 114:21 148:19
received 79:16,20 91:16 105:4 125:21 126:10		Reddick 55:14	reference 62:4,5 142:14 176:14
recently 31:2		redistricting 14:1 16:12, 15,18,20,25 24:25 25:12, 18,20 26:3 27:1,6,14,16, 19,22 28:1,5 29:8,12 30:14,20,24 31:2,3,7,13 32:23 33:5, 16,20,24 34:2,15 35:14 36:16 46:21 48:16 60:7 68:14 71:6 74:9,15 76:8 78:8,13,18 79:5,7,13,20 80:13,21,25 81:16,23 82:3,7,20 84:6,7 85:4,	referenced 45:20 140:7
recess 80:6 143:19			references 39:14
			referencing 150:9
			referred 162:7 168:2
			referring 63:7 124:14 132:4 148:23

<p>166:6 168:7 174:14</p> <p>refers 62:19 168:8</p> <p>reflect 69:14</p> <p>reflected 66:15</p> <p>refresh 51:6 65:24 161:12</p> <p>regard 97:25</p> <p>regarded 181:23</p> <p>region 17:22 162:4,6 163:3,14,19 164:21 167:24 168:1,7 169:14 178:11,23 186:8</p> <p>regional 165:5</p> <p>regions 18:1</p> <p>registered 89:5,7,8,13, 14</p> <p>registration 44:25 45:19</p> <p>rejoined 74:18</p> <p>related 26:2 98:18 181:1</p> <p>relates</p>	<p>82:19 98:25</p> <p>relating 100:8</p> <p>relationship 13:22 14:22</p> <p>relay 76:12</p> <p>released 79:15,21 100:21 102:25 108:12 109:6, 14</p> <p>releases 105:9</p> <p>releasing 99:7 100:11, 15</p> <p>relied 45:17</p> <p>rely 120:1</p> <p>relying 95:20</p> <p>remaining 67:18</p> <p>remember 17:12,13 18:1,3 27:13 30:1,8 31:1, 4,8 36:12 48:20 54:25 55:7 65:5,7,8 75:19 78:20, 21,22 79:2,3, 19,23 81:20 101:18 103:5, 13,17 104:3 106:17,20 107:2 109:19,</p>	<p>25 111:22 117:3 122:18 125:24 128:19 130:5,12 140:24 149:12 151:24 182:9</p> <p>remembered 30:9</p> <p>remembering 79:10 115:23</p> <p>remote 127:24</p> <p>Rep 106:5,12</p> <p>repeat 67:17</p> <p>repeating 97:21</p> <p>rephrase 71:4 134:12</p> <p>replicate 162:24</p> <p>replicated 171:1</p> <p>report 12:20,24,25 25:3 31:17 98:11,13 105:18 106:2</p> <p>reporting 13:12 31:19 102:25 103:3, 14 109:6,9, 14,17 110:6</p> <p>reportings 110:8</p> <p>reports 117:20 118:2</p>	<p>represent 15:14 73:9 104:13 111:5, 13 126:9 144:10 170:16</p> <p>representative 14:18,23 15:6,7,9,14 26:10 27:2 62:20 148:15</p> <p>representatives 10:25 11:3 14:17</p> <p>represented 40:9 73:23 74:3 77:21 124:19 136:18,21,23 137:6 165:13</p> <p>representing 5:18 15:8 93:17 127:23 143:25 144:3</p> <p>Republican 16:3 17:3 18:4,14 23:2 53:3 73:11,18 78:19,24 79:8,16,19 89:13,15 90:5,8,12</p> <p>Republican- leaning 114:1</p> <p>Republican/ democratic 126:19</p> <p>Republicans 18:12 103:2, 18 104:4</p>
---	---	---	---

<p>107:12 109:8, 15 113:21 114:6 116:20, 24</p> <p>requested 10:22</p> <p>required 8:5 59:17 180:7</p> <p>requirement 86:13</p> <p>requires 83:2,6</p> <p>research 87:11</p> <p>resembled 101:25</p> <p>residents 70:5 165:14</p> <p>resolve 89:2</p> <p>respect 102:1</p> <p>responded 148:20</p> <p>response 10:4</p> <p>responsibilitie s 13:3 15:1 18:18 31:12 97:25</p> <p>responsible 10:19 17:15, 22 18:2 31:19 40:15</p> <p>responsive 112:14</p>	<p>rest 74:19 148:21 149:25 150:12</p> <p>result 37:22 177:21 190:12</p> <p>results 38:25 42:22 43:11 44:9 45:2 53:16 103:7 181:8</p> <p>retained 97:16 108:5,9</p> <p>return 142:24</p> <p>returned 14:11 74:10, 18</p> <p>reveal 96:1</p> <p>review 42:5 43:10,18 46:24 47:3 48:24 58:12, 13 59:16 129:1 141:22</p> <p>reviewed 10:9,14,16, 18,21 11:1,4, 9 12:10</p> <p>reviewing 31:8 137:12</p> <p>rides 189:2</p> <p>rings 128:5</p> <p>ripple 163:19,20 179:24 189:12</p>	<p>river 20:10 171:18 172:2,8,11 173:1</p> <p>road 172:3 189:5,6</p> <p>roads 185:21</p> <p>roadway 158:21</p> <p>roadways 172:10,12 179:17 185:23 190:9</p> <p>Robert 11:1</p> <p>Rodrigues 161:2 167:20</p> <p>role 14:15 15:2, 22,25 16:14 18:22 27:14 30:16,24 35:14 36:12, 22 78:5 84:5 96:5,17,21 133:21 137:8, 12</p> <p>roles 16:6,7</p> <p>Romo 49:19 60:8</p> <p>room 83:18 84:18, 21 88:4,6</p> <p>rooted 165:19,22</p> <p>ruled 77:3</p>	<p>rules 7:24</p> <p>ruling 75:8</p> <p>run 31:21 117:20</p> <p>running 24:2</p> <p>Ryan 11:18 133:1</p> <hr/> <p>s</p> <hr/> <p>salary 17:9</p> <p>Salazar 106:5</p> <p>Sandi 75:1 110:21 118:14 128:15 190:21</p> <p>Sanford 55:12</p> <p>Sarasota 177:10 180:4, 6,10 181:5,7</p> <p>satisfying 181:25 182:1</p> <p>schedule 31:21</p> <p>science 19:24</p> <p>scientist 38:24 119:1</p> <p>scores 118:3</p> <p>Scott 35:9,13 36:6 106:12</p>
---	---	---	--

scrivener's 39:15 40:2,13	121:24 122:15,17 124:16 137:25 138:1,6,10, 21,25 139:6 140:6,13 142:25 143:2, 11 144:21 146:8,20 147:4,17 148:8 150:24 151:10,18,23 153:3,21,24 157:12,16 158:16,17,18, 23 159:9,22 160:1 174:5 179:19	sequence 130:6,13	93:18,19 95:6,9,15 97:7,12 112:10 119:11 121:9 124:2,4 132:24 133:23 139:5,8,9,10 140:6 141:24 142:7 149:17
searched 104:24		series 154:17	
seat 106:13,15 111:9 166:24 168:15,20		served 30:13 35:18 77:23	
seat, ' 111:19		session 99:16,17 100:2,5 138:20 140:8, 14 151:10,24 152:5,7,15 153:25 176:4	sharing 134:25 138:10
secret 148:20 149:24			shore 106:5
Secretary 5:25 10:17		set 64:11 146:25 167:17 173:21	short 59:21
Section 55:5 68:5,10		setup 167:1	show 39:23 126:4 131:5
sector 27:20	Senate's 101:1,12,25 102:24 103:7 105:14 107:7, 13,23 108:5,9 112:6,23 114:6 153:6 160:6	several- hundred-page 49:18	showed 152:8
select 16:9		Shamefully 22:11	shows 61:13,19 126:18
Seminole 72:10		shape 186:5	side 52:14 55:14 172:11
Seminole/orange 168:23	Senator 161:2	shaped 93:9	sides 10:19
Senate 10:11 28:25 29:1,6 32:13 35:19,23 36:17 39:14, 17 54:18 55:2,4,21 92:8 96:21 99:25 100:14, 20,21 101:19, 20,21 103:15, 18 104:4 105:8 109:2, 11,16 115:8 120:4,7	send 133:18	shapefiles 126:10 127:1	sign 36:7
	sense 38:6 67:18 118:13 142:23 158:14 184:20	shapes 186:16 189:8	signed 36:11 114:25 144:20
	sentence 161:23,25 167:23	share 23:22 24:8 126:19 131:12 134:21 138:5, 25	significant 34:21,25 35:16 59:3,5, 12 61:12 72:19 158:7 169:21 177:24
	September 14:13 17:10 33:12,14,23	shared 92:2,22	

significantly 165:13 178:9 179:17 184:12	113:12	sound 103:4,22 115:21 183:21 188:11	138:20 140:8, 14 151:10,23 152:7,15 153:25 176:4
signs 19:3,4	sizable 58:16	sounds 25:25 100:23 122:4 128:21, 22 130:11,17 172:24	specific 27:15 54:10 71:8 81:21 93:10 126:13 154:15 157:11,15 176:14
similar 67:16 102:19 173:7	sizeable 58:23	south 68:20 69:2,9, 14,20 163:14, 17 167:10 178:23 188:22 189:18,24 190:1,3	specifically 8:6 78:21 108:19 181:4
similarities 165:7	Skidmore 148:16	southern 165:20 172:19 186:2 187:1, 24	speculate 136:12
similarity 127:25	skip 68:6	space 67:12	speeches 19:2
similarly 108:15 109:13 155:19	slide 66:12	span 45:4 57:3	speeding 64:16
simple 41:13	slides 175:20	spare 80:16	spend 7:24 23:7 24:19 111:13
simply 41:19 128:9	sliver 15:17	speak 11:14,17,20, 24 12:2 80:24 120:7	spent 14:4 20:12,17 22:12 33:6
simultaneous 135:14	small 70:4	Speaker 16:8,9	spinning 160:8
single 79:11 128:8	software 32:3 129:13	speaking 31:11 33:19 63:8 66:14 119:22,25 171:23 187:1, 2	split 118:4 158:5 160:10,11 176:23 177:2, 3,9 179:6,10, 22 180:7,9, 10,12,22,23, 25 181:2,3 182:10,21 183:16,17 186:20,22,24 187:1 189:17
singular 181:6	solid 178:20		
sir 50:8,11,16 66:19 68:12, 17,21 69:12, 17 180:21	solidly 73:11		
sitting 19:15 113:20 116:23 127:21	sort 5:22 23:10 38:4,5 42:6, 25 45:8 55:10,12,15 66:20 67:21, 23 99:15 103:6 123:2 124:8 129:15 151:10 152:9, 18,21 159:11, 12 160:8 165:11 168:17 174:10 176:4 185:7 187:3 189:12		
situate 178:22			
situated 155:19			
situation			

<p>splits 149:10,14 164:23 176:18,22 179:9,11 182:16,18,23</p> <p>splitting 180:2,11 183:12 186:19</p> <p>spoke 120:11</p> <p>spousal 82:10,14,17, 21 83:2,5 84:23 86:6,15 87:11,12</p> <p>spouses 83:3,9</p> <p>spreadsheets 137:14</p> <p>spring 138:11</p> <p>square 168:18 188:4</p> <p>squared 168:19</p> <p>squared-up 185:19,25 186:5,16 187:3</p> <p>St 19:14 20:10, 23 21:1,4,6 22:4 65:11 68:23 69:1,2 70:7,12,18,23 71:10 74:10, 18,19 171:10, 18 182:24</p>	<p>186:19 187:6, 22,25 188:10, 14 189:25</p> <p>stack 168:17</p> <p>staff 11:24 12:12, 21,22,23,24, 25 13:4,16,18 16:24 30:13 31:13,15,16, 17 32:19 38:1,10,14 42:2 43:3 46:25 81:22 82:3 84:5 90:18 91:19 96:16 120:17</p> <p>staffer 144:5</p> <p>staffers 43:6</p> <p>staffing 17:18</p> <p>stage 43:12 53:11</p> <p>stand 77:24 88:24</p> <p>standards 183:21</p> <p>start 5:24 25:19 41:20 49:25 52:7 60:22 66:3,8 85:8 103:21 120:20 121:6 122:21 123:14 153:7, 15 176:19 186:14</p>	<p>started 17:8 49:10 77:1 80:10,19 81:3,15 82:7 84:8 85:11 92:9 96:4,9 98:2 99:7 108:20,22 117:19 121:12 122:10,20,25 123:1 154:2 168:5</p> <p>starting 50:2 65:20 77:22 81:10 100:5 161:24 190:2</p> <p>starts 55:11 60:23 100:2 167:23</p> <p>state 7:6 10:17 13:8,9,14 17:21,23 26:7,16,17,20 27:17 28:7, 10,13 29:12, 13 32:7,24 34:10,21 35:5 75:15 87:6 96:25 105:9 177:23 180:9 189:5,6</p> <p>stated 36:17 74:6 93:13 95:24</p> <p>statement 83:13 115:25</p> <p>statements 93:5 148:24</p>	<p>149:4,6,7</p> <p>States 94:7,11</p> <p>statewide 17:23 24:5</p> <p>statistical 174:6,13,18</p> <p>statistically 158:19 159:1 179:14</p> <p>statistics 159:3 175:10</p> <p>statute 148:8</p> <p>statutory 88:9</p> <p>stay 72:2 107:15, 16</p> <p>stayed 103:10 108:1, 2 109:11 110:13</p> <p>STENOGRAPHER 5:2,8 49:6 60:13 75:2 87:23 98:14 104:7 110:19, 22,24 118:15 128:16 144:14 160:19 164:2, 6 175:18,22</p> <p>Stephen 126:15</p> <p>stint 14:8,12</p> <p>stipulation 6:13</p>
--	---	---	---

stop 41:18 50:3 51:2 53:12 70:19	169:11 substance 75:24 76:12 88:19 112:19 113:5	75:5,12,25 76:5,9 77:3, 9,13 102:3	17 156:6 159:6 163:2 167:7 172:18, 24 174:2 177:8,16 186:18
stopped 160:1,2	substantial 20:24 21:2,7, 14,18 22:19, 22	surmise 51:24	
straight 185:22		Survey 45:18	talking 35:17 42:12 56:19,22 62:2 68:19 85:22 98:22 99:3,13 102:21 117:15,16,17 121:3 132:3 134:18 136:1 149:12 150:13 151:21 175:6
stray 88:12	substantively 8:20,23	swear 5:4	
strength 37:23	suburbs 106:14	switch 56:8,12	
stressed 85:19	successful 50:19	sworn 5:11	
strike 116:21	sudden 178:19	system 125:15	
strong 88:7	suddenly 178:3	<hr/> T <hr/>	Tallahassee 19:16 20:10 22:24
stuff 24:3 83:9 107:15 110:12 117:23	suggest 50:5 83:16	table 114:10	Tallahassee's 22:9
subcommittee 99:10 162:9 168:3,13	suggestion 87:16	takes 132:8	Tampa 19:11 20:18, 21 21:14,17 56:13 57:15 58:9 65:12 66:16 70:23 71:9 76:1 77:4,10,13 105:12 106:14 108:10 162:3, 12,23 163:3, 14,19 164:21 165:12 166:20 167:1,7,8,10 178:3,10,23 186:8
subcontractor 137:21	summer 20:5 110:14	taking 160:3,13 179:19 187:24	
submission 120:23	Suncoast 19:10	talk 66:17 72:6 82:12 89:18 90:14 91:8 94:16,19 95:2 97:6,13 98:7 112:10,12 119:9 123:6 134:15 147:13	
submitted 10:17 114:8, 21 115:5 121:3,23 122:2 123:23 124:1,3 145:2 150:22 153:19 156:10 157:9 161:2 162:14, 22 163:8	supervised 32:19	talked 14:25 25:16 44:20 45:14 72:18 103:9 130:2 133:20 150:5 153:10,	
	support 18:25 161:3		Tampa's 21:21,25
	supporting 61:20		
	Supreme 10:23 38:7 74:10,16,17		

Tarpon/dunedin 190:2	119:14	103:18 104:4	81:2,3,14,15
team 31:10,18 96:16	testifying 120:14	109:1 122:2	86:9 87:5
technical 33:19,21 51:24,25 124:2 139:12	testimony 5:4 7:19 8:1 49:11,19,22 60:6,10,20 62:21 63:13 65:15 92:5 93:24 117:24 124:15,18 153:23 154:21	133:9 136:3,4 176:13	90:25 93:1 97:1,4,19 102:5 107:17 111:13 114:8 115:4 118:13 122:17,19 132:24 148:13 151:21 152:23 182:2 187:13 190:7
technically 123:18	That'll 144:14	thoughts 63:10 91:18 136:13	times 7:10 18:9 105:12 113:16 179:6
telling 154:4	theory 187:21	thousands 33:6,8 105:1	timing 154:24
Ten 143:17	thing 24:19 51:24 52:13,15 70:10 139:18 156:18 171:15	three-quarters 178:20	title 12:11 16:22 17:12 111:7 144:9
tend 24:11 52:15	things 13:8 15:9 45:21 53:20 70:6 71:1 79:10 82:18 84:19 97:7 108:1 117:11 118:2,3 157:23 185:11 186:10 190:11	threshold 59:5,10	titled 105:8 111:8 130:6
tens 105:1	thinking 25:25 188:16	thrust 149:5	titles 125:12
term 38:8	third-party 86:13	tier 41:1,2,7 42:16 43:2,22 47:13 54:8,12 65:2 73:3 174:5,9,21,25 175:4 183:20 185:3	today 5:19,23 9:9, 11,15 37:1 49:13 77:8 78:3 89:2 94:1 106:8 107:11 108:4, 8 110:4 113:20,24 114:4,15 116:23
terminology 114:10 115:18 116:5 121:25	Thomas 12:4 134:22	time 7:24 8:14 15:14 20:12, 17 22:12 23:7 24:20,23 26:24 33:11, 14,23 35:10 42:23 44:22 45:17 46:17 47:19 51:16, 25 55:21 56:4 57:11,14,22 61:4 63:12 64:18 71:7 77:1 78:20,22 79:12 80:9, 10,16,18,19	today's 10:8 11:15,
terms 33:19 36:13 148:13 160:9 165:6 173:19 174:25 176:18 178:13 189:11	thought 62:23 102:19		
testified 5:12 51:3 53:19 55:25 56:3 96:9 130:8 134:7 155:11 163:11 167:5			
testify 62:10 92:7			

22,25 110:4	trailing 166:16 189:23	turning 185:7,24 186:8,13 190:5,6	170:24 176:5, 9,17,24
told 12:9 20:25 134:14	transcript 30:6 48:23 49:10 52:4 62:11	turns 142:22	Uh...ryan 132:2
Tom 134:23 135:4	transcripts 60:2	tweet 23:8	ultimate 55:1 106:16 123:16 163:20 178:4
tomorrow 142:25 143:1	transitioned 16:11 98:3	tweeted 111:20	ultimately 31:25 48:12 55:10 67:5 116:3 119:1 138:19 159:8 163:8,10 169:8 173:17 178:22 183:23
ton 33:20	trees 49:2	Twitter 23:5,7 24:17, 18,20 106:9	
tool 45:12,20,21 129:21 135:7	tremendously 127:18	two-thirds 143:14	
tools 45:16	trial 7:19,22 36:16,17 49:18,22 51:9,11 65:14 74:15 75:19, 21 81:7,10 188:16	type 52:23 113:12	umbrellas 13:13
top 67:14 128:24 184:20		types 157:11	unconstitutiona l 76:10
topic 8:7 79:24		typically 52:24	
Torchinsky 133:11	trick 43:14	<hr/> U <hr/>	understand 7:25 8:1,8,10 16:14 68:13 90:18,22 98:17 132:6 137:10 142:18 151:9 154:4 185:13
total 129:7 158:5 179:9	trouble 142:4	U.S. 187:7 188:9	
track 37:1 163:25	true 114:20	Uh-huh 15:4 25:22 34:18 41:4 42:15 43:17 44:5 80:12 89:20 90:16 97:9 104:15, 18 105:21 110:24 114:13 123:12 127:5 141:20 151:5, 12 160:25 161:5,22 164:13 166:3	
trade 177:9,13 180:15,20	Trump-biden 106:7		understanding 35:22 38:21 39:6 40:22 41:6,23 47:11,21 54:4,16 55:1 56:6 62:5,8 82:17 83:5 86:5 91:12 96:5 99:15 100:8,20
trades 183:2	truth 5:5,6 148:9		
trading 134:18	truthful 51:12,14		
traditional 36:8	truthfully 9:11		
traditionally 113:11	turn 106:13 186:14		

124:24 125:20 128:2,4 181:17 understood 102:16 unincorporated 188:12,13 Union 15:16 United 94:7,11 University 19:17 20:2 unknown 35:6,7 untested 35:7 update 173:23 updates 25:11,12 uploaded 154:6,8,11,20 uploading 154:2 usage 173:19 useless 148:12 Uthmeier 13:2 98:13,15 132:2 133:1 utilized 154:22	151:7 variety 13:8 vast 35:24 165:10 version 41:24 45:8 48:6 55:9 62:7 127:7,10 169:5,16 versus 6:3 52:25 106:7 181:11 veto 11:4 vetoed 115:20 116:10 171:13 vetoing 11:5 148:18 viable 53:2,5 video 10:11 view 53:17 180:14 viewed 114:5 158:2 violating 94:10 visible 186:12 vision 32:1 visual 70:10 121:14 visually 102:2 163:10	186:3 187:10 volume 60:9 190:23 volumes 60:10 volunteer 148:4 volunteered 89:23 Volusia 23:1 159:21 160:11 vote 53:9 126:19 voted 29:20 voter 19:1 44:25 45:19 89:7,8 voters 5:18 6:2 21:8 44:16 48:18 65:11 68:2,4 70:22,23 72:23 votes 21:18 22:22 voting 37:23 39:1,4 43:1,5,19 53:21 119:3 voting-age 47:17,23 48:2,9,19 54:7,11 55:3 135:5,8,10, 17,19 136:9, 19,24 137:7, 14	<hr/> W <hr/> waive 88:17 waiving 6:22 walked 96:20 walking 152:18 wall 177:22 185:17 186:12 190:8 wanted 26:17 39:22 69:4 154:15 185:16 188:17 Wasserman 25:3 105:17 106:1,8,11 watch 99:10 watched 120:12 waterway 158:22 166:14 waterways 179:18 waving 19:4 ways 157:13 160:12 165:22 188:8 190:13 website 40:10,14 129:9,16,25 144:22
<hr/> v <hr/> vague			

websites 24:10,25 weeks 120:23,25 weighing 36:13 west 72:11,22 188:21 western 72:10 whatnot 17:20 wheel 160:8 white 72:23 whiter 23:2 72:20,24 wholly 67:24 123:15, 21,25 165:8 166:5 wider 72:22 Wienckowski 137:17 wife 81:22 84:4 85:17,19,22 87:16 win 53:25 108:6 winds 55:12,15 winter 99:6 159:15 168:24	wintertime 100:16 won 24:3 74:4,6 wondering 30:10 word 52:1 99:17 124:2 words 58:10 132:7 189:25 work 16:17 17:24 18:4,24 25:9, 20 27:20 30:20 31:16 44:14 45:9 65:5 76:7 85:23 98:5 100:10 117:20 120:18 129:7 133:23 134:20 155:15 169:10 171:20 181:5 184:22 188:24 190:17 worked 17:3 18:14 26:9 35:2 70:11 72:17 96:11 107:18 122:22,24 130:9 140:10 143:4 151:13 153:25 154:5, 10 163:11 working 14:2 15:11 17:20 18:2	35:19 57:3 65:7 70:12 78:7,12 79:5 80:11,19 81:3,15 82:7 84:8 91:1 96:4 97:15 122:11,13 137:21 141:16 142:20 154:3 workings 91:5 works 7:1,4 15:5 115:1 workshop 100:13 worries 116:7 worth 167:14 wound 81:7 write 106:11 written 10:12,24 93:20 105:11 111:10 162:16 wrong 61:16 78:11 178:6,7 wrote 76:9 106:8 <hr/> y <hr/> yards 19:4	year 10:11 101:20, 22 years 13:23 14:4,7 27:8 30:5,17 45:4 65:4 82:4 89:19 96:12 yes-or-no 51:15 Young 73:21 <hr/> Z <hr/> zoom 165:4 171:16
--	---	--	---

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc.

vs.

Cord Byrd, et al.

Deposition of:

James Kelly

June 07, 2023

Vol 2



IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE
SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY
BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC.,
et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 2022 CA 000666

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State, et al.,
Defendants.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
TALLAHASSEE DIVISION

COMMON CAUSE FLORIDA, et al.,
Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State,
Defendant.

DEPOSITION OF JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
(Volume 2, Pages 195 - 267)

Wednesday, June 7, 2023
2:48 p.m. - 4:26 p.m.

LOCATION:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIAK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY:

SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, CM, CRR, CRC, CCR

Job No. 311409

1 APPEARANCES:

2

3 ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS BLACK VOTERS MATTER,
4 et al.:

5 ELIAS LAW GROUP, LLP
6 10 G Street NE
7 Washington, DC 20002
8 202.968.4490

9 BY: JOSEPH POSIMATO, ESQUIRE
10 jposimato@elias.law

11 BY: CHRISTINA FORD ESQUIRE
12 cford@elias.law

13

14 ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS COMMON CAUSE, et al.:

15

16 PATTERSON BELKNAP WEBB & TAYLOR
17 1133 Avenue of the Americas
18 New York, NY 10036
19 212.336.2817
20 BY: CATHERINE J. DJANG, ESQUIRE
21 cdjang@pbwt.com

22

23 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT SECRETARY OF STATE:

24

25 HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.508.7775

BY: MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

BY: ROBERT MICHAEL BEATO, ESQUIRE
mbeato@holtzmanvogel.com

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

1 APPEARANCES: (Continued.)

2 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA SENATE:

3 SHUTTS AND BOWEN
215 S. Monroe Street, #800
4 Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.241.1717
5 BY: DANIEL E. NORDBY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
dnordby@shutts.com

6
7 THE FLORIDA SENATE
302 The Capitol, #404S
Tallahassee, FL 32399
8 850.487.5237
9 BY: KYLE EDWIN GRAY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
gray.kyle@flsenate.gov

10
11 ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES:

12
13 GRAY|ROBINSON
301 S. Bronough Street, #600
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
14 850.577.9090
15 BY: ASHLEY H. LUKIS, ESQUIRE
ashley.lukis@gray-robinson.com

16

17

18 ALSO PRESENT:

19 Nicholas Meros, Office of the Governor
Michael Halper, Common Cause Florida
20 Taylor Meehan (Via Zoom.)
David Rosenthal (Via Zoom.)

21

22

23

24

25

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

I N D E X

WITNESS	PAGE
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY	
Cont'd Direct Examination by Ms. Ford	199
CERTIFICATE OF OATH	262
CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER	263
READ AND SIGN LETTER	264
ERRATA SHEET	265

INDEX OF EXHIBITS

NO.	DESCRIPTION	ID
18	Plan 8019	205
19	District Compactness Report for Plan 8019	205
20	Comparison Chart	206
21	Boundary Analysis for Plan 79	212
22	Boundary Analysis for Plan 94	213
23	Plan 8019	227
24	Plan 8060	230
25	Compactness Report for Plan 8060	233
26	House Plan 8011	250
27	July Subpoena to EOG	256

1 The following continued from Volume 1 at 2:48 p.m.:

2 CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q Mr. Kelly, when we broke, we had started
5 to talk about your presentation to the legislature
6 in the special session. And we just talked about
7 some differences in the county splits and the city
8 splits. So I want to talk about compactness just a
9 little bit.

10 In your presentation, you mentioned that
11 the average compactness was largely equivalent
12 between Plan 8019 and the Enacted Plan; that is
13 correct?

14 A Yes.

15 Q We already -- you have the presentation in
16 front of you, you have Exhibit 17?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Did you prepare this?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Okay. And to the best of your knowledge
21 you believe the statistics to be accurate?

22 A Yes.

23 Q Okay. I wanted to go page 6, which is
24 going to be -- you can see a little tiny 6 here, the
25 one titled Tier 2, comparing SB 2-C Plan 109 to

1 **SB 102. Actually they all have that title. That's**
2 **no help. Look at this one.**

3 A I got it.

4 Q **Here you report three measures: Reock,**
5 **Polsby-Popper, Convex Hull.**

6 **Why did you choose these three measures to**
7 **report?**

8 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
9 instruction. If you can, go ahead and answer.

10 A Those were the measures that the House and
11 Senate in the legislative redistricting map maker --
12 it was a better title than the one I just gave it --
13 but in the redistricting application that the
14 legislature used, those are the three measures that
15 the legislature used.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q **Okay. But there's other measures of**
18 **compactness that exist in the world, right?**

19 A Yes, there are many.

20 Q **Did you use any of the other three**
21 **measures in drawing your plans or evaluating plans?**

22 A The other three?

23 Q **Sorry, any other measure other than those**
24 **three when you were working on the plans?**

25 A Sure. The visual compactness, I just

1 visually inspect the map, which you might call the
2 intraocular test, just eyeballing it, does it
3 actually look compact. And then I noted earlier, I
4 considered keeping a county whole as a proxy for
5 compactness.

6 Q Okay. But as far as other like
7 mathematical statistical measures of compactness,
8 you weren't using any other measures other than
9 these three to draw your map?

10 A Correct, no other statistical measures.

11 Q Okay. To your memory, these three
12 measures -- Reock, Convex Hull and Polsby-Popper --
13 these are the three that the Florida Supreme Court
14 relied on on that cycle?

15 A I am not a hundred percent certain if
16 these are the three they relied on.

17 Q Okay. So just for clarity of the record,
18 for all of us who are not compactness experts, when
19 we are talking about these measures, Reock, Convex
20 Hull, Polsby-Popper, they range from zero to one?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Closer to one is considered better?

23 A Yes.

24 Q More compact, I should say?

25 A Correct.

1 Q So in your presentation, you showed that
2 the average Reock score for the legislature's plan
3 in Plan 8019 was .18, and that the Enacted Map was
4 .47, is that correct?

5 A I think you meant .48 and .47?

6 Q Yes. What did I say?

7 A You said .18.

8 Q I am sorry. .48 versus .47?

9 A Yes.

10 Q This means that the enacted map was
11 slightly less compact on the Reock measure, right?

12 A On the Reock measure, yes.

13 Q In your presentation, you showed that the
14 average Convex Hull score for Plan 8019 was .82, and
15 that the average Convex Hull measure for the Enacted
16 Map was .81, correct?

17 A Correct.

18 Q So this means the Governor's or the
19 Enacted Map is slightly less compact on the Convex
20 Hull, correct?

21 A Correct.

22 Q And then finally, in the presentation you
23 show that the average Polsby-Popper for Plan 8019 is
24 .42, and then in the Enacted Map the Polsby-Popper
25 is .43, correct?

1 A Correct.

2 Q Here the Enacted Map is slightly more
3 compact on this measure, right?

4 A Correct.

5 Q Okay. Like we said before, you considered
6 this to be basically equivalent on compactness on
7 the map as a whole?

8 A For this statistical compactness, yes.

9 Q In here you mentioned on the same page
10 that the primary Plan 8019 has the least
11 mathematically compact district for CD 14, which has
12 a Polsby-Popper of .17, you know that's below .2,
13 and that the Governor's plan, the Enacted Map -- I
14 am sorry -- makes reference such that all districts
15 are above .2 on Polsby-Popper, correct?

16 A I think you might have advertently, when
17 you said that question, I think you meant to say
18 CD-4. I think you referenced CD-14 when you are
19 referring to the legislature's Plan 8019.

20 But, yes, yes, the Enacted Plan, all of
21 the districts, in terms of Reock and Polsby-Popper
22 scores are .2 or higher. That was the first map of
23 any map that the legislature considered that that
24 statement is true.

25 Q So when we talk about the least compact

1 district in the legislature's plan as CD-4, we are
2 talking about CD-4 in North Florida, right, from the
3 legislature's plan?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Okay. So the Governor's Office, from your
6 perspective, the Governor's Office perspective, you
7 believe that you made significant compactness gains
8 in North Florida, correct?

9 A Correct.

10 Q And the South Florida districts between
11 the Governor's plan and the legislature's plan were
12 the same, right; so no difference there?

13 A The districts you mentioned earlier, 20 to
14 25, and 27 and 28, were the same.

15 Q Okay. So on average, if the Governor's
16 plan made compactness improvements in North Florida,
17 significant gains there, and there is no change in
18 South Florida, and you end up with basically the
19 same compactness scores as Plan 8019, do you agree
20 with me that what that means is that the compactness
21 scores of the Enacted Map in Central Florida and in
22 Tampa Bay must be on average worse than Plan 8019?

23 A No.

24 Q You don't agree with that?

25 A Correct, I don't agree.

1 **Q Okay.**

2 (Exhibit 18 was marked for
3 identification.)

4 (Exhibit 19 was marked for
5 identification.)

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 **Q So Plan 8019 is Exhibit 18, instead of 19.**
8 **Let's look at Exhibit 18, which is the district**
9 **compactness report for Plan 109, which is the**
10 **Enacted Map. You have that in front of you,**
11 **Mr. Kelly?**

12 A Yes, Plan 109, Exhibit 18?

13 **Q Yes.**

14 A Yes.

15 **Q I got this from the Florida redistricting**
16 **website, I just pulled it straight off the website.**
17 **Does this look like a fair and accurate**
18 **copy of what that district compactness report looks**
19 **like?**

20 A Probably. It looks -- the way that's
21 coded, it's looks like from the website.

22 **Q And then Exhibit 19, for the record, is**
23 **the district compactness report for Plan 8019 from**
24 **the legislature. Again, I pulled this straight from**
25 **the Florida redistricting website just a few days**

1 ago.

2 Does this look like a fair and accurate
3 copy of what the website generates to report
4 compactness numbers?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Let's set these aside. I want you to have
7 them for reference.

8 (Exhibit 20 was marked for
9 identification.)

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q Mr. Kelly, this is a comparison chart that
12 I put together. These are the exact numbers the
13 Florida redistricting website reports for
14 compactness across Reock, Convex Hull and
15 Polsby-Popper.

16 The Florida districting website does not
17 do this comparison that I am aware of, so I put it
18 together myself. But I used the same numbers they
19 reported and I double-checked it, but you should
20 feel free to double-check if you would like.

21 In here, I have used Microsoft Excel to
22 sum and average the numbers it reports so that I
23 wouldn't be relying on my own math skills.

24 Assuming these numbers report out the ones
25 that the Florida legislature generates, do you have

1 **any reason to doubt the reliability of these**
2 **numbers?**

3 A If I could just have a minute or two.
4 (Examining document.)

5 Q **Sure. I am happy to state on the record**
6 **to the extent I made a math error here, obviously we**
7 **can correct it later.**

8 A Okay. Thank you.

9 Q **Would you agree with me that Districts 6**
10 **through 18 fairly comprise the Tampa Bay and Central**
11 **Florida districts?**

12 A It goes beyond the Tampa Bay and Central
13 Florida districts.

14 Q **What districts would you say go beyond**
15 **that?**

16 A 6 and 18 would go beyond what I would
17 consider to be Tampa Bay and Central Florida.

18 12 goes beyond what I would consider to be
19 Tampa Bay.

20 17 as well goes beyond what I would
21 consider to be Tampa Bay or Central Florida, Tampa
22 Bay or Central Florida.

23 Q **Would you agree with me that the**
24 **Governor's plans changed all of these districts from**
25 **6 to 18 in the core of the state?**

1 A Yes.

2 Q When we compare these districts that,
3 let's say, go all the way from Putnam County, St.
4 Johns County, 6 all the way down to 18, which
5 runs -- 18 runs from Polk to Hendry -- that these
6 are the districts that we are talking about here?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Okay. At least on a comparison of these
9 measures, would you agree with me that the
10 legislature's plan performs better on average on a
11 Reock measure?

12 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

13 You can answer.

14 A Yes, just comparing the statistics on the
15 sheet, yes.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q That's a .495 for the legislature's plan
18 as compared to .47 for the Enacted Map on districts
19 CD-6 through CD-18?

20 A For the Reock?

21 Q For Reock.

22 A Yes.

23 Q Okay. Would you agree with me that on
24 average, the legislature's Districts CD-6 to CD-18
25 perform better on a Convex Hull measure than the

1 Enacted Map?

2 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

3 You can answer.

4 A They are more statistically compact than
5 Convex Hull.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 Q .835 as compared to .82?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Okay. And then for fairness, on average,
10 the Governor's districts performed slightly better
11 on the Polsby-Popper score, where the legislature's
12 plan -- sorry -- than the legislature's plan for
13 Districts 6 through 8, correct?

14 A 6 through 18.

15 Q 6 through 18, thank you.

16 A The Enacted Plan has a statistically
17 higher Polsby-Popper compactness score than the plan
18 the legislature originally passed.

19 Q Just for the record, that would be a
20 comparison of .437 for Plan 8019 and .446 for the
21 Enacted Map when we compare Districts 6 through 18,
22 right?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Okay. So at least considering this core
25 region of Florida, the Governor's plan does not make

1 **overall statistical improvements to the**
2 **legislature's plan, right?**

3 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form. You can
4 answer.

5 A In terms of statistical compactness, the
6 Enacted Map does improve one of the three measures
7 and it does not improve the other two measures in
8 just these districts by themselves, just looking at
9 statistical compactness.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 **Q Okay. You mentioned visual compactness**
12 **before. Would you agree with me that visual**
13 **compactness is subjective?**

14 A Well, that's a good theory question. I
15 don't know.

16 **Q What is the test for visual compactness?**

17 A Plain sightedly, does the district have
18 the appearance of a shape that's similar to a
19 square, rectangle, circle, a plain sighted compact
20 shape.

21 **Q Okay. Would you agree with me though that**
22 **saying something is visually compact, opinions could**
23 **differ?**

24 A Opinions by their nature can differ;
25 that's why they are called opinions.

1 Q Let's move on to something else.

2 In your presentation before the
3 legislature, slide 5, just right above the
4 compactness one, talking about political and
5 geographic boundary lines.

6 A Back on Exhibit 17?

7 Q I was about to say we are back on
8 Exhibit 17, slide 5. So here you mentioned that the
9 Enacted Map produces reliance on nongeographic and
10 nonpolitical boundaries from 12.5 percent to
11 11.5 percent, is that correct?

12 A Yes.

13 Q This is a decrease of -- I can do this
14 math -- 1 percent. That's not a significant
15 difference, correct?

16 A 1 percent? 1 percent is a small
17 difference. It's smaller than 2 percent, and so
18 forth.

19 Q Okay. In your testimony before the
20 legislature, you at least characterized it as not a
21 significant difference?

22 A It's improvement.

23 Q Was reducing reliance on these boundaries
24 something that the Governor's Office had prioritized
25 in the past with its other two submissions?

1 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
2 instruction. To the extent you can answer,
3 answer.

4 A Sure. As I noted in my presentation, this
5 greater adherence to recognized political
6 geographical boundary lines was a feature that the
7 Senate focused very much on in looking at their
8 maps. And so the final Enacted Map that I drew
9 adopted that Senate approach. When having to -- all
10 districts have to have boundaries somewhere, there
11 is always difficult choices with zero population,
12 and so forth. When making those decisions, I
13 adopted the Senate's approach.

14 And so I don't recall the exact numbers
15 for the prior maps that our office submitted, but
16 this was a pretty notable improvement for the maps
17 that our office submitted and jumped past the map
18 that the legislature had ultimately originally
19 passed.

20 (Exhibit 21 was marked for
21 identification.)

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q This is Exhibit 21, which is a boundary**
24 **analysis for Plan 79. I got this -- actually I did**
25 **not get this from the Florida redistricting website.**

1 **This was produced by the House in the discovery**
2 **process.**

3 **Does this look like a fair copy of a**
4 **boundary analysis that the Florida legislature would**
5 **have generated for Plan 79?**

6 A This looks like the format of the analysis
7 that the legislature would have produced.

8 Q Do you agree with me that it reports that
9 the reliance on nonpolitical or geographic
10 boundaries was 15.07 percent in Plan 79?

11 A Yes.

12 (Exhibit 22 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q This is Exhibit 22, it is once again a
16 document that the House produced to us in discovery.
17 It's a boundary analysis for Plan 94, which is the
18 Governor's Office second plan they submitted to the
19 legislature.

20 **Does this look like a fair copy what the**
21 **legislature generates for a boundary analysis?**

22 A Yes.

23 Q Do you agree with me that it reports that
24 reliance on nonpolitical or geographic boundaries
25 was 13.11 percent in Plan 94?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Okay. Great. So you agree that the
3 legislature's Plan 8019 at least beat the Governor's
4 two prior proposals on adherence to political and
5 geographic boundaries?

6 A Oh, so when comparing use of nongeographic
7 and political boundaries?

8 Q Yes.

9 A The plan that the legislature adopted, the
10 plan the Governor vetoed, that plan had a better use
11 of political and geographic boundaries than our
12 office's first two plans.

13 Q Okay. You can set those aside. I am done
14 with those.

15 What I have left -- there is a lot that we
16 already covered, so give me patience while I cross
17 some topics out.

18 But -- and I will start high level. Going
19 back to your presentation to the legislature, you
20 described the Gulf Coast region as a hybrid between
21 some of the legislature's plans and some of the
22 Governor's submissions. And I don't think we
23 specifically talked about the Gulf Coast region as a
24 hybrid before.

25 Can you tell me what you meant by that?

1 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
2 instruction but go ahead.

3 A We -- I think we covered some of it.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q We may have.

6 A When I talked about the Gulf Coast region,
7 when I covered drawing districts from Citrus County,
8 keeping Citrus County whole, down to keeping
9 Sarasota County whole, where those districts
10 intersect and Lee and that part of the state, that
11 was the same conversation that we had earlier.

12 Q Okay. Were there any specific ideas that
13 were taken from the legislature's plans for this
14 Tampa Bay region?

15 A Well, one thing that, as we noted, the
16 Senate did do in their maps is when they made those
17 decisions between district boundaries, they were
18 more adherent to consistent use of political,
19 recognized political and geographical boundary
20 lines, the ones that would generate the scores we
21 have gone over.

22 So not just through the Gulf region but
23 throughout the map, I adopted that approach that the
24 Senate took when finalizing boundary lines. Making
25 those difficult decisions about roadway, waterway,

1 whatever it may be, county line, city line, I
2 adopted the Senate approach. And that would apply
3 to these counties up and down throughout the Gulf
4 portions of the state.

5 I am trying to think about anything else
6 in specific, but that comes to mind.

7 **Q Okay. I am done on this. Something we**
8 **have talked about in your presentation to the**
9 **legislature --**

10 A I am sorry, I think, too, I left out, from
11 a point of view -- I mentioned it earlier, but from
12 the feedback that I mentioned earlier I got from the
13 House where the House did not use census designated
14 places.

15 To give you an example, concrete example
16 what that would mean. If you would look at
17 Exhibit 16, which was Plan 0094, and you would look
18 at then ultimately the Enacted Map, if you look at
19 District 15, in both cases the district that is
20 largely a Hillsborough and Pasco County seat, when
21 you look at Plan 0094, where you see that sort of
22 extension at the western end of the district, what I
23 was doing specifically in 0094 there was, I was
24 attempting to keep the entire census designated
25 places whole.

1 So in terms of making the sort of
2 finishing end decisions and in Enacted Map --
3 because I got that feedback that the legislature,
4 the House specifically, wasn't factoring in census
5 designated places, I abandoned using that and I
6 stuck -- you will see -- if you zoomed in, you will
7 see it more adhered to very specific roadways rather
8 than unincorporated census designated place.

9 **Q Okay. Thank you.**

10 A Sure.

11 **Q In your presentation to the legislature,**
12 **you discussed that you reduced splits in**
13 **Hillsborough from four to three, is that right?**

14 A County splits? Yes.

15 **Q County splits. And I think we talked**
16 **about before, because of Hillsborough's population**
17 **which, don't quote me, but I think it's around**
18 **1.5 million, you have to mathematically split it**
19 **into more than one district, right?**

20 A Yes.

21 **Q We talked about Polk County briefly**
22 **before. Polk County does not technically need to be**
23 **split, correct?**

24 A Correct, it's smaller than a district.

25 **Q And Hillsborough County and Polk County**

1 are right next to each other, right?

2 A Correct.

3 Q So your plan reduces Hillsborough County
4 splits from four to three, but then it splits Polk
5 into four different districts, right?

6 A I believe you are correct. I believe it
7 is four, yes.

8 Q I have down Districts 18, 15, 11, and 9,
9 does that sound right?

10 A Yes.

11 Q So in terms of intercounty splits in this
12 particular region, they get worse, right?

13 A I think you are blocking out the whole
14 rest of the state as though it doesn't exist, if you
15 make a statement like that.

16 Q Do you agree with me though in this,
17 looking at this particular -- I am just asking this
18 region.

19 A Well, not this region, this one county,
20 Polk County. So, no.

21 Q The --

22 A The region doesn't get worse. Polk County
23 is split more in exchange for splitting counties
24 around it less.

25 Q You mentioned to the legislature that you

1 could -- I will quote from here -- you can see the
2 legislature had an intent to draw a seat wholly in
3 Pinellas County, is that right?

4 A Yeah.

5 Q And that you wanted to honor that. By
6 that, I assume you wanted to make sure there was one
7 district that was entirely compromised in Pinellas
8 County?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And in your presentation to the
11 legislature, you said you did that for moving east
12 to west across Pinellas County?

13 A Both east to west, but also north to
14 south. So starting, as I mentioned earlier,
15 starting at that Pinellas/Pasco line, moving south
16 as well and then, yes, also west to east -- I think
17 you said east to west -- west to east.

18 Q It is also possible to create a wholly
19 Pinellas County district by moving south to north,
20 correct?

21 A Yes.

22 Q One more question on Pinellas County.
23 On February 18, 2022, I think that might
24 have been the day Mr. Popper testified. I can't
25 remember.

1 **Anyway, that was the day that the House**
2 **Redistricting Committee said it had a specific**
3 **intent to keep one district whole within Pinellas**
4 **County. The House also talked how it drew the**
5 **district to connect, quote, the remaining portion of**
6 **county over land to another county rather than over**
7 **water.**

8 **I am wondering whether you took that**
9 **preference into account?**

10 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
11 instruction.

12 A I don't recall that specific testimony, so
13 I wasn't factoring that in. I don't recall that
14 specific statement.

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q Did you watch Mr. Popper's testimony to
17 the Florida House?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Were you there that day?

20 A No, I was watching from my office.

21 Q All right. And by the way, I have a copy
22 of your testimony or your presentation to the
23 legislature, so if you want to reference it at any
24 time, just let me know.

25 A Sure.

1 Q As you told them -- still on Tampa Bay --
2 you told the legislature that you continued to just
3 work my way east as I built District 14 again,
4 seeking to utilize as clean, clear, distinguishable
5 municipal boundary lines.

6 And I am wondering what municipal boundary
7 lines you used to create District 14?

8 A Sure. So in District 14, when you -- if
9 you look at kind of the closer-up view of
10 District 14, right here is Temple Terrace, and a key
11 challenge to drawing a -- drawing a district in the
12 Tampa Bay -- in the Hillsborough County area
13 specifically, and I should say too, Plant City is in
14 this part of Hillsborough County here.

15 MS. DJANG: Can you note for the record,
16 describe --

17 THE WITNESS: My apologies.

18 A So Temple Terrace is a municipality that's
19 right next to the city boundaries, east of the city
20 boundaries of Tampa, or east of a portion of them.
21 Tampa does have this -- if I am Tampa, it has this
22 arm, a statute of liberty effect basically that goes
23 above Temple Terrace.

24 Temple Terrace is right here, largely to
25 the east of most of the city. And then when you go

1 a little further east, still in Hillsborough County
2 but into what is generally speaking unincorporated
3 Hillsborough County, you then get to the city,
4 incorporated city of Plant City, before you get into
5 the Hillsborough/Polk border.

6 So when you are drawing a district in
7 Hillsborough County, that Temple Terrace location is
8 geographically challenging, something that you have
9 to work with.

10 The reason being is that if you just sort
11 of looked at Hillsborough County based on major
12 roadways, and you just only thought that -- thought
13 that through about major roadways and kind of just
14 started clean divisions, the population around
15 Temple Terrace and some of the incorporated --
16 unincorporated areas around it, particularly
17 unincorporated areas of Tampa is massive.

18 So how you pick and choose where you are
19 going to divide your district, which there are a lot
20 of major roadways to work from, that's good, but the
21 challenge is that some of those roadways come
22 straight through Temple Terrace.

23 Moreover, you can't -- even if you worked
24 your way around Temple Terrace and back into the
25 city of Tampa itself, what happens is that when you

1 hit those major roadways again, where you are again
2 trying to make some decision to say what's a
3 meaningful place that I am going to finish this
4 district, I am going to make this linkage, if you
5 accommodate for Temple Terrace, then you have this
6 kind of bump in your district.

7 You can't always avoid those sorts of
8 things in a map if you are going to keep a
9 municipality whole, but I wanted to try.

10 So what I found was that I needed -- I
11 needed a means to have that main joint between three
12 districts south of Temple Terrace, outside of the
13 city limits, so that Temple Terrace didn't become
14 the bump in the map one way or the other. And I
15 still wanted to keep it whole.

16 Tampa is very hard to keep whole because
17 of the statute of liberty effect; not a lot of
18 population in the arm, but it's there, so it's very,
19 very difficult to keep whole. To keep Tampa whole,
20 you have to do something really exaggerated in the
21 map. So it's a very difficult city to keep whole.

22 So I wasn't as concerned about that
23 because of just the sheer difficulty doing it, but
24 Temple Terrace is a relatively small municipality; I
25 wanted to keep it whole, so I brought the joint

1 where three districts met further south.

2 I had considerations to make about, from a
3 north-south perspective -- or I should say more of
4 an east-west perspective -- does 14 become more of a
5 squared-up block?

6 So basically I could have taken 14 further
7 to the east and just grab a different north-south
8 roadway, but the result of that was then some
9 district was going to have come over top of 14 with
10 a more exaggerated arm, that would just make the
11 district over top of it less compact.

12 So it was a constant trade-off of trying
13 to find that joint in Hillsborough County. And I
14 was attempting to, at the end, the end product, the
15 Enacted Map, I was attempting to split Hillsborough
16 County one less time, so that from a standpoint of
17 just visually compact districts, keeping as many
18 cities reasonably whole as I could, adhering to
19 county lines as much as I could, adhering to well
20 recognized boundaries, major roadways, as much as I
21 could, and then also not causing districts around
22 that to be at the mercy of it to the greatest
23 reasonable degree, it was essential that I find that
24 joint between those three districts and sort of
25 that -- I guess I probably will just call it --

1 almost sort of central spot in Hillsborough County.
2 That was a very painstaking process to get that just
3 right and create that nice, clean functional joint
4 between those three districts.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 Q Thank you. In your presentation to the
7 legislature, you also talked about you were
8 attempting to make compactness in this region,
9 right?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Did you, in fact, increase compactness in
12 this region?

13 A Yes, I would say so.

14 Q From a statistical measure?

15 A I don't know if it's from a statistical
16 point of view district to district in the region to
17 its south, but it is in my opinion clearly more
18 compact than any other map that was considered.

19 Q Okay. I would like to pull back up
20 Exhibit 20, which is this chart. So I have here
21 Exhibit 20, which is again the sort of compactness
22 comparisons for certain districts on three measures.

23 This is again an exhibit that I generated,
24 but I pulled from the numbers that were reported by
25 the Florida legislature.

1 **Can you take a look at District 13 for me.**
2 **Do you agree with me that as compared to CD-13 and**
3 **Plan 8019, the enacted CD-13 is less compact on both**
4 **Reock and Polsby-Popper?**

5 A CD-13 in the Enacted Map has a lower
6 Reock, a higher Convex Hull and lower Polsby-Popper
7 score compared to the map the legislature passed.

8 **Q Can you go to CD-17 for me, please.**

9 **Do you agree with me that as compared to**
10 **Plan 8019, the enacted CD-17 is less compact on**
11 **Reock, on Convex Hull, and on Polsby-Popper?**

12 A Do you have a copy of -- maybe it's
13 actually right here in my presentation. I want to
14 see the Enacted Map. I just want to make sure these
15 are by number -- what they are really truly
16 comparing.

17 Yeah, if you are only reading the
18 District 17 numbers, but they are almost entirely
19 different districts.

20 **Q Can you point me to what page you are**
21 **looking at?**

22 A I am looking at page 10 of the
23 presentation that I gave to the House and Senate
24 committees. And if you look at the plan the
25 legislature passed, CD-17 -- it's very small, it's

1 hard for me to tell.

2 **Q We actually -- let's grab it.**

3 A It looks like it's southern Hillsborough,
4 Manatee, and a slice of Sarasota. The Enacted Map
5 is all of Sarasota, all of Charlotte, and the --
6 roughly speaking, the Lehigh Acres, portions of
7 Lehigh Acres unincorporated area, and Lee County.
8 So they are very different districts.

9 **Q You agree with me it is a district that**
10 **encompasses basically the southwest coast of Florida**
11 **below Tampa Bay?**

12 A Yes.

13 **Q Below Sarasota -- actually, I mean**
14 **including Sarasota?**

15 MR. JAZIL: What district are you talking
16 about?

17 MS. FORD: Let's use an image that would
18 be better and actual county boundaries.

19 (Exhibit 23 was marked for
20 identification.)

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 **Q This is Exhibit 23, which is a visual**
23 **image of 8019 which was passed by the legislature**
24 **and vetoed by the Governor. I got this from the**
25 **Florida redistricting website. Does this look like**

1 a fair and accurate copy?

2 A Yes, this looks like a map that the
3 legislature passed.

4 Q All right. Give me one second.

5 So I agree with you that these two
6 districts do not include exactly the same counties.
7 But do you disagree with me that this is essentially
8 the district that sits, you know, just below
9 Sarasota, in both seats, on the southwest coast of
10 Florida?

11 MR. JAZIL: I object to form. Which
12 districts are we talking about?

13 MS. FORD: We are talking about District
14 17.

15 A I disagree with you.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q Okay. In any event we are comparing -- I
18 accept you disagree with me. But that these are
19 sort of meant to be similar districts. But
20 District 17 is less compact on Reock, Convex Hull
21 and Palsby-Popper as compared to the Enacted Map,
22 correct?

23 A They are not the equivalent districts
24 comparing the maps. They happen to have the same
25 number, they have some overlapping territory, but a

1 majority of the population in these two districts
2 are not overlapped.

3 Q Can you look at CD-14 for me, please, on
4 this comparison chart?

5 A On which?

6 Q On Exhibit 20.

7 A Sure. CD-14.

8 Q Would you agree with me that CD-14 is more
9 compact in the Enacted Map on the Reock score, but
10 less compact on Convex Hull and Polsby-Popper?

11 A Yes.

12 Q For CD-16, would you agree that as
13 compared to the Plan 8019, CD-16 in the Enacted Plan
14 is less compact on Reock, less compact on Convex
15 Hull, slightly more compact on Polsby-Popper?

16 A To make sure I understand 5correctly, you
17 were saying that -- I am sorry, repeat it.

18 Q I may have made a mistake. I am looking at
19 CD-16, and I read this to say that as compared
20 between Plan 8019 and Enacted Map, CD-16 is less
21 compact on Reock, less compact on Convex Hull, and
22 slightly more compact on Polsby-Popper?

23 A Not dissimilar to the question you asked
24 before. CD-16 on the legislature's first map they
25 passed is a district that is almost entirely Polk

1 County.

2 CD-16 on the map that was enacted
3 ultimately, that the Governor signed into law, has
4 all of Manatee County and portions of southern
5 Hillsborough County. These districts hardly
6 overlap.

7 There is a little sliver north to south of
8 the southeastern part of Hillsborough County that
9 overlaps, but that's a small chunk of the district.

10 MS. FORD: I can knock out a few
11 questions, if you give me just a second.

12 THE WITNESS: Sure.

13 (Short pause.)

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q We talked about Plan 8019 a lot. Did you
16 adopt any ideas from Senate Plan 8060 in the Tampa
17 Bay region?

18 A Do you have a copy of Plan 8060?

19 Q Yeah, I think we do. I am running out of
20 images.

21 (Exhibit 24 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q This is Exhibit 24, it is an image of Plan
25 8060 as passed by the Senate. And I similarly got

1 **this from the Florida redistricting website.**

2 **To your eye, does it look like a fair and**
3 **accurate copy of Plan 8060?**

4 A I would say it's been a long time since I
5 looked at this map. I am sure this is -- I believe
6 what you are saying, that you printed out Plan 8060,
7 but I will say it's been quite a long time since I
8 looked at this.

9 Q **So the question I had asked before we**
10 **pulled this out, did you adopt any ideas from Senate**
11 **Plan 8060 in the Tampa Bay region?**

12 MR. JAZIL: I will give you the Marsh
13 instructions, but answer to the extent you can.

14 A The Senate Plan does keep Citrus County
15 whole. I can't recall whether that was consciously
16 influential when I tried to keep Citrus and did keep
17 Citrus County whole successfully in the final plan,
18 but that is a common point.

19 I'd probably have to spend time at a
20 pretty detailed level otherwise comparing the plans
21 between these two.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q **Okay. Would you agree with me that in**
24 **looking at Districts 13, 14, 15, and 16, those are**
25 **roughly equivalent to the Districts 13, 14, 15 and**

1 **16 between these two plans?**

2 A Are you asking between the Senate Plan and
3 the --

4 Q Yeah, I am doing a bad job of noting for
5 the record. I am looking -- I am comparing now the
6 Enacted Map, Districts 13 through 16, and I am
7 looking at Senate Plan 8060, comparing that, looking
8 at 13 through 16.

9 Would you agree those are roughly
10 equivalent districts?

11 A In the --

12 Q In the areas they are meant to represent.

13 A I am sorry, what area of the state are you
14 talking about?

15 Q Tampa Bay; to the extent you know we
16 have -- 13 is a predominantly Pinellas County
17 district, District 14 is predominantly
18 Tampa/Hillsborough, District 16 is this Manatee
19 district, and District 15 is like -- obviously to
20 the east of 14, another Hillsborough based district.
21 Do you agree with that, with both of these plans?

22 A These districts have some -- I don't agree
23 with the total of what you said. These districts
24 have some similarities. Both of these maps only
25 split Hillsborough County three ways. Both of those

1 maps keep one district wholly in Pinellas County. I
2 am sure in a more detailed level there is probably
3 some additional similarities. But there is
4 definitely some notable differences too.

5 **Q Are you aware that Senate Plan 8060 beats**
6 **the Enacted Map on compactness on both Polsby-Popper**
7 **and Reock in the Tampa Bay region for Districts 12**
8 **through 17?**

9 A I don't have the benefit of those scores.

10 **Q Would you agree with me that increasing**
11 **the compactness of Districts 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and**
12 **17, what I would call the entire Tampa Bay region,**
13 **that those would be worthwhile Tier 2 gains --**

14 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 **Q -- if you were able to make them?**

17 A It's a hypothetical. Do we have the data?
18 If you want me to compare the maps, we can compare
19 the maps.

20 **Q Yeah. Sure.**

21 (Exhibit 25 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 **Q This Exhibit 25 is the District**
25 **Compactness Report for Plan, Senate Plan 8060. This**

1 was again taken from the Florida redistricting
2 website directly.

3 Does this look like a fair copy of the
4 District Compactness Report from the Florida
5 legislature?

6 A Yes.

7 Q I don't have a nice comparison chart for
8 this one, like I did for the other one, but the
9 numbers are reported here.

10 I will represent to you that Senate Plan
11 8060 beats the Enacted Plan on Districts 12, 13, 14,
12 15, 16, and 17 in the Tampa Bay area. I don't think
13 it's worth our time to compare them one by one, so I
14 won't ask you if you agree with that or not.

15 My question for you is simply, did you
16 consider adopting these districts when you were
17 trying to make Tier 2 gains as compared to Plan 8019
18 in the Tampa Bay region?

19 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
20 instruction, but answer to the extent you can.

21 A I disagree with some of the statements you
22 made leading up to that question.

23 Again, I recognize that the legislature
24 pretty consistently looked at drawing a district
25 wholly in Pinellas County as this map does. I did

1 exactly the same thing in the final Enacted Map.

2 I attempted to reduce Hillsborough splits
3 to where the county was only split three times. The
4 Senate Map 8060 that the Senate originally passed
5 has that same benefit to it. The Senate map has
6 some similarities, but again, there are some key
7 differences too.

8 The Senate map, the configuration chosen
9 in the Senate map forces the splitting of Sarasota
10 County, and as I noted a few times, I was trying to
11 keep Sarasota County whole in the final Enacted Map.
12 So there is some similarities and there are some
13 differences.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Okay. I guess my question is whether you
16 ever seriously considered adopting this
17 configuration of districts in the Enacted Map?

18 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form, and I will
19 give you the Marsh instruction.

20 A I think I answered it three times, that
21 there are some definite benefits, what the Senate
22 did, that I picked up in the final Enacted Map. I
23 can't recall if I was literally looking at this map
24 thinking consciously about exactly this point in the
25 map.

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q At the time that you drew the Enacted Map,
3 were you aware that Senate Plan 8060 would have been
4 more favorable to Democrats in Tampa Bay than the
5 Enacted Map ended up being?

6 A No.

7 Q That it would have allowed Democrats to
8 win or at least compete in three districts in Tampa
9 Bay as compared to only one district in the
10 Governor's plan?

11 A I am not aware of any of that.

12 Q Slightly different topic on Tampa Bay.
13 You did not consider any of these districts in Tampa
14 Bay to be districts where you needed to maintain a
15 minority group's ability to elect, correct?

16 MR. JAZIL: I going to give you the Marsh
17 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
18 answer.

19 A Correct, I would agree.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q I didn't hear.

22 A Correct, I would agree, I did not consider
23 any of these districts ones that would require
24 maintaining the minority community's ability to
25 elect.

1 Q So as far as you knew, you did not have
2 some sort of legal obligation to join any particular
3 minority communities to make sure they were at a
4 particular voting strength in the Tampa Bay region?

5 A Correct.

6 Q Okay. So there was no legal obligation
7 for you to join the minority communities of
8 St. Petersburg with the minority communities of
9 Tampa like the plan drawn in 2012 did?

10 A Correct.

11 Q But nevertheless, that is what the Enacted
12 Map does, correct?

13 A I do not know if the Enacted Map does
14 that.

15 Q You do not know whether the Enacted Map
16 joins a minority population of St. Petersburg with a
17 minority population in Tampa?

18 A There is a minority population in every
19 part of the state. Can you be a little more clear
20 in your question?

21 Q Sure. We talked about how in 2012, in
22 that process when this district or the predecessor
23 district was under federal preclearance, you made an
24 attempt to join the minority populations across
25 Tampa Bay to create a district that would perform,

1 **correct?**

2 A In the 2012 process?

3 **Q In the 2012 process.**

4 A That's what we read earlier in the
5 transcript.

6 **Q Okay. I am asking you this time around,**
7 **your plan also joins St. Petersburg with Tampa and**
8 **what I would call a substantial minority population**
9 **in Tampa together, correct?**

10 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form. Answer if
11 you can answer, considering the Marsh
12 instructions.

13 A I was asked this question pretty pointedly
14 in the committee process in the Senate, and I am not
15 aware of the demographic makeup of these different
16 districts in Hillsborough and Pinellas County.

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 **Q Yeah, I remember that from the**
19 **legislature's presentation. You said you didn't**
20 **know the Black Voting Age Percentage of this**
21 **district. And just to be clear, that's not what I**
22 **am asking you.**

23 I am not asking you whether you know what
24 the specific B-VAP/H-VAP is of this district. I am
25 just asking you when you drew this district, did you

1 **know that you were joining minority communities in**
2 **St. Petersburg across the bay with the minority**
3 **communities in Tampa?**

4 A No.

5 MR. JAZIL: Same objections.

6 A No, I did not. I drew this district
7 without race as a consideration.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q **Is it your testimony today that you do not**
10 **know where Black voters in St. Petersburg live? I**
11 **am sorry, you do not know where Black voters in**
12 **Pinellas County live?**

13 A You are asking me in the entire county, do
14 I know where all the Black voters live?

15 Q **No, I am not. I am asking --**

16 A I am not sure I understand the question.

17 Q **Are you aware that there is a substantial**
18 **Black population in St. Petersburg?**

19 MR. JAZIL: Object to form. Go ahead.

20 A I do not know the racial makeup of
21 St. Petersburg.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q **At all?**

24 A Correct.

25 Q **You couldn't even guess?**

1 A That will be wholly inappropriate to guess
2 in a deposition.

3 **Q You did know these things in the 2012**
4 **cycle, correct?**

5 A Correct, the transcript we went over
6 earlier clearly identified that.

7 (Discussion off record.)

8 (A recess took place from 3:46 p.m. to
9 4:00 p.m.)

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 **Q I want to ask you a few questions about**
12 **Central Florida.**

13 A Sure.

14 **Q In your presentation to the legislature,**
15 **you said that the Governor's Office accepted the**
16 **position of the House that CD-10 was not subject to**
17 **the nondiminishment provision, is that right?**

18 A Yes, correct.

19 **Q What is your best understanding why the**
20 **House concluded that CD-10 didn't merit protection**
21 **under Tier 1?**

22 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

23 A I was asked the question numerous times in
24 committee, and I essentially said that I took the
25 position as the House explained it in the process.

1 I don't think that I could do justice to reexplain
2 what they said.

3 But at that time, looking at what the
4 House said in their process and their explanation,
5 it was sound and we accepted that position.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 **Q And this is an area where the Senate**
8 **disagreed, correct? It did not agree with the**
9 **House's assessment about whether CD-10 was entitled**
10 **to protection from diminishment?**

11 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

12 MS. FORD: Yeah, I am sorry, that was an
13 awful question.

14 MR. JAZIL: If you understand, you can
15 answer.

16 A Correct, there was a clear disagreement.
17 I think I might have mentioned in my presentation,
18 there was a clear disagreement between the House and
19 Senate on this matter.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 **Q What I was attempting to ask you is to**
22 **your understanding, the Senate did believe that**
23 **CD-10 was entitled to protection from diminishment?**

24 A Correct, the Senate articulated that.

25 **Q Did you perform your own functional**

1 analysis on CD-10?

2 A No.

3 Q To your knowledge, did anyone in the
4 Governor's Office perform a functional analysis on
5 CD-10?

6 MR. JAZIL: I will give you the Marsh
7 instruction.

8 A I think I testified that we did not
9 perform any kind of functional analysis on any
10 district in the map, including CD-10.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q At any point did you or anyone at the
13 Governor's Office sort of ask the House to see their
14 data to evaluate their conclusions on this issue?

15 A No.

16 Q Did you ever look at racial data in this
17 area?

18 A CD-10?

19 Q Uh-huh.

20 A Yes.

21 Q Why did you do that?

22 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
23 instruction, but answer if you can.

24 A Again, a point that came up in my
25 committee presentations, it was clear that there was

1 a disagreement between the House and the Senate on
2 this. And I felt that there was some need to at
3 least have a basic understanding as to what they
4 were even disagreeing over. So I looked at -- I
5 looked at demographic data for that purpose.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 Q Okay. So you would have consulted the
8 Black voting populations of CD-10 in the benchmark
9 map?

10 A Yes, and the Hispanic voting age
11 population.

12 Q Did you also consult any election data to
13 see if you agreed with the House's conclusion that
14 CD-10 did not perform for the Black candidate of
15 choice?

16 A No.

17 Q My understanding is that the House's
18 conclusion was based on voter turnout data. Is that
19 your understanding?

20 A I don't recall that. I would imagine if
21 you reviewed their testimony, I think they were
22 pretty specific in their comments that would
23 publicly answer the question.

24 Q So all you looked at to see -- to
25 understand the disagreement between the House and

1 Senate was sort of just minority voting age
2 populations in the district?

3 A Black and Hispanic voting age populations
4 in the district.

5 Q Okay. Did you consult any other data to
6 try to understand the disagreement or which body was
7 right?

8 A No.

9 Q You talked about a little bit of this, so
10 I will try to eliminate duplication.

11 In your presentation to the legislature,
12 you said that the Enacted Plan drew on Plan 8011 in
13 Central Florida.

14 What were you referring to when you said
15 you drew on concepts from Plan 8011?

16 A Sure.

17 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
18 instruction, but go ahead.

19 A Sure. Plan 8011 -- I am looking at
20 Exhibit 14, it outlines that.

21 Plan 8011, the House's sort of penultimate
22 plan before they seemingly negotiated the
23 differences with the Senate, that plan in 8011 had a
24 district, not an identical but similar to what I did
25 in the enacted one, where it's effectively almost a

1 brick, compactly located; so working a little bit
2 around city and county lines, but otherwise very
3 compactly located in the relatively speaking central
4 part of Orange County, Maitland, Winter Park area,
5 with most of the population coming from the city of
6 Orlando.

7 So I looked at what the House had done,
8 and they had drawn a very compact district that was
9 wholly in one county, very respectful of county
10 lines, very respectful of Orange County; and Orlando
11 in particular is an interesting crisscross of
12 diagonal roadways, and some east to west roadways,
13 so I thought they done a very, very good job of
14 picking up as many major roadways as possible.

15 So the district that I drew in the Enacted
16 Plan, it's not the same exact same lines, but it
17 picks up the spirit of what the House was doing.

18 BY MS. FORD:

19 **Q Okay. Did you have any concern that the**
20 **legislature had improperly utilized race in drawing**
21 **District 10 in Plan 8019?**

22 MR. JAZIL: Object to form, and the Marsh
23 instruction.

24 A The legislature, again as a whole, I saw
25 that the -- I am not sure if you are referring to

1 their maps as they were progressing towards the end
2 or the final map. I am not sure what specifically
3 you are referring to.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 **Q Let me ask a more specific question. I**
6 **guess just when you looked at District 10 in Plan**
7 **8019, did you have any constitutional concerns with**
8 **it?**

9 MR. JAZIL: Let me give you the Marsh
10 instruction, but go ahead and answer if you
11 can.

12 A I am not sure I thought about it in that
13 context. I thought about it in the context that the
14 House in Plan 8011 drew a great district, they had
15 it right.

16 And the Senate's reasoning for drawing the
17 district differently, based on a high level cursory
18 review of demographic data, didn't make sense.

19 So the House's original position was a
20 drawing of the district that used sound
21 redistricting standards and was a better decision.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q So just to be clear on the record about**
24 **what plan we are talking about, I am looking back at**
25 **8019, which is Exhibit 23, if you still have it.**

1 A Yes.

2 Q Looking at District 10 here, it was my
3 understanding, though perhaps I am mistaken, that
4 sort of in the disagreement between the House and
5 Senate, the House sort of won out here, that their
6 provision prevailed when they drew this district,
7 this version of CD-10. Is that also your
8 understanding?

9 A That's incorrect. The Senate's position
10 is the one that prevailed.

11 Q I apologize. I misunderstood then.
12 Could you pull out Plan 79, which is
13 Exhibit 15, and the Enacted Plan, which is 13.

14 A I am sorry, Enacted Plan, which is 13?

15 Q Exhibit 13.

16 A Sure, got it.

17 Q You got both those? Okay.

18 We already established that Plan 79 was
19 the Governor's first proposal to the legislature
20 that it submitted, right?

21 A Yes.

22 Q And Adam Foltz was the author of this
23 plan?

24 A Yes.

25 Q If you can just compare these plans for me

1 in the Central Florida area, sort of look at them
2 side by side.

3 A Yes.

4 Q Do you dispute that the Governor's or the
5 Enacted Plan bears a striking resemblance to Plan 79
6 in the Central Florida area?

7 A What do you mean, striking resemblance?
8 They are similar, but they are not the same.

9 Q Yeah, I don't think they are exactly the
10 same either. Let me put it this way.

11 In drawing the Enacted Plan, did you draw
12 on concepts that had been established in Plan 79 for
13 Central Florida?

14 A It's similar. As I said though, I was
15 taking ultimately what the House -- what the House's
16 Map 8011 did, but they are all similar in that they
17 are a wholly located relatively compact center of
18 Orange County.

19 Q If you could compare District 9 in both
20 these maps for me.

21 Do you agree with me that District 9 in
22 both of these maps are very similar with the
23 exception that in the Enacted Map, you have taken a
24 little piece of Polk and sort of filled it in to
25 make the district line a little bit more regular;

1 would you agree with me other than that, these
2 districts are very similar?

3 A The core of the district is all Osceola
4 County. Osceola County is kept whole; that's the
5 core of the district.

6 You described correctly that the
7 difference in Poinciana, which is an unincorporated
8 area that's partly Osceola, partly Polk. And so as
9 you said, in the Enacted Map, I filled that in for
10 District 9 to create that more angled, as you pull
11 back from that, the more compact looking shape.

12 The differences in Orange County aren't
13 unimportant. Bell Isle and or Edgewood are included
14 entirely in District 9 in the way that the Enacted
15 Map is drawn.

16 Also, as you really look closely at what's
17 done in Orange County, the adherence to major
18 roadways is improved upon between -- in the Enacted
19 Map 10 and 9 and Map 7 and 9 -- 7 and 9, at the time
20 the Enacted Map 10 and 9, and the Orange County
21 population is pretty significant. So those
22 differences aren't unimportant.

23 Q So do you agree with me that District 7 in
24 Plan 79 and District 10 in the Enacted Map are
25 roughly equivalent districts?

1 A No, they are very similar. They have some
2 similar attributes, but when you have that amount of
3 population, that small area, those differences are
4 pretty significant.

5 **Q Would you agree with me that District 6 in**
6 **Plan 79 and District 7 in the Enacted Map are**
7 **similar districts?**

8 A District -- you said District 6 in Plan 79
9 and District -- I apologize, you said what plan?

10 **Q 7.**

11 A -- 7 in the Enacted Map, relatively
12 speaking, they are fairly similar. Both include all
13 of Seminole County. The Volusia lines were improved
14 upon with the Enacted Map.

15 **Q I think I have one more image; I lied**
16 **before.**

17 (Exhibit 26 was marked for
18 identification.)

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 **Q This is Exhibit 26. This is just an image**
21 **that I pulled off of the Florida redistricting**
22 **website of Plan 8011 from the House. Unfortunately**
23 **I couldn't find like an official copy produced by**
24 **the legislature that's quite as nice as these other**
25 **copies, but hopefully it will work for today.**

1 Does this look like a fair copy of Plan
2 8011, what it generally looked like?

3 A I am not sure. If you look in the House's
4 committee packets, you will find a more detailed
5 iteration of -- because this was a map that was
6 actually considered and adopted in the committee.
7 If you look in their committee package, you will
8 find a detailed map that looks more like these.

9 Q Sure, that might exist, but for today,
10 this is what I have. To your memory, does this
11 generally look like Plan 8011?

12 A I'm not sure.

13 Q Let's assume this is Plan 8011 for today.
14 If I am wrong, then I am wrong.

15 Can you compare Central Florida for me in
16 these sort of three maps?

17 A I am not going to assume this is Plan
18 8011. I have no -- this is not -- I have no means.

19 I am not saying it's not, but I have no
20 means -- there is no county lines included in this,
21 there is no larger visuals of some of the more urban
22 areas. It would be very difficult to compare
23 Exhibit 26 to the other exhibits which were way more
24 detailed.

25 Q I am not going to ask you about anything

1 in particular. My only question for you is whether
2 you agree with me that Central Florida in the
3 Enacted Plan looks a lot more like Plan 79 than Plan
4 8011?

5 MR. JAZIL: Object to form. If you can
6 answer, answer.

7 A I can't answer the question for the
8 reasons I already stated.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q In your presentation to the legislature,
11 you said that you drew upon one concept from Senate
12 Plan 8060 in Central Florida. I think we talked
13 about that a bit earlier today.

14 Can you explain what that was, if you
15 remember?

16 A Sure. I mentioned the specific concept,
17 although the general point, too, that I made a few
18 times over is also true; that as I drew the Enacted
19 Map, as you go through almost any of these
20 districts, I was more adherent, where necessary, to
21 major political and geographical boundary lines,
22 which was a concept the Senate used throughout its
23 entire map.

24 The specific point that I referenced
25 earlier today had to do with Brevard County, where

1 the Senate chose to divide in this case in Map 8060,
2 they chose to divide District 6 and 8 at the
3 Brevard/Volusia County line.

4 Q In Plan 8060, District 8 picked up the
5 rest of the population they needed from Orange
6 County?

7 A Plan 8060, it's all of Brevard, it has
8 what appears to be all of Indian River, and then it
9 has a little bit of eastern Orange County.

10 Q Okay. Then could you look back at Plan 79
11 for me as well, Exhibit 15.

12 A Sure.

13 Q Would you agree with me that Plan 79
14 similarly gets extra population from Orange County
15 already?

16 A For District 8?

17 Q Uh-huh.

18 A Yes, Plan 79 -- I did notice, by the way,
19 one subtle difference.

20 I said I think it appears -- if you go
21 back to Plan 8060, I said it appears to pick up all
22 of Indian River County, but I can see in small
23 detail there, it actually doesn't. There is a
24 little sliver of Indian River in District 18.

25 But that aside, District 8 in Plan 0079

1 picks up its remaining population -- in effect it's
2 getting to zero pop in the eastern parts of Orange
3 County.

4 Q Okay. Can you find Plan 8019, which is
5 going to be Exhibit 23. You have it?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Okay. I realize this is small, but the
8 actual like inset of the Orlando region might be
9 more helpful here to look at Central Florida.

10 So Plan 8019, CD-7 came down to include a
11 small portion of Orange County here, correct?

12 A CD --

13 Q I am sorry. Let me reask my question. In
14 Plan 8019, CD-7 came down to include a small portion
15 of Orange County, right?

16 A Correct.

17 Q Okay. This portion of Orange County
18 includes University of Central Florida, right?

19 A I don't know whether it definitely does.
20 I generally know UCF is in that area, but I don't a
21 hundred percent know if UCF is in that chunk. But I
22 know it's in the area.

23 Q Okay. And the Enacted Map removes CD-7
24 from Orange County entirely and instead takes more
25 population from Volusia County, right?

1 A Correct.

2 MS. FORD: I think that is all the mapping
3 questions that I have. Very short topic, then
4 I think we are wrapped up for the day.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Were you surprised when the website**
7 **FiveThirtyEight called your plan one of the most**
8 **aggressive gerrymanders this cycle?**

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to form and the Marsh
10 instruction.

11 A I first heard this from you reading it
12 today.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q Have you heard criticisms previously that**
15 **people who called the Florida Congressional plan a**
16 **partisan gerrymander?**

17 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

18 A Was called far worse things in committee,
19 so I heard members in legislative committee
20 presentations saying terrifying things about me and
21 the plan.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 **Q You are aware people have -- legislators,**
24 **news, what have you, have called your plan a**
25 **partisan gerrymander. Are you aware of that?**

1 A They said it to my face.

2 Q **Were you surprised when you heard that**
3 **criticism?**

4 A Was I surprised? No, they were pretty
5 much saying it before I even explained it.

6 Q **Were you surprised when this Congressional**
7 **plan elected 20 Republicans and 8 Democrats?**

8 A I had no reason to know one way or the
9 other what this plan was going to do.

10 Q **I have one more exhibit.**

11 (Exhibit 27 was marked for
12 identification.)

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q **Mr. Kelly, this is a previous subpoena**
15 **that we served on the Governor's Office for**
16 **documents. This is at this point from July. If you**
17 **flip back all the way to the end, last page, records**
18 **to be produced. This is a subpoena that plaintiffs**
19 **served on the Governor's Office for documents. Have**
20 **you seen this before?**

21 A Yes.

22 Q **Okay. Were you asked to search for**
23 **documents responsive to this subpoena?**

24 A I was asked to search for -- actually I
25 was asked to provide every document I had on

1 redistricting, so it would more than encompass
2 anything requested here.

3 **Q Can you describe the process you used to**
4 **sort of collect documents when you were asked to**
5 **provide them?**

6 A Sure.

7 MR. JAZIL: Just to be clear, when you are
8 say you, it's the office as a whole?

9 MS. FORD: Actually I was just asking
10 about Mr. Kelly.

11 A Sure. Any electronic records, e-mail,
12 things of that nature, they were automatically
13 saved, so we don't have to go collect them. If they
14 hit our e-mail, it just gets pulled in a search, if
15 we sent or received it.

16 Any other document that I had, I kept it.
17 I made it easy on myself from the day that I got
18 involved until the end, I had one folder with
19 subfolders and kept all my records pretty tidy
20 organized. And I had a binder that had a printout
21 of some of those records.

22 So when I was asked for my records, I was
23 literally able to say this folder, here's my binder.
24 BY MS. FORD:

25 **Q Okay. When you said all of the**

1 **electronic -- the e-mails were in your inbox, did**
2 **you personally do the search for responsive**
3 **documents or did someone else do it for you?**

4 A I did not do it. Someone else did it.

5 Q **Someone else would have sort of run the**
6 **search terms just on your inbox?**

7 A Right.

8 Q **Have you ever deleted e-mails concerning**
9 **redistricting in the -- I will say redistricting for**
10 **the 2020 cycle?**

11 A It doesn't matter if we delete them. If
12 they hit our inbox, they are, as far as I know, for
13 good.

14 Q **It's preserved?**

15 A Yeah, so you could delete the e-mail, you
16 could do the whole thing; you could delete -- you
17 could empty the whole thing; it's there. If it hit
18 our inbox or we sent it out of our e-mail, you don't
19 have to keep it, it's there. It's -- I don't know
20 what exactly we use, but you don't have to worry
21 about it.

22 Q **Did you use anything other than your**
23 **e-mail address for the Governor to conduct any**
24 **business related to redistricting?**

25 A You mean for e-mail purposes?

1 Q Uh-huh.

2 A No, just my work e-mail.

3 Q Okay. How did you primarily communicate
4 with Mr. Foltz?

5 A E-mail and phone.

6 Q Okay. By phone, do you mean text
7 conversations or do you mean -- did you text with
8 Mr. Foltz?

9 A Yes.

10 Q You also had phone calls with Mr. Foltz?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Do you use any other -- not any other. Do
13 you use any social media platforms?

14 A LinkedIn.

15 Q Did you have any conversations about
16 redistricting on LinkedIn?

17 A No.

18 Q That would be strange.

19 A I don't check it but once every four or
20 six months anyway. I am not too good in keeping up
21 with it.

22 Q Did you delete any text messages that were
23 related to redistricting?

24 A If I have any text messages that are
25 transitory, call me at 11:00, I will see you at

1 5:00, kind of transitory messages, I don't keep
2 those.

3 **Q Is it possible you deleted text messages**
4 **related to redistricting?**

5 A Only if it's like a transitory message
6 like I just described. I am certain I deleted
7 transitory messages.

8 **Q Were there any sort of documents related**
9 **to redistricting that you weren't able to find when**
10 **you sort of set out to do your collection, that you**
11 **knew, like I know this exists, but I can't find it,**
12 **anything like that?**

13 A No, I didn't have that problem. I
14 consciously from the outset, as I said, I had a
15 folder that I put everything in, I had a binder, and
16 so I had everything well organized from the start.

17 MS. FORD: I would like to hold this
18 deposition open based on the objections that we
19 had today on spousal privilege and based on the
20 Marsh order and the directions not to answer
21 based on privilege, to the extent we would like
22 to follow up with anything here.

23 Otherwise, I don't have any other
24 questions today.

25 MR. JAZIL: I disagree with the need to

1 keep the deposition open, but I understand your
2 position.

3 Here's my question for you. If I have
4 some questions for him on cross, should I wait
5 until everyone is complete, so that everyone
6 gets a chance to do redirect, or how would you
7 prefer that?

8 I think that may be the easiest way to do
9 it.

10 MS. FORD: Yeah. For today?

11 MR. JAZIL: Yeah, if I have questions, I
12 just ask him once, and then you guys do
13 redirect.

14 MS. FORD: Yes.

15 (Proceedings concluded at 4:26 p.m.)
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

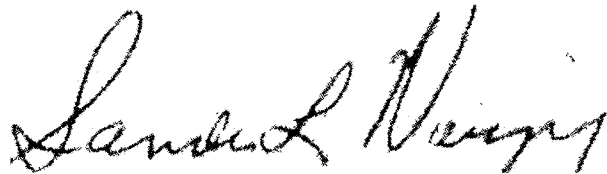
CERTIFICATE OF OATH

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, the undersigned authority, certify that
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY personally appeared before me
on June 7, 2023, and was duly sworn.

SIGNED AND SEALED on June 10, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
snargiz@comcast.net
Commission #HH239213
EXPIRES: APRIL 18TH, 2026

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

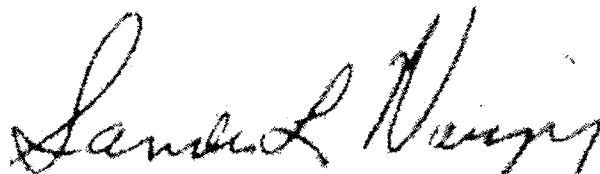
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, SANDRA L. NARGIZ, Registered
Professional Reporter, certify that I was authorized
to and did stenographically report the deposition of
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY; that a review of the
transcript was requested, and that the foregoing
transcript, pages 195 through 261, is a true record
of my stenographic notes.

I further certify that I am not a
relative, employee, attorney or counsel of any of
the parties, nor am I a relative or employee of any
of the parties' attorney or counsel connected with
the action, nor am I financially interested in the
action.

DATED on June 10, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Notary Public in Florida
snargiz@comcast.net

1 June 10, 2023

2 MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

3

4 RE: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs.
Cord Byrd, et al.
5 Case No. 2022 CA 000666
Deposition of JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
6 on June 7, 2023

7 Dear Counsel:

8 The transcript of the above proceeding is now
available and requires signature by the witness.
9 Please e-mail fl.production@lexitaslegal.com for
access to a read-only PDF transcript and
10 PDF-fillable errata sheet via computer or use the
errata sheet that is located at the back of the
11 transcript. Once completed, please print, sign, and
return to the email address listed below for
12 distribution to all parties. If you are in need of
assistance, please contact Lexitas at 888-811-3408.

13

If the witness does not read and sign the transcript
14 within a reasonable amount of time (or 30 days if
Federal), the original transcript may be
15 filed with the Clerk of the court. If the witness
wishes to waive his/her signature now, please have
16 the witness sign in the blank at the bottom of this
letter and return to the email address listed below.

17

18 
Very truly yours,

19 Sandra L. Nargiz, RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Lexitas
20 1551 Forum Place, Suite 200-E
West Palm Beach, Florida 33401
21 fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
I do hereby waive my signature.

22

23 _____
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
24 Job No. 311409

25

1 ERRATA SHEET - VOLUME 2

2 DO NOT WRITE ON TRANSCRIPT - ENTER CHANGES HERE

3 In Re: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs.
4 Cord Byrd, et al.
5 Case No.: 2022 CA 000666
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
June 7, 2023

6 PAGE LINE CHANGE REASON

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20 Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have
21 read the foregoing transcript of the above
22 proceeding and I hereby swear that my testimony
therein was true at the time it was given and is now
true and correct, including any corrections and/or
amendments listed above.

23

24 Signature of Witness: _____
Dated this ____ day of _____, 2023.
email to: fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
25 Job No. 311409

<div>Exhibits</div> <div>Exhibit 018 Kelly</div> <div>198:13 205:2, 7,8,12</div> <div>Exhibit 019 Kelly</div> <div>198:14 205:4, 22</div> <div>Exhibit 020 Kelly</div> <div>198:14 206:8 225:20,21 229:6</div> <div>Exhibit 021 Kelly</div> <div>198:15 212:20,23</div> <div>Exhibit 022 Kelly</div> <div>198:15 213:12,15</div> <div>Exhibit 023 Kelly</div> <div>198:16 227:19,22 246:25 254:5</div> <div>Exhibit 024 Kelly</div> <div>198:16 230:21,24</div> <div>Exhibit 025 Kelly</div> <div>198:17 233:21,24</div> <div>Exhibit 026 Kelly</div> <div>198:17</div>	<div>250:17,20 251:23</div> <div>Exhibit 027 Kelly</div> <div>198:18 256:11</div> <div>0</div> <div>0079</div> <div>253:25</div> <div>0094</div> <div>216:17,21,23</div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>199:1 211:14, 16 240:21</div> <div>1.5</div> <div>217:18</div> <div>10</div> <div>226:22 245:21 246:6 247:2 249:19,20,24</div> <div>102</div> <div>200:1</div> <div>109</div> <div>199:25 205:9, 12</div> <div>11</div> <div>218:8</div> <div>11.5</div> <div>211:11</div> <div>11:00</div> <div>259:25</div> <div>12</div> <div>207:18 233:7, 11 234:11</div> <div>12.5</div>	<div>211:10</div> <div>13</div> <div>226:1 231:24, 25 232:6,8,16 233:11 234:11 247:13,14,15</div> <div>13.11</div> <div>213:25</div> <div>14</div> <div>203:11 221:3, 7,8,10 224:4, 6,9 231:24,25 232:17,20 233:11 234:11 244:20</div> <div>15</div> <div>216:19 218:8 231:24,25 232:19 233:11 234:12 247:13 253:11</div> <div>15.07</div> <div>213:10</div> <div>16</div> <div>216:17 231:24 232:1,6,8,18 233:11 234:12</div> <div>17</div> <div>199:16 203:12 207:20 211:6, 8 226:18 228:14,20 233:8,12 234:12</div> <div>18</div> <div>202:3,7 205:2,7,8,12 207:10,16,25 208:4,5 209:14,15,21</div>	<div>218:8 219:23 253:24</div> <div>19</div> <div>205:4,7,22</div> <div>2</div> <div>2</div> <div>199:25 203:12,15,22 211:17 233:13 234:17</div> <div>2-C</div> <div>199:25</div> <div>20</div> <div>204:13 206:8 225:20,21 229:6 256:7</div> <div>2012</div> <div>237:9,21 238:2,3 240:3</div> <div>2020</div> <div>258:10</div> <div>2022</div> <div>219:23</div> <div>21</div> <div>212:20,23</div> <div>22</div> <div>213:12,15</div> <div>23</div> <div>227:19,22 246:25 254:5</div> <div>24</div> <div>230:21,24</div> <div>25</div> <div>204:14 233:21,24</div> <div>26</div> <div>250:17,20</div>
---	--	--	---

251:23	5:00	19 204:19,22	accept
27	260:1	205:7,23	228:18
204:14 256:11	5correctly	209:20 214:3	accepted
28	229:16	226:3,10	240:15 241:5
204:14	<hr/>	227:23	accommodate
2:48	6	229:13,20	223:5
199:1	<hr/>	230:15 234:17	account
<hr/>	6	245:21 246:7,	220:9
3	199:23,24	25 254:4,10,	accurate
<hr/>	207:9,16,25	14	199:21 205:17
3:46	208:4 209:13,	8060	206:2 228:1
240:8	14,15,21	230:16,18,25	231:3
<hr/>	250:5,8 253:2	231:3,6,11	Acres
4	<hr/>	232:7 233:5,	227:6,7
<hr/>	7	25 234:11	actual
42	7	235:4 236:3	227:18 254:8
202:24	249:19,23	252:12 253:1,	Adam
43	250:6,10,11	4,7,21	247:22
202:25	79	81	additional
437	212:24 213:5,	202:16	233:3
209:20	10 247:12,18	82	address
446	248:5,12	202:14 209:7	258:23
209:20	249:24 250:6,	835	adhered
47	8 252:3	209:7	217:7
202:4,5,8	253:10,13,18	<hr/>	adherence
208:18	<hr/>	9	212:5 214:4
48	8	<hr/>	249:17
202:5,8	8	9	adherent
495	209:13 253:2,	218:8 248:19,	215:18 252:20
208:17	4,16,25 256:7	21 249:10,14,	adhering
4:00	8011	19,20	224:18,19
240:9	244:12,15,19,	94	adopt
4:26	21,23 246:14	213:17,25	230:16 231:10
261:15	248:16 250:22	<hr/>	adopted
<hr/>	251:2,11,13,	A	212:9,13
5	18 252:4	<hr/>	214:9 215:23
<hr/>	8019	abandoned	216:2 251:6
5	199:12 202:3,	217:5	
211:3,8	14,23 203:10,	ability	
		236:15,24	

adopting 234:16 235:16	angled 249:10	206:24	225:19 246:24
advertently 203:16	apologies 221:17	attempt 237:24	249:11
age 238:20 243:10 244:1,3	apologize 247:11 250:9	attempted 235:2	253:10,21 256:17
aggressive 255:8	appearance 210:18	attempting 216:24 224:14,15 225:8 241:21	bad 232:4
agree 204:19,24,25 207:9,23 208:9,23 210:12,21 213:8,23 214:2 218:16 226:2,9 227:9 228:5 229:8, 12 231:23 232:9,21,22 233:10 234:14 236:19,22 241:8 248:21 249:1,23 250:5 252:2 253:13	appears 253:8,20,21	attributes 250:2	based 222:11 232:20 243:18 246:17 260:18,19,21
agreed 243:13	application 200:13	author 247:22	basic 243:3
ahead 200:9 215:2 239:19 244:18 246:10	apply 216:2	automatically 257:12	basically 203:6 204:18 221:22 224:6 227:10
allowed 236:7	approach 212:9,13 215:23 216:2	average 199:11 202:2, 14,15,23 204:15,22 206:22 208:10,24 209:9	bay 204:22 207:10,12,17, 19,21,22 215:14 221:1, 12 227:11 230:17 231:11 232:15 233:7, 12 234:12,18 236:4,9,12,14 237:4,25 239:2
amount 250:2	area 221:12 227:7 232:13 234:12 241:7 242:17 245:4 248:1,6 249:8 250:3 254:20,22	avoid 223:7	bears 248:5
analysis 212:24 213:4, 6,17,21 242:1,4,9	areas 222:16,17 232:12 251:22	aware 206:17 233:5 236:3,11 238:15 239:17 255:23,25	beat 214:3
	arm 221:22 223:18 224:10	awful 241:13	beats 233:5 234:11
	articulated 241:24		Bell 249:13
	assessment 241:9	B	benchmark 243:8
	assume 219:6 251:13, 17	B-VAP/H-VAP 238:24	benefit
	Assuming	back 211:6,7 214:19 222:24	

233:9 235:5	Brevard/volusia	CD-10	challenge
benefits	253:3	240:16,20	221:11 222:21
235:21	brick	241:9,23	challenging
binder	245:1	242:1,5,10,18	222:8
257:20,23	briefly	243:8,14	chance
260:15	217:21	247:7	261:6
bit	broke	CD-13	change
199:9 244:9	199:4	226:2,3,5	204:17
245:1 248:25	brought	CD-14	changed
252:13 253:9	223:25	203:18 229:3,7,8	207:24
Black	built	CD-16	characterized
238:20	221:3	229:12,13,19,20,24 230:2	211:20
239:10,11,14,18 243:8,14	bump	CD-17	Charlotte
244:3	223:6,14	226:8,10,25	227:5
block	business	CD-18	chart
224:5	258:24	208:19,24	206:11 225:20
blocking	<hr/>	CD-4	229:4 234:7
218:13	C	CD-6	check
body	call	203:18 204:1,2	259:19
244:6	201:1 224:25	CD-7	choice
border	233:12 238:8	254:10,14,23	243:15
222:5	259:25	census	choices
boundaries	called	216:13,24	212:11
211:10,23	210:25 255:7,15,18,24	217:4,8	choose
212:10	calls	center	200:6 222:18
213:10,24	259:10	248:17	chose
214:5,7,11	candidate	central	253:1,2
215:17	243:14	204:21	chosen
221:19,20	case	207:10,12,17,21,22 225:1	235:8
224:20 227:18	253:1	240:12 244:13	chunk
boundary	cases	245:3 248:1,6,13 251:15	230:9 254:21
211:5 212:6,23 213:4,17,21 215:19,24	216:19	252:2,12	circle
221:5,6	causing	254:9,18	210:19
252:21	224:21		cities
Brevard	CD		224:18
252:25 253:7	203:11 254:12		Citrus
			215:7,8
			231:14,16,17

city 199:7 216:1 221:13,19,25 222:3,4,25 223:13,21 245:2,5 clarity 201:17 clean 221:4 222:14 225:3 clear 221:4 237:19 238:21 241:16,18 242:25 246:23 257:7 closely 249:16 Closer 201:22 closer-up 221:9 coast 214:20,23 215:6 227:10 228:9 coded 205:21 collect 257:4,13 collection 260:10 comments 243:22 committee 220:2 238:14 240:24 242:25 251:4,6,7	255:18,19 committees 226:24 common 231:18 communicate 259:3 communities 237:3,7,8 239:1,3 community's 236:24 compact 201:3,24 202:11,19 203:3,11,25 209:4 210:19, 22 224:11,17 225:18 226:3, 10 228:20 229:9,10,14, 15,21,22 245:8 248:17 249:11 compactly 245:1,3 compactness 199:8,11 200:18,25 201:5,7,18 203:6,8 204:7,16,19, 20 205:9,18, 23 206:4,14 209:17 210:5, 9,11,13,16 211:4 225:8, 11,21 233:6, 11,25 234:4	compare 208:2 209:21 233:18 234:13 247:25 248:19 251:15,22 compared 208:18 209:7 226:2,7,9 228:21 229:13,19 234:17 236:9 comparing 199:25 208:14 214:6 226:16 228:17,24 231:20 232:5, 7 comparison 206:11,17 208:8 209:20 229:4 234:7 comparisons 225:22 compete 236:8 complete 261:5 comprise 207:10 compromised 219:7 concept 252:11,16,22 concepts 244:15 248:12 concern 245:19 concerned 223:22	concerns 246:7 concluded 240:20 261:15 conclusion 243:13,18 conclusions 242:14 concrete 216:15 conduct 258:23 configuration 235:8,17 Congressional 255:15 256:6 connect 220:5 consciously 231:15 235:24 260:14 consideration 239:7 considerations 224:2 considered 201:4,22 203:5,23 225:18 235:16 251:6 consistent 215:18 consistently 234:24 constant 224:12 constitutional 246:7
--	---	--	---

<p>consult 243:12 244:5</p> <p>consulted 243:7</p> <p>context 246:13</p> <p>continued 199:1,2 221:2</p> <p>conversation 215:11</p> <p>conversations 259:7,15</p> <p>Convex 200:5 201:12, 19 202:14,15, 19 206:14 208:25 209:5 226:6,11 228:20 229:10,14,21</p> <p>copies 250:25</p> <p>copy 205:18 206:3 213:3,20 220:21 226:12 228:1 230:18 231:3 234:3 250:23 251:1</p> <p>core 207:25 209:24 249:3,5</p> <p>correct 199:13 201:10,25 202:4,16,17, 20,21,25 203:1,4,15 204:8,9,25</p>	<p>207:7 209:13 211:11,15 217:23,24 218:2,6 219:20 228:22 236:15,19,22 237:5,10,12 238:1,9 239:24 240:4, 5,18 241:8, 16,24 254:11, 16 255:1</p> <p>correctly 249:6</p> <p>counties 216:3 218:23 228:6</p> <p>county 199:7 201:4 208:3,4 215:7,8,9 216:1,20 217:14,15,21, 22,25 218:3, 19,20,22 219:3,8,12, 19,22 220:4,6 221:12,14 222:1,3,7,11 224:13,16,19 225:1 227:7, 18 230:1,4,5, 8 231:14,17 232:16,25 233:1 234:25 235:3,10,11 238:16 239:12,13 245:2,4,9,10 248:18 249:4, 12,17,20</p>	<p>250:13 251:20 252:25 253:3, 6,9,14,22 254:3,11,15, 17,24,25</p> <p>Court 201:13</p> <p>covered 214:16 215:3, 7</p> <p>create 219:18 221:7 225:3 237:25 249:10</p> <p>crisscross 245:11</p> <p>criticism 256:3</p> <p>criticisms 255:14</p> <p>cross 214:16 261:4</p> <p>cursory 246:17</p> <p>cycle 201:14 240:4 255:8 258:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <hr/> <p>data 233:17 242:14,16 243:5,12,18 244:5 246:18</p> <p>day 219:24 220:1, 19 255:4 257:17</p>	<p>days 205:25</p> <p>decision 223:2 246:21</p> <p>decisions 212:12 215:17,25 217:2</p> <p>decrease 211:13</p> <p>definite 235:21</p> <p>degree 224:23</p> <p>delete 258:11,15,16 259:22</p> <p>deleted 258:8 260:3,6</p> <p>Democrats 236:4,7 256:7</p> <p>demographic 238:15 243:5 246:18</p> <p>deposition 240:2 260:18 261:1</p> <p>describe 221:16 257:3</p> <p>designated 216:13,24 217:5,8</p> <p>detail 253:23</p> <p>detailed 231:20 233:2 251:4,8,24</p> <p>diagonal</p>
--	--	--	--

<p>245:12</p> <p>differ</p> <p>210:23,24</p> <p>difference</p> <p>204:12</p> <p>211:15,17,21</p> <p>249:7 253:19</p> <p>differences</p> <p>199:7 233:4</p> <p>235:7,13</p> <p>244:23</p> <p>249:12,22</p> <p>250:3</p> <p>differently</p> <p>246:17</p> <p>difficult</p> <p>212:11 215:25</p> <p>223:19,21</p> <p>251:22</p> <p>difficulty</p> <p>223:23</p> <p>diminishment</p> <p>241:10,23</p> <p>DIRECT</p> <p>199:2</p> <p>directions</p> <p>260:20</p> <p>directly</p> <p>234:2</p> <p>disagree</p> <p>228:7,15,18</p> <p>234:21 260:25</p> <p>disagreed</p> <p>241:8</p> <p>disagreeing</p> <p>243:4</p> <p>disagreement</p> <p>241:16,18</p>	<p>243:1,25</p> <p>244:6 247:4</p> <p>discovery</p> <p>213:1,16</p> <p>discussed</p> <p>217:12</p> <p>discussion</p> <p>240:7</p> <p>dispute</p> <p>248:4</p> <p>dissimilar</p> <p>229:23</p> <p>distinguishable</p> <p>221:4</p> <p>district</p> <p>203:11 204:1</p> <p>205:8,18,23</p> <p>210:17 215:17</p> <p>216:19,22</p> <p>217:19,24</p> <p>219:7,19</p> <p>220:3,5</p> <p>221:3,7,8,10,11 222:6,19</p> <p>223:4,6</p> <p>224:9,11</p> <p>225:16 226:1,18 227:9,15</p> <p>228:8,13,20</p> <p>229:25 230:9</p> <p>232:17,18,19,20 233:1,24</p> <p>234:4,24</p> <p>236:9 237:22,23,25 238:21,24,25 239:6</p> <p>242:10 244:2,4,24 245:8,15,21 246:6,14,17,20</p>	<p>247:2,6</p> <p>248:19,21,25</p> <p>249:3,5,10,14,23,24</p> <p>250:5,6,8,9</p> <p>253:2,4,16,24,25</p> <p>districting</p> <p>206:16</p> <p>districts</p> <p>203:14,21</p> <p>204:10,13</p> <p>207:9,11,13,14,24 208:2,6,18,24</p> <p>209:10,13,21</p> <p>210:8 212:10</p> <p>215:7,9</p> <p>218:5,8</p> <p>223:12 224:1,17,21,24</p> <p>225:4,22</p> <p>226:19 227:8</p> <p>228:6,12,19,23 229:1</p> <p>230:5 231:24,25 232:6,10,22,23 233:7,11 234:11,16</p> <p>235:17 236:8,13,14,23</p> <p>238:16 249:2,25 250:7</p> <p>252:20</p> <p>divide</p> <p>222:19 253:1,2</p> <p>divisions</p> <p>222:14</p> <p>DJANG</p> <p>221:15</p>	<p>document</p> <p>207:4 213:16</p> <p>256:25 257:16</p> <p>documents</p> <p>256:16,19,23</p> <p>257:4 258:3</p> <p>260:8</p> <p>double-check</p> <p>206:20</p> <p>double-checked</p> <p>206:19</p> <p>doubt</p> <p>207:1</p> <p>draw</p> <p>201:9 219:2</p> <p>248:11</p> <p>drawing</p> <p>200:21 215:7</p> <p>221:11 222:6</p> <p>234:24 245:20</p> <p>246:16,20</p> <p>248:11</p> <p>drawn</p> <p>237:9 245:8</p> <p>249:15</p> <p>drew</p> <p>212:8 220:4</p> <p>236:2 238:25</p> <p>239:6 244:12,15 245:15</p> <p>246:14 247:6</p> <p>252:11,18</p> <p>duplication</p> <p>244:10</p> <hr/> <p>E</p> <hr/> <p>e-mail</p> <p>257:11,14</p> <p>258:15,18,23,</p>
--	--	--	---

<p>25 259:2,5</p> <p>e-mails</p> <p>258:1,8</p> <p>earlier</p> <p>201:3 204:13</p> <p>215:11</p> <p>216:11,12</p> <p>219:14 238:4</p> <p>240:6 252:13,25</p> <p>easiest</p> <p>261:8</p> <p>east</p> <p>219:11,13,16,17 221:3,19,20,25 222:1</p> <p>224:7 232:20</p> <p>245:12</p> <p>east-west</p> <p>224:4</p> <p>eastern</p> <p>253:9 254:2</p> <p>easy</p> <p>257:17</p> <p>Edgewood</p> <p>249:13</p> <p>effect</p> <p>221:22 223:17</p> <p>254:1</p> <p>effectively</p> <p>244:25</p> <p>elect</p> <p>236:15,25</p> <p>elected</p> <p>256:7</p> <p>election</p> <p>243:12</p> <p>electronic</p>	<p>257:11 258:1</p> <p>eliminate</p> <p>244:10</p> <p>empty</p> <p>258:17</p> <p>enacted</p> <p>199:12 202:3,10,15,19,24</p> <p>203:2,13,20</p> <p>204:21 205:10</p> <p>208:18 209:1,16,21 210:6</p> <p>211:9 212:8</p> <p>216:18 217:2</p> <p>224:15 226:3,5,10,14 227:4</p> <p>228:21 229:9,13,20 230:2</p> <p>232:6 233:6</p> <p>234:11 235:1,11,17,22</p> <p>236:2,5</p> <p>237:11,13,15</p> <p>244:12,25</p> <p>245:15</p> <p>247:13,14</p> <p>248:5,11,23</p> <p>249:9,14,18,20,24 250:6,11,14 252:3,18 254:23</p> <p>encompass</p> <p>257:1</p> <p>encompasses</p> <p>227:10</p> <p>end</p> <p>204:18 216:22</p> <p>217:2 224:14</p> <p>246:1 256:17</p> <p>257:18</p>	<p>ended</p> <p>236:5</p> <p>entire</p> <p>216:24 233:12</p> <p>239:13 252:23</p> <p>entitled</p> <p>241:9,23</p> <p>equivalent</p> <p>199:11 203:6</p> <p>228:23 231:25</p> <p>232:10 249:25</p> <p>error</p> <p>207:6</p> <p>essential</p> <p>224:23</p> <p>essentially</p> <p>228:7 240:24</p> <p>established</p> <p>247:18 248:12</p> <p>evaluate</p> <p>242:14</p> <p>evaluating</p> <p>200:21</p> <p>event</p> <p>228:17</p> <p>exact</p> <p>206:12 212:14</p> <p>245:16</p> <p>exaggerated</p> <p>223:20 224:10</p> <p>EXAMINATION</p> <p>199:2</p> <p>examining</p> <p>207:4</p> <p>Excel</p> <p>206:21</p> <p>exception</p> <p>248:23</p>	<p>exchange</p> <p>218:23</p> <p>exhibit</p> <p>199:16 205:2,4,7,8,12,22</p> <p>206:8 211:6,8</p> <p>212:20,23</p> <p>213:12,15</p> <p>216:17</p> <p>225:20,21,23</p> <p>227:19,22</p> <p>229:6 230:21,24 233:21,24</p> <p>244:20 246:25</p> <p>247:13,15</p> <p>250:17,20</p> <p>251:23 253:11</p> <p>254:5 256:10,11</p> <p>exhibits</p> <p>251:23</p> <p>exist</p> <p>200:18 218:14</p> <p>251:9</p> <p>exists</p> <p>260:11</p> <p>experts</p> <p>201:18</p> <p>explain</p> <p>252:14</p> <p>explained</p> <p>240:25 256:5</p> <p>explanation</p> <p>241:4</p> <p>extension</p> <p>216:22</p> <p>extent</p> <p>207:6 212:2</p> <p>231:13 232:15</p>
---	---	---	--

<p>234:20 236:17 260:21</p> <p>extra 253:14</p> <p>eye 231:2</p> <p>eyeballing 201:2</p> <hr/> <p>F</p> <hr/> <p>face 256:1</p> <p>fact 225:11</p> <p>factoring 217:4 220:13</p> <p>fair 205:17 206:2 213:3,20 228:1 231:2 234:3 251:1</p> <p>fairly 207:10 250:12</p> <p>fairness 209:9</p> <p>favorable 236:4</p> <p>feature 212:6</p> <p>February 219:23</p> <p>federal 237:23</p> <p>feedback 216:12 217:3</p> <p>feel 206:20</p>	<p>felt 243:2</p> <p>filled 248:24 249:9</p> <p>final 212:8 231:17 235:1,11,22 246:2</p> <p>finalizing 215:24</p> <p>finally 202:22</p> <p>find 224:13,23 250:23 251:4, 8 254:4 260:9,11</p> <p>finish 223:3</p> <p>finishing 217:2</p> <p>Fivethirtyeight 255:7</p> <p>flip 256:17</p> <p>Florida 201:13 204:2, 8,10,16,18,21 205:15,25 206:13,16,25 207:11,13,17, 21,22 209:25 212:25 213:4 220:17 225:25 227:10,25 228:10 231:1 234:1,4 240:12 244:13 248:1,6,13</p>	<p>250:21 251:15 252:2,12 254:9,18 255:15</p> <p>focused 212:7</p> <p>folder 257:18,23 260:15</p> <p>follow 260:22</p> <p>Foltz 247:22 259:4, 8,10</p> <p>forces 235:9</p> <p>FORD 199:3 200:16 205:6 206:10 208:16 209:6 210:10 212:22 213:14 215:4 220:15 225:5 227:17,21 228:13,16 230:10,14,23 231:22 233:15,23 235:14 236:1, 20 238:17 239:8,22 240:10 241:6, 12,20 242:11 243:6 245:18 246:4,22 250:19 252:9 255:2,5,13,22 256:13 257:9, 24 260:17 261:10,14</p>	<p>form 208:12 209:2 210:3 228:11 233:14 235:18 238:10 239:19 240:22 241:11 245:22 252:5 255:9,17</p> <p>format 213:6</p> <p>found 223:10</p> <p>free 206:20</p> <p>front 199:16 205:10</p> <p>functional 225:3 241:25 242:4,9</p> <hr/> <p>G</p> <hr/> <p>gains 204:7,17 233:13 234:17</p> <p>gave 200:12 226:23</p> <p>general 252:17</p> <p>generally 222:2 251:2, 11 254:20</p> <p>generate 215:20</p> <p>generated 213:5 225:23</p> <p>generates 206:3,25 213:21</p>
---	--	--	---

<p>geographic 211:5 213:9, 24 214:5,11</p> <p>geographical 212:6 215:19 252:21</p> <p>geographically 222:8</p> <p>gerrymander 255:16,25</p> <p>gerrymanders 255:8</p> <p>give 200:8 212:1 214:16 215:1 216:15 220:10 228:4 230:11 231:12 234:19 235:19 236:16 242:6,22 244:17 246:9</p> <p>good 210:14 222:20 245:13 258:13 259:20</p> <p>Governor 214:10 227:24 230:3 258:23</p> <p>Governor's 202:18 203:13 204:5,6,11,15 207:24 209:10,25 211:24 213:18 214:3,22 236:10 240:15 242:4,13 247:19 248:4 256:15,19</p>	<p>grab 224:7 227:2</p> <p>great 214:2 246:14</p> <p>greater 212:5</p> <p>greatest 224:22</p> <p>group's 236:15</p> <p>guess 224:25 235:15 239:25 240:1 246:6</p> <p>Gulf 214:20,23 215:6,22 216:3</p> <p>guys 261:12</p> <hr/> <p>H</p> <hr/> <p>happen 228:24</p> <p>happy 207:5</p> <p>hard 223:16 227:1</p> <p>hear 236:21</p> <p>heard 255:11,14,19 256:2</p> <p>helpful 254:9</p> <p>Hendry 208:5</p>	<p>high 214:18 246:17</p> <p>higher 203:22 209:17 226:6</p> <p>Hillsborough 216:20 217:13,25 218:3 221:12, 14 222:1,3,7, 11 224:13,15 225:1 227:3 230:5,8 232:20,25 235:2 238:16</p> <p>Hillsborough's 217:16</p> <p>Hillsborough/ polk 222:5</p> <p>Hispanic 243:10 244:3</p> <p>hit 223:1 257:14 258:12,17</p> <p>hold 260:17</p> <p>honor 219:5</p> <p>House 200:10 213:1, 16 216:13 217:4 220:1, 4,17 226:23 240:16,20,25 241:4,18 242:13 243:1, 25 245:7,17 246:14 247:4, 5 248:15</p>	<p>250:22</p> <p>House's 241:9 243:13, 17 244:21 246:19 248:15 251:3</p> <p>Hull 200:5 201:12, 20 202:14,15, 20 206:14 208:25 209:5 226:6,11 228:20 229:10,15,21</p> <p>hundred 201:15 254:21</p> <p>hybrid 214:20,24</p> <p>hypothetical 233:17</p> <hr/> <p>I</p> <hr/> <p>ideas 215:12 230:16 231:10</p> <p>identical 244:24</p> <p>identification 205:3,5 206:9 212:21 213:13 227:20 230:22 233:22 250:18 256:12</p> <p>identified 240:6</p> <p>image 227:17,23 230:24 250:15,20</p>
--	---	---	---

images 230:20	influential 231:16	209:2 210:3 212:1 215:1	224:17 259:20
imagine 243:20	inset 254:8	220:10 227:15 228:11 231:12	Kelly 199:4 205:11 206:11 256:14 257:10
improperly 245:20	inspect 201:1	233:14 234:19 235:18 236:16 238:10 239:5, 19 240:22	key 221:10 235:6
improve 210:6,7	instruction 200:9 212:2 215:2 220:11	241:11,14 242:6,22	kind 221:9 222:13 223:6 242:9 260:1
improved 249:18 250:13	234:20 235:19 236:17 242:7, 23 244:18	244:17 245:22 246:9 252:5 255:9,17	knew 237:1 260:11
improvement 211:22 212:16	245:23 246:10 255:10	257:7 260:25 261:11	knock 230:10
improvements 204:16 210:1	instructions 231:13 238:12	job 232:4 245:13	knowledge 199:20 242:3
inappropriate 240:1	intent 219:2 220:3	Johns 208:4	<hr/>
inbox 258:1,6,12,18	intercounty 218:11	join 237:2,7,24	L
include 228:6 250:12 254:10,14	interesting 245:11	joining 239:1	land 220:6
included 249:13 251:20	intersect 215:10	joins 237:16 238:7	largely 199:11 216:20 221:24
includes 254:18	intraocular 201:2	joint 223:11,25 224:13,24 225:3	larger 251:21
including 227:14 242:10	involved 257:18	July 256:16	law 230:3
incorporated 222:4,15	Isle 249:13	jumped 212:17	leading 234:22
incorrect 247:9	issue 242:14	justice 241:1	Lee 215:10 227:7
increase 225:11	iteration 251:5	<hr/>	left 214:15 216:10
increasing 233:10	<hr/>	K	legal 237:2,6
Indian 253:8,22,24	JAZIL 200:8 208:12	keeping 201:4 215:8	legislative 200:11 255:19

legislators 255:23	223:13	204:7,16	232:18
legislature 199:5 200:14, 15 203:23 205:24 206:25 209:18 211:3, 20 212:18 213:4,7,19,21 214:9,19 216:9 217:3, 11 218:25 219:2,11 220:23 221:2 225:7,25 226:7,25 227:23 228:3 234:5,23 240:14 244:11 245:20,24 247:19 250:24 252:10	lines 211:5 212:6 215:20,24 221:5,7 224:19 245:2, 10,16 250:13 251:20 252:21	207:6 215:16 229:18 234:22 237:23 252:17 257:17	map 200:11 201:1, 9 202:3,10, 16,19,24 203:2,7,13, 22,23 204:21 205:10 208:18 209:1,21 210:6 211:9 212:8,17 215:23 216:18 217:2 223:8, 14,21 224:15 225:18 226:5, 7,14 227:4 228:2,21 229:9,20,24 230:2 231:5 232:6 233:6 234:25 235:1, 4,5,8,9,11, 17,22,23,25 236:2,5 237:12,13,15 242:10 243:9 246:2 248:16, 23 249:9,15, 19,20,24 250:6,11,14 251:5,8 252:19,23 253:1 254:23
legislature's 202:2 203:19 204:1,3,11 208:10,17,24 209:11,12 210:2 214:3, 21 215:13 229:24 238:19	linkage 223:4	main 223:11	
Lehigh 227:6,7	Linkedin 259:14,16	maintain 236:14	
level 214:18 231:20 233:2 246:17	literally 235:23 257:23	maintaining 236:24	
liberty 221:22 223:17	live 239:10,12,14	Maitland 245:4	
lied 250:15	located 245:1,3 248:17	major 222:11,13,20 223:1 224:20 245:14 249:17 252:21	
limits	location 222:7	majority 229:1	
	long 231:4,7	make 209:25 218:15 219:6 223:2,4 224:2,10 225:8 226:14 229:16 233:16 234:17 237:3 246:18 248:25	
	looked 222:11 231:5, 8 234:24 243:4,5,24 245:7 246:6 251:2	maker 200:11	
	lot 214:15 222:19 223:17 230:15 252:3	makes 203:14	
	lower 226:5,6	makeup 238:15 239:20	
	<hr/> M <hr/>	making 212:12 215:24 217:1	
	made	Manatee 227:4 230:4	
			mapping 255:2
			maps 212:8,15,16 215:16 228:24 232:24 233:1, 18,19 246:1 248:20,22

<p>251:16</p> <p>marked</p> <p>205:2,4 206:8</p> <p>212:20 213:12</p> <p>227:19 230:21</p> <p>233:21 250:17</p> <p>256:11</p> <p>Marsh</p> <p>200:8 212:1</p> <p>215:1 220:10</p> <p>231:12 234:19</p> <p>235:19 236:16</p> <p>238:11 242:6,</p> <p>22 244:17</p> <p>245:22 246:9</p> <p>255:9 260:20</p> <p>massive</p> <p>222:17</p> <p>math</p> <p>206:23 207:6</p> <p>211:14</p> <p>mathematical</p> <p>201:7</p> <p>mathematically</p> <p>203:11 217:18</p> <p>matter</p> <p>241:19 258:11</p> <p>meaningful</p> <p>223:3</p> <p>means</p> <p>202:10,18</p> <p>204:20 223:11</p> <p>251:18,20</p> <p>meant</p> <p>202:5 203:17</p> <p>214:25 228:19</p> <p>232:12</p> <p>measure</p> <p>200:23</p>	<p>202:11,12,15</p> <p>203:3 208:11,</p> <p>25 225:14</p> <p>measures</p> <p>200:4,6,10,</p> <p>14,17,21</p> <p>201:7,8,10,</p> <p>12,19 208:9</p> <p>210:6,7</p> <p>225:22</p> <p>media</p> <p>259:13</p> <p>members</p> <p>255:19</p> <p>memory</p> <p>201:11 251:10</p> <p>mentioned</p> <p>199:10 203:9</p> <p>204:13 210:11</p> <p>211:8 216:11,</p> <p>12 218:25</p> <p>219:14 241:17</p> <p>252:16</p> <p>mercy</p> <p>224:22</p> <p>merit</p> <p>240:20</p> <p>message</p> <p>260:5</p> <p>messages</p> <p>259:22,24</p> <p>260:1,3,7</p> <p>met</p> <p>224:1</p> <p>Microsoft</p> <p>206:21</p> <p>million</p> <p>217:18</p>	<p>mind</p> <p>216:6</p> <p>minority</p> <p>236:15,24</p> <p>237:3,7,8,16,</p> <p>17,18,24</p> <p>238:8 239:1,2</p> <p>244:1</p> <p>minute</p> <p>207:3</p> <p>mistake</p> <p>229:18</p> <p>mistaken</p> <p>247:3</p> <p>misunderstood</p> <p>247:11</p> <p>months</p> <p>259:20</p> <p>move</p> <p>211:1</p> <p>moving</p> <p>219:11,15,19</p> <p>municipal</p> <p>221:5,6</p> <p>municipality</p> <p>221:18 223:9,</p> <p>24</p> <hr/> <p>N</p> <hr/> <p>nature</p> <p>210:24 257:12</p> <p>needed</p> <p>223:10,11</p> <p>236:14 253:5</p> <p>negotiated</p> <p>244:22</p> <p>news</p> <p>255:24</p>	<p>nice</p> <p>225:3 234:7</p> <p>250:24</p> <p>nondiminishment</p> <p>240:17</p> <p>nongeographic</p> <p>211:9 214:6</p> <p>nonpolitical</p> <p>211:10 213:9,</p> <p>24</p> <p>north</p> <p>204:2,8,16</p> <p>219:13,19</p> <p>230:7</p> <p>north-south</p> <p>224:3,7</p> <p>notable</p> <p>212:16 233:4</p> <p>note</p> <p>221:15</p> <p>noted</p> <p>201:3 212:4</p> <p>215:15 235:10</p> <p>notice</p> <p>253:18</p> <p>noting</p> <p>232:4</p> <p>number</p> <p>226:15 228:25</p> <p>numbers</p> <p>206:4,12,18,</p> <p>22,24 207:2</p> <p>212:14 225:24</p> <p>226:18 234:9</p> <p>numerous</p> <p>240:23</p>
--	---	---	--

<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <hr/> <p>object 208:12 209:2 210:3 228:11 233:14 235:18 238:10 239:19 240:22 241:11 245:22 252:5 255:9,17</p> <p>objections 239:5 260:18</p> <p>obligation 237:2,6</p> <p>office 204:5,6 211:24 212:15,17 213:18 220:20 240:15 242:4, 13 256:15,19 257:8</p> <p>office's 214:12</p> <p>official 250:23</p> <p>open 260:18 261:1</p> <p>opinion 225:17</p> <p>opinions 210:22,24,25</p> <p>Orange 245:4,10 248:18 249:12,17,20 253:5,9,14 254:2,11,15, 17,24</p>	<p>order 260:20</p> <p>organized 257:20 260:16</p> <p>original 246:19</p> <p>originally 209:18 212:18 235:4</p> <p>Orlando 245:6,10 254:8</p> <p>Osceola 249:3,4,8</p> <p>outlines 244:20</p> <p>outset 260:14</p> <p>overlap 230:6</p> <p>overlapped 229:2</p> <p>overlapping 228:25</p> <p>overlaps 230:9</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <hr/> <p>p.m. 199:1 240:8,9 261:15</p> <p>package 251:7</p> <p>packets 251:4</p> <p>painstaking 225:2</p>	<p>Park 245:4</p> <p>part 215:10 221:14 230:8 237:19 245:4</p> <p>partisan 255:16,25</p> <p>partly 249:8</p> <p>parts 254:2</p> <p>Pasco 216:20</p> <p>passed 209:18 212:19 226:7,25 227:23 228:3 229:25 230:25 235:4</p> <p>past 211:25 212:17</p> <p>patience 214:16</p> <p>pause 230:13</p> <p>penultimate 244:21</p> <p>people 255:15,23</p> <p>percent 201:15 211:10,11,14, 16,17 213:10, 25 254:21</p> <p>Percentage 238:20</p> <p>perform</p>	<p>208:25 237:25 241:25 242:4, 9 243:14</p> <p>performed 209:10</p> <p>performs 208:10</p> <p>personally 258:2</p> <p>perspective 204:6 224:3,4</p> <p>Petersburg 237:8,16 238:7 239:2, 10,18,21</p> <p>phone 259:5,6,10</p> <p>pick 222:18 253:21</p> <p>picked 235:22 253:4</p> <p>picking 245:14</p> <p>picks 245:17 254:1</p> <p>piece 248:24</p> <p>Pinellas 219:3,7,12, 19,22 220:3 232:16 233:1 234:25 238:16 239:12</p> <p>Pinellas/pasco 219:15</p> <p>place 217:8 223:3 240:8</p>
---	---	---	---

<p>places 216:14,25 217:5</p> <p>plain 210:17,19</p> <p>plaintiffs 256:18</p> <p>plan 199:12,25 202:2,3,14,23 203:10,13,19, 20 204:1,3, 11,16,19,22 205:7,9,12,23 208:10,17 209:12,16,17, 20,25 210:2 212:24 213:5, 10,17,18,25 214:3,9,10 216:17,21 218:3 226:3, 10,24 229:13, 20 230:15,16, 18,24 231:3, 6,11,14,17 232:2,7 233:5,25 234:10,11,17 236:3,10 237:9 238:7 244:12,15,19, 21,22,23 245:16,21 246:6,14,24 247:12,13,14, 18,23 248:5, 11,12 249:24 250:6,8,9,22 251:1,11,13, 17 252:3,12</p>	<p>253:4,7,10, 13,18,21,25 254:4,10,14 255:7,15,21, 24 256:7,9</p> <p>plans 200:21,24 207:24 214:12,21 215:13 231:20 232:1,21 247:25</p> <p>Plant 221:13 222:4</p> <p>platforms 259:13</p> <p>Poinciana 249:7</p> <p>point 216:11 225:16 226:20 231:18 235:24 242:12,24 252:17,24 256:16</p> <p>pointedly 238:13</p> <p>political 211:4 212:5 214:4,7,11 215:18,19 252:21</p> <p>Polk 208:5 217:21, 22,25 218:4, 20,22 229:25 248:24 249:8</p> <p>Polsby-popper 200:5 201:12, 20 202:23,24</p>	<p>203:12,15,21 206:15 209:11,17 226:4,6,11 228:21 229:10,15,22 233:6</p> <p>pop 254:2</p> <p>Popper 219:24</p> <p>Popper's 220:16</p> <p>population 212:11 217:16 222:14 223:18 229:1 237:16, 17,18 238:8 239:18 243:11 245:5 249:21 250:3 253:5, 14 254:1,25</p> <p>populations 237:24 243:8 244:2,3</p> <p>portion 220:5 221:20 254:11,14,17</p> <p>portions 216:4 227:6 230:4</p> <p>position 240:16,25 241:5 246:19 247:9 261:2</p> <p>preclearance 237:23</p> <p>predecessor 237:22</p>	<p>predominantly 232:16,17</p> <p>prefer 261:7</p> <p>preference 220:9</p> <p>prepare 199:18</p> <p>presentation 199:5,10,15 202:1,13,22 211:2 212:4 214:19 216:8 217:11 219:10 220:22 225:6 226:13,23 238:19 240:14 241:17 244:11 252:10</p> <p>presentations 242:25 255:20</p> <p>preserved 258:14</p> <p>pretty 212:16 231:20 234:24 238:13 243:22 249:21 250:4 256:4 257:19</p> <p>prevailed 247:6,10</p> <p>previous 256:14</p> <p>previously 255:14</p> <p>primarily 259:3</p> <p>primary 203:10</p>
---	---	---	---

<p>printed 231:6</p> <p>printout 257:20</p> <p>prior 212:15 214:4</p> <p>prioritized 211:24</p> <p>privilege 260:19,21</p> <p>problem 260:13</p> <p>proceedings 261:15</p> <p>process 213:2 225:2 237:22 238:2, 3,14 240:25 241:4 257:3</p> <p>produced 213:1,7,16 250:23 256:18</p> <p>produces 211:9</p> <p>product 224:14</p> <p>progressing 246:1</p> <p>proposal 247:19</p> <p>proposals 214:4</p> <p>protection 240:20 241:10,23</p> <p>provide 256:25 257:5</p>	<p>provision 240:17 247:6</p> <p>proxy 201:4</p> <p>publicly 243:23</p> <p>pull 225:19 247:12 249:10</p> <p>pulled 205:16,24 225:24 231:10 250:21 257:14</p> <p>purpose 243:5</p> <p>purposes 258:25</p> <p>put 206:12,17 248:10 260:15</p> <p>Putnam 208:3</p> <hr/> <p>Q</p> <hr/> <p>question 203:17 210:14 219:22 229:23 231:9 234:15, 22 235:15 237:20 238:13 239:16 240:23 241:13 243:23 246:5 252:1,7 254:13 261:3</p> <p>questions 230:11 240:11 255:3 260:24 261:4,11</p>	<p>quote 217:17 219:1 220:5</p> <hr/> <p>R</p> <hr/> <p>race 239:7 245:20</p> <p>racial 239:20 242:16</p> <p>range 201:20</p> <p>read 229:19 238:4</p> <p>reading 226:17 255:11</p> <p>realize 254:7</p> <p>reask 254:13</p> <p>reason 207:1 222:10 256:8</p> <p>reasonable 224:23</p> <p>reasoning 246:16</p> <p>reasons 252:8</p> <p>recall 212:14 220:12,13 231:15 235:23 243:20</p> <p>received 257:15</p> <p>recess 240:8</p>	<p>recognize 234:23</p> <p>recognized 212:5 215:19 224:20</p> <p>record 201:17 205:22 207:5 209:19 221:15 232:5 240:7 246:23</p> <p>records 256:17 257:11,19,21, 22</p> <p>rectangle 210:19</p> <p>redirect 261:6,13</p> <p>redistricting 200:11,13 205:15,25 206:13 212:25 220:2 227:25 231:1 234:1 246:21 250:21 257:1 258:9, 24 259:16,23 260:4,9</p> <p>reduce 235:2</p> <p>reduced 217:12</p> <p>reduces 218:3</p> <p>reducing 211:23</p> <p>reexplain 241:1</p>
--	--	--	---

reference 203:14 206:7 220:23 referenced 203:18 252:24 referring 203:19 244:14 245:25 246:3 region 209:25 214:20,23 215:6,14,22 218:12,18,19, 22 225:8,12, 16 230:17 231:11 233:7, 12 234:18 237:4 254:8 regular 248:25 related 258:24 259:23 260:4,8 reliability 207:1 reliance 211:9,23 213:9,24 relied 201:14,16 relying 206:23 remaining 220:5 254:1 remember 219:25 238:18 252:15 removes 254:23	Reock 200:4 201:12, 19 202:2,11, 12 203:21 206:14 208:11,20,21 226:4,6,11 228:20 229:9, 14,21 233:7 repeat 229:17 report 200:4,7 205:9,18,23 206:3,24 233:25 234:4 reported 206:19 225:24 234:9 reports 206:13,22 213:8,23 represent 232:12 234:10 Republicans 256:7 requested 257:2 require 236:23 resemblance 248:5,7 respectful 245:9,10 responsive 256:23 258:2 rest 218:14 253:5	result 224:8 review 246:18 reviewed 243:21 River 253:8,22,24 roadway 215:25 224:8 roadways 217:7 222:12, 13,20,21 223:1 224:20 245:12,14 249:18 roughly 227:6 231:25 232:9 249:25 run 258:5 running 230:19 runs 208:5 <hr/> S <hr/> Sarasota 215:9 227:4, 5,13,14 228:9 235:9,11 saved 257:13 SB 199:25 200:1 score 202:2,14 209:11,17	226:7 229:9 scores 203:22 204:19,21 215:20 233:9 search 256:22,24 257:14 258:2, 6 seat 216:20 219:2 seats 228:9 seeking 221:4 seemingly 244:22 Seminole 250:13 Senate 200:11 212:7, 9 215:16,24 216:2 226:23 230:16,25 231:10,14 232:2,7 233:5,25 234:10 235:4, 5,8,9,21 236:3 238:14 241:7,19,22, 24 243:1 244:1,23 247:5 252:11, 22 253:1 Senate's 212:13 246:16 247:9 sense
--	---	---	--

246:18	2,7,12	248:1,24	split
served	similarities	251:16 257:4	217:18,23
256:15,19	232:24 233:3	258:5 260:8,	218:23 224:15
session	235:6,12	10	232:25 235:3
199:6	similarly	sorts	splits
set	230:25 253:14	223:7	199:7,8
206:6 214:13	simply	sound	217:12,14,15
260:10	234:15	218:9 241:5	218:4,11
shape	sits	246:20	235:2
210:18,20	228:8	south	splitting
249:11	skills	204:10,18	218:23 235:9
shear	206:23	219:14,15,19	spot
223:23	slice	223:12 224:1	225:1
sheet	227:4	225:17 230:7	spousal
208:15	slide	southeastern	260:19
short	211:3,8	230:8	square
230:13 255:3	slightly	southern	210:19
show	202:11,19	227:3 230:4	squared-up
202:23	203:2 209:10	southwest	224:5
showed	229:15,22	227:10 228:9	St
202:1,13	236:12	speaking	208:3 237:8,
side	sliver	222:2 227:6	16 238:7
248:2	230:7 253:24	245:3 250:12	239:2,10,18,
sighted	small	special	21
210:19	211:16 223:24	199:6	standards
sightedly	226:25 230:9	specific	246:21
210:17	250:3 253:22	215:12 216:6	standpoint
signed	254:7,11,14	217:7 220:2,	224:16
230:3	smaller	12,14 238:24	start
significant	211:17 217:24	243:22 246:5	214:18 260:16
204:7,17	social	252:16,24	started
211:14,21	259:13	specifically	199:4 222:14
249:21 250:4	sort	214:23 216:23	starting
similar	216:21 217:1	217:4 221:13	219:14,15
210:18 228:19	222:10 224:24	246:2	state
244:24 248:8,	225:1,21	spend	207:5,25
14,16,22	228:19 237:2	231:19	215:10 216:4
249:2 250:1,	242:13 244:1,	spirit	218:14 232:13
	21 247:4,5	245:17	237:19

stated 252:8	213:18 247:20	Tampa 204:22	testified 219:24 242:8
statement 203:24 218:15 220:14	subpoena 256:14,18,23	207:10,12,17, 19,21 215:14	testimony 211:19 220:12,16,22 239:9 243:21
statements 234:21	substantial 238:8 239:17	221:1,12,20, 21 222:17,25	text 259:6,7,22,24 260:3
statistical 201:7,10 203:8 210:1, 5,9 225:14,15	subtle 253:19	223:16,19	theory 210:14
statistically 209:4,16	successfully 231:17	227:11 230:16	thing 215:15 235:1 258:16,17
statistics 199:21 208:14	sum 206:22	231:11 232:15	things 223:8 240:3 255:18,20 257:12
statute 221:22 223:17	Supreme 201:13	233:7,12	thinking 235:24
straight 205:16,24 222:22	surprised 255:6 256:2, 4,6	234:12,18	thought 222:12 245:13 246:12,13
strange 259:18	<hr/> T <hr/>	236:4,8,12,13	tidy 257:19
strength 237:4	takes 254:24	237:4,9,17,25	Tier 199:25 233:13 234:17 240:21
striking 248:5,7	taking 248:15	238:7,9 239:3	time 220:24 224:16 231:4,7,19 234:13 236:2 238:6 241:3 249:19
stuck 217:6	talk 199:5,8 203:25	technically 217:22	times 235:3,10,20 240:23 252:18
subfolders 257:19	talked 199:6 214:23 215:6 216:8 217:15,21 220:4 225:7 230:15 237:21 244:9 252:12	Temple 221:10,18,23, 24 222:7,15, 22,24 223:5, 12,13,24	tiny 199:24
subject 240:16	talking 201:19 204:2 208:6 211:4 227:15 228:12,13 232:14 246:24	terms 203:21 210:5 217:1 218:11 258:6	
subjective 210:13		Terrace 221:10,18,23, 24 222:7,15, 22,24 223:5, 12,13,24	
submissions 211:25 214:22		terrifying 255:20	
submitted 212:15,17		territory 228:25	
		test 201:2 210:16	

title 200:1,12	259:1	visual 200:25 210:11,12,16 227:22	website 205:16,21,25 206:3,13,16 212:25 227:25 231:1 234:2 250:22 255:6
titled 199:25	ultimately 212:18 216:18 230:3 248:15	visually 201:1 210:22 224:17	west 219:12,13,16, 17 245:12
today 239:9 250:25 251:9,13 252:13,25 255:12 260:19,24 261:10	understand 229:16 239:16 241:14 243:25 244:6 261:1	visuals 251:21	western 216:22
told 221:1,2	understanding 240:19 241:22 243:3,17,19 247:3,8	Volume 199:1	wholly 219:2,18 233:1 234:25 240:1 245:9 248:17
top 224:9,11	unimportant 249:13,22	Volusia 250:13 254:25	win 236:8
topic 236:12 255:3	unincorporated 217:8 222:2, 16,17 227:7 249:7	voter 243:18	Winter 245:4
topics 214:17	University 254:18	voters 239:10,11,14	won 247:5
total 232:23	urban 251:21	voting 237:4 238:20 243:8,10 244:1,3	wondering 220:8 221:6
trade-off 224:12	utilize 221:4	<hr/> W <hr/>	work 221:3 222:9, 20 250:25 259:2
transcript 238:5 240:5	utilized 245:20	wait 261:4	worked 222:23
transitory 259:25 260:1, 5,7	<hr/> V <hr/>	wanted 199:23 219:5, 6 223:9,15,25	working 200:24 245:1
true 203:24 252:18	version 247:7	watch 220:16	world 200:18
turnout 243:18	versus 202:8	watching 220:20	worry 258:20
<hr/> U <hr/>	vetoed 214:10 227:24	water 220:7	worse 204:22 218:12,22
UCF 254:20,21	view 216:11 221:9 225:16	waterway 215:25	
Uh-huh 242:19 253:17		ways 232:25	

255:18

worth

234:13

worthwhile

233:13

wrapped

255:4

wrong

251:14

Z

zoomed

217:6

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc.

vs.

Cord Byrd, et al.

Deposition of:

James Kelly

June 08, 2023

Vol 1



IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE
SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY
BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC.,
et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 2022 CA 000666

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State, et al.,

Defendants.

_____ /

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
TALLAHASSEE DIVISION

COMMON CAUSE FLORIDA, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State,

Defendant.

_____ /

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
GOVERNOR RON DESANTIS AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S
OFFICE (JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY)

(Volume 1, Pages 1 - 194)

Thursday, June 8, 2023

9:00 a.m. - 2:37 p.m.

LOCATION:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY: SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, CM, CRR, CRC, CCR

Job No. 309153

APPEARANCES:

ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS BLACK VOTERS MATTER,
et al.:

ELIAS LAW GROUP, LLP
10 G Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
202.968.4490
BY: JOSEPH POSIMATO, ESQUIRE
jposimato@elias.law
BY: CHRISTINA FORD ESQUIRE
cford@elias.law

ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS COMMON CAUSE, et al.:

PATTERSON BELKNAP WEBB & TAYLOR
1133 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036
212.336.2817
BY: CATHERINE J. DJANG, ESQUIRE
cdjang@pbwt.com

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT SECRETARY OF STATE:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIAK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.508.7775
BY: MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com
BY: ROBERT MICHAEL BEATO, ESQUIRE
mbeato@holtzmanvogel.com

APPEARANCES: (Continued.)

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA SENATE:

SHUTTS AND BOWEN
215 S. Monroe Street, #800
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.241.1717
BY: DANIEL E. NORDBY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
dnordby@shutts.com

THE FLORIDA SENATE
302 The Capitol, #404S
Tallahassee, FL 32399
850.487.5237
BY: KYLE EDWIN GRAY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
gray.kyle@flsenate.gov

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES:

GRAY|ROBINSON
301 S. Bronough Street, #600
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
850.577.9090
BY: ASHLEY H. LUKIS, ESQUIRE
ashley.lukis@gray-robinson.com

ALSO PRESENT:

Nicholas Meros, Office of the Governor
Michael Halper, Common Cause Florida
Taylor Meehan (Via Zoom.)
David Rosenthal (Via Zoom.)

I N D E X

WITNESS	PAGE
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR RON DESANTIS AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE (JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY)	
Direct Examination by Ms. Ford	6
Direct Examination by Mr. Posamato	167
CERTIFICATE OF OATH	191
CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER	192
READ AND SIGN LETTER	193
ERRATA SHEET	194

INDEX OF EXHIBITS

NO.	DESCRIPTION	ID
28	Notice of Topics	7
29	E-mail from Willie A. Miller, Jr., to Stephanie Kopelousos	11
30	E-mail from Taryn Fenske to James Uthmeier	15
31	How Ron DeSantis Blew Up Black-Held Congressional Districts and May Have Broken Florida Law	20
32	Florida Registering Kickoff Call E-mail	40
33	1/18/2022 E-mail Chain	45
34	Princeton Gerrymandering Project	65
35	1/14/2022 E-mail Chain With Governor's Team	70
36	E-mail Chain Regarding Files for Submission	72
37	E-mail Attachment of Plan 005A, Plan 5A5	74
38	Senator Rodrigues Memo	76
39	Forms Submitting Plan 79	77
40	1-18-22 E-mail from Kelly to Jazil	80
41	1-24-22 E-mail from Ryan Newman	83
42	2/1/2022 Letter from the Governor to Florida Supreme Court	87
43	2/10/2022 Opinion from Florida Supreme Court Declining Governor's Advisory Opinion Request	90

INDEX OF EXHIBITS (Continued.)

NO.	DESCRIPTION	ID
44	2/12/2022 E-mail Chain Attempting to Find Witness for the House	94
45	E-mail Chain	99
46	2-19-22 E-mail Chain between Newman and Uthmeier	103
47	Voting Record of Bill of Legislature's Redistricting Plan	107
48	2/14/2022 Form Submitted by Mr. Newman to Legislature for Plan 94	110
49	E-mail Chain Regarding Reducing Number of Plans in Summary	111
50	Plan 13B	112
51	Chart: Reock, Convex Hull, Polsby-Popper	116
52	CVAP Data Spreadsheet	118
53	Ryan Newman to the House Redistricting Committee Memo	121
54	3/29/2022 Memo, Mr. Newman to the Governor	128
55	Transcript of Mr. Kelly's Presentation before Senate Committee	152
56	11-17-22 Politico Article	156
57	4-13-22 Submission Form	158
58	E-mail Chain Between Taryn Fenske and Gary Fineout from Politico	159
59	Response to Request About Redistricting	162
60	Spreadsheet Providing Analysis Comparing Variety of Metrics	162
61	Spreadsheet of Plan 79	163
62	Notice from Secretary of State's Office	167

1 The following proceedings began at 9:00 a.m.:

2 THE STENOGRAPHER: Would you raise your
3 right hand, please? Do you swear or affirm
4 that the testimony you are about to give will
5 be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but
6 the truth?

7 THE WITNESS: I do.

8 THE STENOGRAPHER: Thank you.

9 Thereupon,
10 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
11 RON DESANTIS AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE

12 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY
13 having been first duly sworn or affirmed, as
14 hereinafter certified testified as follows:

15 DIRECT EXAMINATION

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q Good morning, Mr. Kelly.

18 A Good morning.

19 Q My name is Christina Ford. You were here
20 yesterday, and I don't think it makes sense to do
21 all of the background work that we did yesterday
22 on -- on deposition instructions and whatnot.

23 But you understand that you're still under
24 oath today?

25 A Yes.

1 **Q** And do you agree with me that while you're
2 testifying today, you won't exchange communications
3 either by text, e-mail, or by any means about how to
4 answer the questions that are asked today in a
5 substantive manner?

6 A Yes.

7 **Q** Okay.

8 MS. FORD: Let's pull up the -- just the
9 notice of topics.

10 THE STENOGRAPHER: This will be 28.

11 (Exhibit 28 was marked for
12 identification.)

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q** Mr. Kelly, this was the notice that we
15 sent to your office for a corporate representative
16 to appear on behalf of the Executive Office of the
17 Governor.

18 Is it correct that you were chosen as the
19 designee for the Governor's Office?

20 A Yes.

21 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, just for the record,
22 I'd like to interpose an objection.

23 The stipulation, which is Exhibit 2 to the
24 deposition, discusses that and says that as it
25 relates to the Executive Office of the

1 Governor, plaintiffs will only seek the
2 deposition of two individuals working on behalf
3 of the Executive Office of the Governor, deputy
4 chief of staff Alex Kelly and outside
5 consultant Adam Foltz. I think the corporate
6 rep deposition would be in conflict with the
7 stipulation.

8 That said, Mr. Kelly was the point person
9 for the Executive Office of the Governor, he
10 has personnel knowledge of almost all the
11 issues that are identified here, so I don't
12 think as a practical matter it's a problem, and
13 so I just want to list the objection for the
14 record.

15 You can proceed with the questions, and
16 we'll go from there.

17 MS. FORD: Okay.

18 BY MS. FORD:

19 Q Do we -- do you understand that your
20 answers today are on behalf of the Governor's
21 Office?

22 MR. JAZIL: And I'll say this. Anything
23 he says is on behalf the Governor's Office
24 because he during this whole time has been
25 working in his capacity as an agent of the

1 Governor's Office.

2 Anything he says bounds the Governor's
3 Office. I'll make that representation on the
4 record as well.

5 A Yes.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 Q Okay. And when I say "Governor's Office,"
8 do you understand that I mean the Governor, his
9 staff, employees, consultants, and any of the
10 Governor's representatives?

11 A Was does the last word mean,
12 "representatives"?

13 Q People who officially act on behalf of the
14 Governor, who were asked to act on his behalf.

15 A That could be people beyond our office and
16 consultants and lawyers who represent our office.

17 Q Okay. Well, yeah, I'm sure that can be
18 complicated. Well, let me rephrase the question.

19 When I use the Governor's Office today, I
20 do mean the governor, his staff, his employees, and
21 people who the Governor's Office has entered into
22 contractual relationships with to do work with such
23 as Mr. Foltz.

24 A Okay. Yes.

25 Q Does that help?

1 A Yes. Thank you.

2 Q Mr. Kelly, can you just flip to page 6 of
3 this notice for areas of inquiry?

4 A Sure.

5 Q Have you seen this before or read through
6 a copy of these topics?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Are there any topics here that you feel
9 like you are not prepared to testify on today?

10 A Can I just read back through them again?

11 Q Sure.

12 A (Examining document.)

13 I'm good. I can testify on these
14 documents.

15 Q Okay. And yesterday you told me that to
16 prepare for yesterday's deposition in your
17 individual capacity you met with counsel and you
18 reviewed a set of documents.

19 Did you do anything additional to prepare
20 for this deposition?

21 A No. I watched the videos of myself
22 present.

23 Q I guess I was asking -- I didn't mean --
24 you talked a good bit yesterday about how you
25 prepared.

1 Did you do anything additional?

2 A The only thing that just came to my mind
3 is I watched the videos of myself present to the
4 House and the Senate.

5 Q Okay. Thanks.

6 (Exhibit 29 was marked for
7 identification.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q Mr. Kelly, so this is an e-mail from
10 someone named Willie A. Miller, Jr., to Stephanie --

11 A -- Kopelousos.

12 Q Kopelousos. Can you say that again?

13 A Kopelousos.

14 Q Kopelousos. I'll probably mess it up.

15 Thank you.

16 -- dated September 23, 2021. Who is
17 Stephanie Kopelousos?

18 A Stephanie is the legislative director for
19 the Governor.

20 Q And do you know who Willie A. Miller, Jr.,
21 is?

22 A No.

23 Q Okay. I will represent to you that
24 LinkedIn shows that Willie A. Miller, Jr., is a
25 legislative aide in the Florida House.

1 Does that ring any bells to you?

2 A No.

3 Q Okay. Would you mind reading Mr. Miller's
4 initial question to Ms. Kopelousos and then her
5 response?

6 A Sure. Mr. Miller wrote: "Good afternoon.
7 Question, who is the state contracting with to draw
8 the redistricting maps to present to the
9 legislature? I have some ideas about the
10 Congressional District 20."

11 Stephanie responded: "The legislature is
12 who does the maps."

13 Q At the time of this e-mail, which was
14 mid-September 2021, had the Governor's Office
15 already discussed the idea of drawing or submitting
16 maps to present to the legislature?

17 MR. JAZIL: Mr. Kelly, I am going to give
18 you the Marsh instruction from yesterday which
19 is do not talk about any internal discussions
20 and deliberations within the Governor's Office
21 unless they were made public or shared with a
22 third party, including but not limited to the
23 Florida legislature. I'll continue to refer to
24 this as the Marsh instruction throughout the
25 course of the deposition as I did yesterday.

1 To the extent you can answer, answer.

2 A I don't even know what the answer would
3 be. I have no idea.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Do you know why a legislative aide would
6 have been asking the Governor's office in September
7 of 2021 who they are planning to contract with to
8 present maps to the legislature?

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

10 You can answer.

11 A You'd have to ask Mr. Miller. I don't
12 know.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q Did the Governor's Office, in fact, have
15 any consultants related to redistricting that they
16 had contracted with by the time of September of
17 '21?

18 A No.

19 Q And here, Ms. Kopelousos responds that the
20 legislature will be the entity that draws the maps.

21 Is it correct that that was the assumption
22 at the time?

23 MR. JAZIL: Marsh instruction.

24 Answer to the extent you can.

25 A Yes. And that's Florida law. The

1 legislature draws the maps.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 Q Why did the Governor decide to get
4 personally involved in this redistricting cycle?

5 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
6 Marsh instruction. You can answer to the
7 extent that it was presented to the public.

8 A The Governor very publicly in our office
9 provided a series of legal documents and positions
10 outlining exactly -- literally exactly -- why we got
11 involved in the redistricting process. I would just
12 reference all of those.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q And by that, do you mean, like, the veto
15 memorandum or Mr. Newman's various legal memos?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Anything else you're referring to there?

18 A No.

19 Q Okay. Did the Governor's Office generally
20 follow the legislature's proposals as they were
21 released by the House and Senate?

22 A Say that again.

23 Q Yeah. I'm sorry. And just to refer you
24 back to the instructions, when I say the "Governor's
25 Office," I don't mean just you. I just mean anyone

1 you're aware of in the Governor's Office.

2 A Anyone?

3 Q Did the Governor's Office generally follow
4 the proposals that were being released by the House
5 and Senate through the fall of 2021?

6 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
7 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
8 extent it's public.

9 A I'm not able to answer that question
10 without talking about internal conversations.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q Can we go to --

13 (Exhibit 30 was marked for
14 identification.)

15 A Is it fair for me to go back and say that
16 in January of 2021 -- or 2022, I mean, our office
17 was pretty public about concerns with the maps. So
18 to have those concerns, there had to have been a
19 following of the maps, which is more of a logic
20 equation.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 Q Thank you.

23 Exhibit 30 is an e-mail that was produced
24 to us from Taryn Fenske to James Uthmeier.

25 Who is Taryn Fenske?

1 A Taryn Fenske -- excuse me -- is the
2 communications director for the Governor.

3 Q Okay. And Mr. Uthmeier is the chief of
4 staff?

5 A Uthmeier.

6 Q Uthmeier.

7 A James Uthmeier is the chief of staff for
8 the Governor.

9 Q Thank you.

10 So here Ms. Fenske is forwarding
11 Mr. Uthmeier an article titled, "Congressional Map
12 Proposals Draw Bipartisan Praise in Florida," which
13 I'll represent seems to summarize the fact that the
14 Florida Senate had recently released draft
15 Congressional plans which senators from both parties
16 had supported.

17 Does that appear to be a fair
18 characterization of this article to you?

19 A Can I have a chance to read it?

20 Q Sure.

21 A (Examining document.)

22 Okay. I've read it. Apologize. What was
23 your question?

24 Q Just if my summary was a fair
25 characterization?

1 A I'm sorry. What was your summary?

2 Q Yeah. I just said that this seems to
3 summarize that the Florida Senate had recently
4 released draft Congressional plans and that senators
5 from both parties had seemed to support the plans.

6 Does that seem like a fair
7 characterization?

8 A Yes.

9 Q And yesterday we talked a little bit about
10 news alerts that go around in the Governor's Office.
11 Does this appear to be one of the news alerts that
12 was circulated within your office?

13 A Yes. This is the format the news alerts
14 come in.

15 Q Okay. And does everyone in the office get
16 the news alerts?

17 MR. JAZIL: To the extent you're asking
18 generally, he can answer that. To the extent
19 you're asking for specific pieces of
20 legislation, that would be covered by the
21 legislative privilege.

22 MS. FORD: I'm asking generally.

23 A I believe everyone -- to my knowledge,
24 everyone in the office gets them.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Okay. Thank you. Why did Ms. Fenske send
3 Mr. Uthmeier this article?

4 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
5 instruction.

6 A I wouldn't be able to respond.

7 BY MS. FORD:

8 Q Had Mr. Uthmeier asked to be kept
9 up-to-date on the status of the legislature's
10 redistricting plans?

11 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
12 instruction again.

13 A I wouldn't be able to respond.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Mr. Kelly, just for sake of clarity for
16 the record, when you say you're not able to respond,
17 can you just clarify whether you're -- you're not
18 answering at the advice of counsel or whether you
19 just -- you don't actually know the answer? It
20 might be helpful for the record.

21 MR. JAZIL: It's under advice of counsel.
22 I'm directing him not to answer every time I
23 say "Marsh instruction" because of Judge
24 Marsh's order and the legislative privilege.

25 A I'm following the advice of counsel on

1 your last two questions.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 Q Thank you.

4 Could you please go to page 2 and read the
5 paragraph about halfway down that starts with, "The
6 initial Senate proposals" --

7 A Sure.

8 Q -- and just read that paragraph, please.

9 A Sure. "The initial Senate proposals would
10 accommodate the new Polk County Congressional
11 District by condensing districts to the east around
12 Orlando and to the west in the Tampa region. The
13 changes, however, wouldn't vastly alter two
14 districts, District 7, held by Democrat
15 Congresswoman Stephanie Murphy, and District 13,
16 held by Democrat Congressman Charlie Crist, that
17 have received the most attention from pundits as
18 potential targets for the Republican-dominated
19 legislature to help flip U.S. House seats.

20 Q Did anyone in the Governor's Office
21 express the view that the Senate's proposals were
22 too friendly or favorable to Democrats?

23 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
24 instruction.

25 A Again, I'm not able to answer questions

1 about internal office conversations, so I'm going to
2 follow the advice of counsel.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q Okay. Was anyone in the Governor's Office
5 aware that some Republicans had criticized the
6 legislature's plans as being too friendly or
7 favorable to Democrats?

8 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
9 instruction again.

10 A Again, not able to talk about internal
11 office conversations, so I'm going to follow the
12 advice of counsel.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 Q All right. Let's move on.

15 (Exhibit 31 was marked for
16 identification.)

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 31. This is an
19 article from the outlet ProPublica, which was
20 published on October 11, 2022, by reporter Joshua
21 Kaplan.

22 And I apologize that the title is not
23 included here. I just could not get it to print.

24 But the title was: "How Ron DeSantis blew
25 up Black-held congressional districts and may have

1 broken Florida Law."

2 Have you read this article before?

3 A I do remember reading the first couple
4 paragraphs of it.

5 Q Okay. Could you please read the very
6 first paragraph out loud?

7 A Sure. "Florida Governor Ron DeSantis was
8 incensed. Late last year, the state's Republican
9 legislature had drawn Congressional maps that
10 largely kept districts intact, leaving the GOP with
11 only a modest electoral advantage."

12 Q Thank you.

13 Is it true that the Governor was upset
14 with the redistricting plans that the legislature
15 had drawn?

16 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
17 Marsh instruction.

18 A The Governor, our office, published a
19 number of memos which made it clear that we had
20 problems with the maps that the legislature was
21 looking at and detailed those problems pretty
22 explicitly.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q And during this period while the House and
25 Senate were putting out draft plans, I guess I'll

1 call that maybe September of '21 through January,
2 did the Governor's team ever communicate to the
3 legislature that the Governor was not satisfied with
4 their proposals?

5 A Yes.

6 Q How did the Governor's team do that?

7 A We published a number of pretty explicit
8 detailed correspondence to that effect. Staff
9 meetings, yes.

10 Q So besides the sort of legal memos that
11 were published that became part of the -- the sort
12 of like record of the House and Senate, I'm asking
13 were there meetings between the House and Senate
14 during this time in the Governor's Office to sort of
15 talk about these issues that the Governor had?

16 A Again, what was the period? September to
17 January, is that what you said?

18 Q I'm trying to get at, you know, well
19 before the special session in the fall, in the early
20 winter, were there meetings between the House and
21 Senate and the Governor's Office for discussions?

22 A Could you be specific on the months?

23 Q Sure. Let's start with just the fall
24 through the beginning -- or through the end of the
25 year, so between, say, September of 2021 and

1 December 31, 2021.

2 A No meetings.

3 Q Okay. Were there any meetings with the
4 House and Senate in January or February of 2022?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. Can you tell me about those
7 meetings?

8 A There were meetings. What specifically --
9 tell you what?

10 Q Yeah. What was -- what was the purpose of
11 the meetings?

12 A To explain our office's concerns with the
13 maps.

14 Q Okay. And who was -- who attended those
15 meetings?

16 A I was in a meeting with Mat Bahl, Michelle
17 Davila, Mo, James Uthmeier. I think that was it.

18 Q Just for clarity of the record, who's Mat
19 Bahl?

20 A He's the chief of staff, or was the chief
21 of staff at the time for the Florida House of
22 Representatives.

23 Q Who is Michelle Davila?

24 A Michelle worked in the Speaker's office.
25 I believe her title was deputy chief of staff, but I

1 may be slightly off about that. She had a role
2 similar to that.

3 Q So is this a meeting just with the House?

4 A Yes.

5 Q There were no representatives of the
6 Senate present?

7 A Correct.

8 Q Okay. And when did that meeting occur, to
9 the best of your knowledge?

10 A First week of January 2022.

11 Q Okay. Who set up that meeting?

12 A I'm not sure.

13 Q I guess what I was asking if you remember
14 is, did the Governor's Office initiate that meeting
15 to set it up with the House or did the House reach
16 out to the Governor's Office?

17 A I'm not sure.

18 Q Okay. And why did the Governor's Office
19 just meet with the House?

20 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
21 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
22 answer.

23 A I don't know that there was a -- I don't
24 know that there was a why except that the House was
25 not as far along in their process. The Senate --

1 Senate's proposed Congressional plan was just
2 further along in its committee process than the
3 House's was. I don't know that there was any other
4 reason beyond that.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Okay. So this January meeting with the**
7 **House, what was the purpose of this meeting?**

8 A As I stated before, to express our
9 office's concerns with the maps the legislature was
10 considering, the Congressional maps.

11 **Q And specifically what concerns were raised**
12 **in that January meeting with the House?**

13 A Concerns over the legislature's violations
14 of the 14th Amendment, equal protection in their
15 maps, other concerns outlined in our memorandums,
16 but the same points that were outlined in our
17 various memorandum documents.

18 **Q Was any district other than CD-5 discussed**
19 **in that meeting?**

20 A Of course, the districts that touched CD-5
21 by implication. I don't recall there's any other
22 districts discussed in that meeting.

23 **Q What did the Governor's Office ask the**
24 **House to do? What was the ask of the committee?**

25 A To look at alternatives to what the House

1 and Senate were considering for the Congressional
2 map.

3 Q Okay. And did the Governor's team bring
4 any draft maps for the House to consider at that
5 meeting?

6 A No.

7 Q Had it otherwise sent them any draft maps
8 to consider at that meeting?

9 A No.

10 Q Did the House make any requests of the
11 Governor's Office during that meeting?

12 A None that I recall.

13 Q Okay. So was the meeting just purely
14 educational just to inform the House of the
15 Governor's views on CD-5?

16 A I don't know if it was limited to CD-5 or
17 not. I really just don't remember. CD-5 was the
18 main part of the conversation, but I can't say one
19 way or another whether it was limited to just that
20 topic.

21 But, yes. It was, you know, not unlike
22 any other bill where one legislative chamber or the
23 Governor or however, if any one side of the
24 legislative process has a concern about somebody
25 else's bill, there's probably almost any bill,

1 there's an initial sit-down of just explaining:

2 Here's our concerns. Here's our problems. Let's

3 collaborate and work together.

4 **Q And did the Governor's Office bring any**
5 **sort of presentation or materials to that meeting?**

6 A No.

7 **Q Anything else that you remember occurring**
8 **at that meeting?**

9 A No.

10 **Q Okay. What was the outcome of that**
11 **meeting?**

12 A I recall it just being a conversation
13 starter.

14 **Q How did the House respond to the concerns**
15 **that the Governor was raising?**

16 A At that meeting or --

17 **Q At that meeting, yes.**

18 A At that meeting? Listened, discussed.
19 The house staff there, Mat and Michelle, heard us
20 out, heard our concerns out, talked it through with
21 us.

22 **Q Did they seem receptive to the Governor's**
23 **ideas about CD-5?**

24 A They seemed open to the discussion.

25 **Q Did the House agree in that meeting to**

1 **draw new plans that would substantially redraw CD-5?**

2 A No.

3 **Q They did not?**

4 A No.

5 **Q Were there any other meetings that**
6 **occurred in the rest of January with the**
7 **legislature?**

8 A Just on -- I mean, just the topic of
9 redistricting?

10 **Q Yes. I'm sorry. I'm just asking about --**

11 A Okay.

12 **Q And I'm just asking about Congressional**
13 **redistricting.**

14 A Okay. And I asked because --

15 **Q I am sure.**

16 A -- someone like myself would have been in
17 20 meetings on education, economic development, a
18 variety of things, let alone --

19 In January, none come to mind.

20 **Q Okay. And when I say "meetings," I'd also**
21 **include discussions on that. So if the House and**
22 **the Governor's Office got on a conference call, I'm**
23 **also asking about that, not just about physical**
24 **meetings.**

25 A Sure.

1 Q Is your answer still the same? You don't
2 remember any that would have occurred in January?

3 A I know there was dialogue back and forth.
4 You know, I don't remember a specific meeting. I
5 know that there was continued dialogue.

6 Q What was the dialogue?

7 A Follow-up dialogue from the meeting.

8 Q Who was involved in that dialogue?

9 A I don't remember like a specific -- I just
10 know factually there was continued dialogue. I
11 don't have a specific -- you're asking about a
12 meeting. I don't know about a specific, like, point
13 in conversation.

14 Q Well, who was taking the lead for the
15 Governor's Office in this dialogue?

16 A I don't know that one person was taking
17 the lead in the dialogue with the legislature.

18 Q Okay. Well, who from the Governor's
19 Office was having continued discussions with the
20 legislature about this issue?

21 A Lawyers. Our lawyers, their lawyers were
22 talking to each other; their respective chiefs of
23 staff talking to each other. It would have been our
24 lawyers and respective chiefs.

25 Q Okay. When you say there was a continued

1 **dialogue, was this dialogue limited to CD-5?**

2 A No.

3 **Q Okay. What other issues were raised in**
4 **this?**

5 A Concerns about the map as a whole, not
6 just CD-5. CD-5 was certainly what we were pretty
7 public about being a main concern, but the concerns
8 throughout the map, the map could be improved, or
9 maps the legislature was looking at could be
10 improved in a number of ways.

11 **Q What specific improvements was the**
12 **Governor's Office talking about with the legislature**
13 **in January? And let's just include February, too.**

14 A Sure. Sure. Somewhere in that point,
15 we -- somewhere in that juncture we submitted our
16 office's first map.

17 **Q Right.**

18 A That map may -- depending on how you want
19 to look at it -- the micro level detail -- hundreds
20 of changes throughout the map, changes through
21 almost every part of the state except for,
22 substantively, down in the Florida Panhandle, the
23 most western district of the state, didn't change
24 that much, if at all.

25 If it did, it was de minimis, but the

1 proposal that we put forward made changes throughout
2 the entirety of the map. If you want to count that
3 from the census blocks, you're talking tens of
4 thousands. But to be reasonable here, we're talking
5 probably hundreds of changes throughout the map. We
6 published a map with changes.

7 **Q Did the Governor's Office ever meet with**
8 **the Senate to discuss any of these issues? I'll**
9 **say, I know there was a special session that**
10 **occurred; maybe a week or two before special**
11 **session. I'm talking about prior to that.**

12 **Did the Governor's Office ever meet with**
13 **the Senate to discuss these issues?**

14 A Yes.

15 **Q Okay. Who attended that meeting?**

16 **Actually, let me back up. Was this one**
17 **meeting, or were there several meetings?**

18 A Sure. I know that the legal teams had
19 multiple meetings and conversations.

20 **Q Okay. Did you ever attend any meeting**
21 **with the Senate?**

22 A Yes. Yes.

23 **Q When would that have occurred?**

24 A During session. Definitely during
25 session, February or March.

1 **Q Okay. And who attended that meeting?**

2 A I was there. I remember Dan Nordby being
3 there. I know one of our legal team was there, but
4 I can't place who.

5 **Q Okay. Was that -- that was just a meeting**
6 **with the Senate. There was no one there from the**
7 **House?**

8 A Correct.

9 **Q And what was the purpose of that meeting?**

10 A We were discussing trying to understand
11 better some of the methodology for how the Senate
12 drew its maps.

13 **Q Yesterday you spoke about how the Senate**
14 **really relied on roadways and sort of roadway**
15 **boundaries, interstate, stuff like that.**

16 **Is that what you mean by that?**

17 A Yes. That's a great example, yes.

18 **Q Okay. Was CD-5 discussed in that meeting?**

19 A Not that I recall. I'm not sure if it was
20 or wasn't, but not that I recall specifically.

21 **Q Did the Governor's Office make any**
22 **requests of the Senate in that meeting?**

23 A Not that I recall.

24 **Q And did the Senate make any requests of**
25 **the Governor's Office in that meeting?**

1 A Again, not that I recall.

2 Q Did the Governor's Office bring any sort
3 of physical materials or presentations to that
4 meeting?

5 A Yes.

6 Q What materials did the Governor's Office
7 bring?

8 A I believe we brought our most recent
9 published map.

10 Q Okay. Which would have either been 79 or
11 94 at the time?

12 A One of those two.

13 Q Okay. Was Adam Foltz at that meeting?

14 A No.

15 Q Was Adam Foltz at any of the meetings with
16 the House or Senate?

17 A No.

18 Q Did he ever join a call with the House or
19 Senate?

20 A No.

21 Q Actually, I think you interpreted it this
22 way, but for clarity of the record, when I say
23 "House," I mean House members, House staff, House
24 attorneys.

25 A I've interpreted it that way.

1 Q Great.

2 Were any elected officials -- let me
3 clarify the question. House members and Senators
4 are elected officials.

5 Were there any other elected officials
6 that were at any of the meetings that the Governor's
7 Office had with the House and Senate?

8 A Other than those who were Representatives
9 and Senators?

10 Q Yes.

11 A Okay. No other elected officials.

12 Q Okay. And I think you said before there
13 were a couple Senate meetings that occurred before
14 the special session?

15 A There were a couple meetings with the
16 Senate before the special session, yes.

17 Q Okay. And to be clear, I am still talking
18 prior to that meeting that I believe you had with
19 the Senate, in which you discussed what would go on
20 to be the final map.

21 A Oh, okay.

22 Q Which we'll get to in a little bit.

23 A There was one meeting that I was in, the
24 one I just referenced.

25 Q You had no other meetings with the Senate?

1 A Again, just to establish time frame, you
2 mean before the special session was the question?
3 So before the end of the regular session?

4 **Q Yeah, before the end of the regular**
5 **session.**

6 A Sure, sure. One meeting that I was
7 personally in with the Senate.

8 **Q Okay. During this time frame, was the**
9 **Governor's Office continuing to ask the Senate to**
10 **draw a revised version of CD-5?**

11 A Yes. And pretty publicly we submitted
12 two alternative maps and asked both chambers of the
13 legislature to consider numerous changes throughout
14 the maps.

15 **Q What was the Senate's response?**

16 A The Senate provided that feedback
17 regarding their line drawing process. The Senate
18 agreed with the feedback that the House had given
19 separately regarding the use of census-designated
20 places.

21 I posed that question, is that something
22 they agreed with? They said, yes, that they did not
23 factor in unincorporated census-designated places,
24 either. Those examples come to mind.

25 **Q Before the end of the special session, did**

1 the House and Senate express to the Governor's
2 Office why they would not redraw CD-5 in the way
3 that the Governor's Office preferred?

4 A You said before the end of the special
5 session?

6 Q Yeah.

7 A Before the end --

8 Q I'm sorry. Before the end of regular
9 session.

10 A Did they express why they would not draw
11 CD-5 in the way that our office had proposed?

12 Q Yes.

13 A They gave pretty specific testimony in
14 committee and on the floor, those were probably the
15 clearest statements that the House and Senate made.
16 Their floor testimony was way more direct than
17 anything -- anything ever said to us in a meeting.

18 Q Did they -- did the House or Senate
19 express to you -- the Governor's Office is what I
20 mean -- in meetings that they thought that the
21 Governor's plan violated the Fair District
22 Amendments?

23 A They never said that so directly.

24 Q What did they say if they didn't say it
25 directly?

1 A They said they would listen to us, they'd
2 hear our concerns, they -- sort of the usual thing
3 the House and Senate do in the legislative process
4 where they posture and say, "Well, we're this far in
5 the process," and I don't know if, you know, they --
6 they kind of do that, frankly, on a lot of bills.

7 At the end of the day, the maps are
8 available. They do that in a lot of bills, "Well,
9 we're this far in the process, I don't know," which
10 is not really direct or helpful feedback, it's just
11 posturing because of the process.

12 A lot of process-oriented comments. Their
13 comments on the -- on the actual floor and committee
14 process were very -- way more direct.

15 **Q I remember at one point in this process**
16 **during the special session Governor DeSantis tweeted**
17 **out that he -- that the bill retaining CD-5 was sort**
18 **of DOA, dead on arrival. I don't have that exhibit.**
19 **I just remember it happening.**

20 **Is that something the Governor's Office**
21 **expressed to the House and Senate in meetings, that**
22 **he would veto a bill that retained sort of an**
23 **equivalent Benchmark CD-5 District?**

24 MR. JAZIL: I'm sorry, are we talking
25 about meetings before the regular session or

1 during the regular session?

2 MS. FORD: I'm talking about meetings up
3 through the end of the regular session, or
4 discussions.

5 A I know that message was conveyed. I don't
6 know if it was in a face-to-face meeting. I know
7 that message was conveyed, though.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q It was conveyed outside the tweet?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Okay. And what was the House and Senate's
12 response?

13 A Regarding that conveyance that such a plan
14 would get vetoed?

15 Q Yes.

16 A I don't know that the Senate had a
17 particular response. I remember the House being
18 upset.

19 Q What did the House -- can you be more
20 specific about the House's response?

21 A I don't remember a specific comment. I
22 just -- I remember the House being upset. I don't
23 recall a specific comment.

24 Q Okay. Let me see if I have any more
25 questions on this.

1 Were there any more meetings or
2 discussions that the Governor's Office had with the
3 legislature between, let's just say the start of the
4 redistricting cycle and the end of the regular
5 session, related to Congressional redistricting that
6 we haven't talked about?

7 A No.

8 Q Okay. Let's go back to this ProPublica
9 article that we just had.

10 A Sure.

11 Q On page 2 -- I'm actually going to be --
12 I'll just -- on page 2, the article reports that on
13 January 5, 2022, the Governor's team participated in
14 a Florida redistricting kickoff call with some
15 out-of-state folks.

16 Feel free to read through that while I --

17 A Where is it? I'm sorry.

18 Q Yeah, I'll grab it.

19 Do you see the -- maybe like the third,
20 fourth paragraph down, "A meeting invite obtained by
21 ProPublica"?

22 A I see it.

23 Q Yeah. If you want to just, like, read
24 that paragraph.

25 A Okay.

1 (Exhibit 32 was marked for
2 identification.)

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q So this is just the actual public record
5 that ProPublica's referencing. So this is --
6 Exhibit 32 is an e-mail titled "Florida
7 Redistricting Kickoff Call."

8 It looks like it was originally from
9 Mr. Jazil and then ultimately sent to chief of staff
10 Mr. Uthmeier and then forwarded to Chris Spencer;
11 yourself, Alex Kelly; Jason Torchinsky; and
12 tom@bryangeodemo.com, which I believe to be Thomas
13 Bryan.

14 Does that sound correct to you?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Okay. Can you please tell me what this
17 meeting was?

18 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
19 Marsh instruction.

20 A It's only internal conversations. I
21 wouldn't have a way to answer that, so I'm going to
22 follow the advice of counsel.

23 MS. FORD: Mo, my understanding of the
24 Marsh order, he says that Mr. Kelly can be
25 asked about -- he can be questioned about

1 anything that's a matter of public record.

2 And at that point, we have an article
3 describing the meeting, we have a public record
4 showing that the meeting took place, so I think
5 it's fair game to ask questions about this
6 meeting.

7 MR. JAZIL: I think the fact that the
8 meeting took place is a matter public record,
9 but I think discussions about what happened at
10 the meeting, what was discussed internally
11 between lawyers at the Governor's Office,
12 lawyers working for the Governor's Office and
13 Governor's staff, is protected by the
14 legislative privilege.

15 It's also protected by the attorney-client
16 privilege, but the Marsh instruction is the
17 legislative privilege-based instruction, so
18 I'll still direct him not to answer.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 Q Mr. Kelly, at this point in time, did
21 Thomas Bryan have a consulting contract with the
22 Governor's Office?

23 A I don't know when his contract was signed.

24 Q Do you have -- can you provide an estimate
25 for us of when he started working for the Governor's

1 **Office?**

2 A At some point in January.

3 Q **Okay. Can you say it was prior to this**
4 **meeting that he was ...**

5 A The answer I've given is that I don't
6 know.

7 Q **Okay. I would like to clarify who some of**
8 **the individuals are on this e-mail. So Mr. Jazil is**
9 **right next to you. He's outside counsel to the**
10 **Governor, correct?**

11 A Yes.

12 Q **And Mr. Torchinsky is also outside counsel**
13 **to the Governor's Office?**

14 A Yes.

15 Q **Who's Chris Spencer?**

16 A Chris is the director of the Governor's
17 Office of policy and budget.

18 Q **And did he play a role in the**
19 **redistricting process?**

20 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
21 Marsh instruction.

22 A I follow the advice of counsel. I'd have
23 to talk about internal conversations to answer the
24 question.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Was Mr. Foltz at this meeting?

3 A Clearly he wasn't on the invite. I don't
4 recall if he was on the call, but clearly he wasn't
5 on the invite.

6 Q When was Mr. Foltz engaged by your office
7 to be a consultant or a contract map-drawer?

8 A January.

9 Q Was it prior to or after this meeting?

10 A I'm not sure.

11 Q Can you explain to me -- the title of this
12 is "Kickoff Call." What exactly was being kicked
13 off?

14 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
15 Marsh instruction.

16 A I could only answer that by talking about
17 internal conversations, so I'm going to follow the
18 advice of counsel.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 Q Did any individual -- were there any
21 individuals ultimately on this call who were not
22 part of the Governor's Office or one of the
23 Governor's outside legal counsel?

24 A No.

25 Q Do you remember anyone attending this call

1 who's not on this invite list?

2 A I don't recall any other participants on
3 the call.

**4 Q All right. So you said that Mr. Foltz and
5 Mr. Bryan you believe were engaged in January?**

6 A Yes.

7 Q But you just don't remember exactly when?

8 A Correct.

**9 Q Okay. Other than Mr. Bryan and Mr. Foltz,
10 did the Governor's Office engage anyone else to work
11 as a consultant on redistricting?**

12 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
13 Marsh instruction. To the extent that the
14 information's public, you can answer.

15 A I believe Mr. Torchinsky had a role as
16 consultant or counsel somehow, the legal team here.

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 Q What was Mr. Torchinsky's role?

19 A What was his specific role? I don't know.

20 Q What was his general role?

21 A I think the same as any of our counsel.

**22 Q Did he -- actually, let me go back before
23 we get too far deep into the lawyers.**

**24 I believe I asked you this yesterday, but
25 I apologize, I don't remember your answer. Do you**

1 **know who Eric Wienckowski is?**

2 A No.

3 **Q Okay.**

4 MS. FORD: Can we pull up this one?

5 (Exhibit 33 was marked for
6 identification.)

7 BY MS. FORD:

8 **Q Exhibit 33 is an e-mail chain that was**
9 **produced to us by your office from January 18, 2022.**

10 A Okay.

11 **Q Obviously some of this is redacted here.**

12 A Sure.

13 **Q The chain starts with Adam Foltz, then it**
14 **goes to Eric Wienckowski -- I'm sorry if I'm**
15 **pronouncing that incorrectly -- and eventually**
16 **Mr. Wienckowski is on a chain with Mr. Foltz,**
17 **Mr. Torchinsky, and Mr. Bryan. And the subject is**
18 **"New Florida Request," and there's some sort of plan**
19 **analysis occurring here.**

20 **Does this ring any bells for you? Do you**
21 **still have no memory of Mr. Wienckowski?**

22 A I don't remember Mr. Wienckowski.

23 **Q Okay. Do you know if Mr. Foltz had any**
24 **subcontractors working for him?**

25 A No.

1 Q Sorry, that was a bad question.

2 Just for clarity of the record, did
3 Mr. Foltz have any subcontractors working for him?

4 A I don't know.

5 Q You don't know. Okay.

6 And did Mr. Bryan have any subcontractors
7 working for him?

8 A I don't know.

9 Q Okay. I assume Adam Foltz would know the
10 answer to that question?

11 A I would assume.

12 Q And that Mr. Bryan would know the answer
13 to that question?

14 A I would hope they would both know if they
15 had subcontractors.

16 Q Okay. So I assume you're not able to
17 provide information on what Mr. Wienckowski, what
18 his role was in this process?

19 A Correct.

20 Q You can set this aside.

21 At the time of this January 5 meeting, had
22 the Governor's Office already drawn any
23 redistricting plans?

24 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
25 instruction.

1 A No.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 **Q When did the Governor's Office start**
4 **drawing redistricting plans?**

5 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
6 instruction again, but to the extent you
7 discussed it.

8 A Sure. Sure. Sure.

9 Shortly before the first plan was
10 submitted by our office. I don't -- you might have
11 the exact date in front of you.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 **Q I don't.**

14 A I don't have it. But it's sometime before
15 that.

16 **Q Okay. At that point in time, was Adam**
17 **Foltz the only person drawing plans for the**
18 **Governor's Office?**

19 A Yes.

20 **Q So we talked about how the Governor had**
21 **some outside counsel who were assisting on**
22 **redistricting. We talked about Mr. Jazil,**
23 **Mr. Torchinsky.**

24 **Were there any other outside counsel that**
25 **the Governor had engaged to work on redistricting?**

1 A I think you asked the exact same question
2 about three times now. We kind of talked through
3 each person's name. So we can go back to the
4 record. We really talked about every one of them
5 already.

6 Q I'm just asking about outside counsel. I
7 assume it's not a very big group. Was there anyone
8 other than Mr. Jazil and Mr. Torchinsky that you
9 remember assisting the Governor's Office?

10 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
11 instruction. To the extent that the names of
12 outside lawyers are public -- in the public
13 record --

14 A Asked and answered. Same exact question
15 earlier.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q Okay. Can you describe Mr. Torchinsky's
18 role in assisting the Governor's Office on
19 redistricting?

20 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
21 Marsh instruction. He's also answered the
22 question. He's a lawyer.

23 But to the extent you can answer further
24 based on those strictures of the Marsh
25 instruction, you can.

1 A And you said assisting the office in?

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 **Q In -- with Congressional redistricting.**

4 A He was part of the counsel for the office.

5 **Q Did Mr. Torchinsky review draft plans that**
6 **the Governor's Office had drawn up?**

7 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
8 Marsh instruction. To the extent that you
9 discussed this publicly, you can, or discussed
10 it with the legislature or otherwise, you can
11 share the information.

12 A I remember a couple e-mails where he was
13 on them, a draft plan. So I remember him -- I
14 remember him being on the e-mails a couple times.
15 So I'm assuming that he was on those e-mails. He
16 would have reviewed the plans.

17 MR. JAZIL: And to be clear, he was on the
18 e-mails. They're a part of the public records.
19 We're not waiving privilege or anything.

20 THE WITNESS: Yes.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 **Q Did Mr. Torchinsky ever himself draw any**
23 **part of redistricting plans for the Governor's**
24 **Office?**

25 A No.

1 **Q Did Mr. Torchinsky make any**
2 **recommendations to the Governor's Office as to what**
3 **plans should be put forward?**

4 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to make the Marsh
5 instruction, also attorney-client privilege; to
6 the extent that Mr. Torchinsky was talking
7 about redistricting or advice related to
8 redistricting, that would be protected, so
9 Marsh and attorney-client.

10 So I am going to direct you not to answer.

11 A I'm going to follow my attorney's
12 guidance.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q For clarity of the question, I'm not**
15 **asking you specifically what Mr. Torchinsky's**
16 **recommendation was, the substantive content of it.**
17 **I'm just asking if Mr. Torchinsky made a**
18 **recommendation to the Governor's Office of what plan**
19 **should be put forward?**

20 MR. JAZIL: That part is covered by the
21 Marsh instruction, so I'm going to ask you not
22 to answer.

23 A Again, I'm going to follow my counsel's
24 guidance.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q In the public article that we just set
3 aside, you can go back to it if you like, but I can
4 also just --

5 A Sure.

6 Q -- summarize it for you.

7 It mentions that at the same time that
8 Mr. Torchinsky was advising the Governor's Office on
9 redistricting plans, he was also serving as general
10 counsel and senior adviser to the National
11 Republican Redistricting Trust.

12 Was the Governor's office aware that
13 Mr. Torchinsky was simultaneously advising the
14 National Republican Redistricting Trust at the same
15 time he was advising the Governor's Office in
16 redistricting?

17 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
18 Marsh instruction.

19 To the extent you can answer, answer.

20 A I am going to follow the guidance of
21 counsel.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Did Mr. Torchinsky disclose this to the
24 Governor's Office?

25 MR. JAZIL: Object to form. And I'm going

1 to give you the Marsh instruction.

2 A I am going to follow the guidance of
3 counsel.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Can you describe Tom Bryan's role in
6 assisting the Governor's Officer on redistricting?

7 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
8 Marsh instruction.

9 But to the extent that you touched on some
10 of this yesterday, you can answer the question
11 again.

12 A Yeah. I recall Tom would provide
13 statistics on the CVAP, the citizens voting age
14 population data, which was not produced by the
15 legislature's application.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q And was Mr. Bryan's contract -- or in
18 his -- was he -- do you consider him a consultant?
19 What word would you like me to use here?

20 A Consultant is fine.

21 Q Consultant?

22 A Uh-huh.

23 Q Was his contract specifically with the
24 Governor's Office?

25 A I believe the contract was with the

1 Secretary of State's Office on behalf of the
2 Governor's Office.

3 Q Okay. I guess what I am getting at, was
4 there a contract with --

5 A I should say, I don't know if he was a
6 subcontractor of someone else.

7 Q That was what I was about to ask you.

8 A Yeah. That, I don't know.

9 Q Did Mr. Bryan review draft plans that the
10 Governor's Office had drawn up?

11 A Yes. He provided data based on CVAP data
12 based on reviewing them.

13 Q But he had the Shapefiles to run the
14 analysis, I assume?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Did Mr. Bryan himself ever draw any part
17 of redistricting plans for the Governor's Office?

18 A No.

19 Q And did Mr. Bryan make any recommendations
20 to the Governor's Office as to what plans should be
21 put forward?

22 A None.

23 Q And other than sort of gathering CVAP data
24 and providing analysis to you all, did he serve in
25 any other role related to redistricting?

1 A None I'm aware of, no.

2 **Q What role did the Governor himself play in**
3 **the redistricting process?**

4 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
5 instruction, but to the extent the Governor's
6 perspective is clear, you can answer that.

7 A The Governor, through our office and
8 himself personally, very publicly stated his
9 thoughts on the redistricting process.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 **Q Did the Governor review draft plans that**
12 **were being drawn up by you and Mr. Foltz?**

13 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
14 instruction. I direct you not to answer unless
15 you've already discussed this with third
16 parties.

17 A Well, he obviously signed the Enacted
18 Plan, so he reviewed the Enacted Plan.

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 **Q Did he review any other draft that you and**
21 **Mr. Foltz had drawn up?**

22 MR. JAZIL: Same instruction.

23 A I have to get into internal office
24 conversations to answer that, so I'm going to follow
25 the guidance of counsel.

1 MS. FORD: Mr. Kelly, would you like to
2 take a break, or would you like to jump into
3 the next set of questions?

4 THE WITNESS: Another coffee would be
5 great.

6 (A recess took place from 10:10 a.m. to
7 10:20 a.m.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q Okay, Mr. Kelly. So I believe you
10 testified just a few minutes ago that you believe
11 that Mr. Foltz was engaged as a consultant in
12 January?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Whose idea was it to hire Mr. Foltz?

15 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
16 instruction.

17 A The only way I could answer that would be
18 to talk about internal conversations. I'm going to
19 follow the guidance of counsel.

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q To your knowledge, was there like an
22 official engagement letter with Mr. Foltz?

23 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
24 Marsh instruction, too.

25 A I don't know.

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Okay. Can you describe at a high level
3 what he was engaged to do?

4 MR. JAZIL: To the extent you already
5 talked about it to the legislature, feel free
6 to answer.

7 A Map drawing.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q What instructions was Mr. Foltz given in
10 regards to map drawing?

11 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
12 Marsh instruction, but I do believe you
13 discussed some of this with the legislature,
14 so --

15 A Sure. Yeah.

16 Adam was given instruction to not consider
17 any partisan data in his map drawing, to use
18 traditional redistricting criteria, draw compact
19 districts that followed political geographical
20 boundary lines, cities, counties.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 Q Was he given any other instructions?

23 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
24 Marsh instruction, but to the extent that you
25 discussed this with the legislature, you can

1 answer.

2 A No. It tracks my presentations to the
3 House and the Senate.

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 **Q Was Mr. Foltz asked to start with any**
6 **particular plan as his baseline plan?**

7 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
8 Marsh instruction, but to the extent you talked
9 about it, you can answer.

10 A I know that at some point publicly -- at
11 some point publicly when we -- when our office
12 submitted its first map, I know there was some -- I
13 know we had some statement to the effect we worked
14 of -- or Adam worked off of the maps that the
15 legislature was considering at the time.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 **Q And do you remember what map that would**
18 **have been?**

19 A Maps, plural.

20 **Q Several maps?**

21 A Yeah, the legislature looked at several
22 different maps.

23 **Q Did the Governor's Office consider hiring**
24 **anyone else instead of Mr. Foltz to be the contract**
25 **map-drawer?**

1 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
2 instruction.

3 A I'd have to talk about internal
4 conversations. I'll follow the guidance of counsel.
5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Okay. Separately from that, did the**
7 **Governor's Office, in fact, reach out to anyone**
8 **other than Mr. Foltz to see if they would be**
9 **interested in serving as a contract map-drawer for**
10 **the Governor's Office?**

11 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
12 Marsh instruction again.

13 A I'm going to --

14 MS. FORD: Mr. Jazil, I've asked if the
15 Governor's Office had contact with a third
16 party, who obviously didn't end up joining the
17 Governor's Office, so I don't think that could
18 fall under the Marsh order, it's contact with a
19 third party.

20 MR. JAZIL: To the extent you know, you
21 can answer.

22 A I don't know.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 **Q So I think we've established through all**
25 **of yesterday's testimony that you knew how to draw**

1 **redistricting plans yourself, right?**

2 A Yes.

3 **Q Why didn't you just draw the plans from**
4 **the beginning?**

5 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
6 Marsh instruction.

7 A I talked publicly in my presentations
8 about -- that my role early was just to provide some
9 guidance and consultation for the process because I
10 was familiar with the process.

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q Sure. But why didn't you -- are you**
13 **declining to answer the rest of that question based**
14 **on the advice of counsel?**

15 A I actually just completely answered your
16 question.

17 **Q Okay. Well, I guess my question was, and**
18 **maybe I didn't ask it well, is you obviously knew**
19 **how to draw maps, and so why did the Governor's**
20 **Office outsource this to a contractor rather than**
21 **use someone who was in-house and obviously knew how**
22 **to do it?**

23 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the same
24 Marsh instruction.

25 A So you're asking the question -- you're

1 sort of asking the negative -- flipping the
2 question, you're saying why did the Governor's
3 Office choose to contract with someone? Or
4 outsource -- I think "outsource" was the word you
5 used?

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 **Q Yeah. Rather than have you do it since**
8 **you knew how to do it?**

9 MR. JAZIL: That Marsh instruction is
10 still there.

11 A I'd have to get into internal office
12 conversations, so I'm going to follow the guidance
13 of counsel.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 **Q Okay. Mr. Kelly, you don't need to look**
16 **at Mr. Jazil after every single question.**

17 A I'll look at him if I want to.

18 **Q Okay.**

19 A Thank you.

20 **Q Mr. Kelly, in general -- like I have been**
21 **letting it go a little bit, but there's like a**
22 **little bit of coaching going -- involved in you**
23 **looking at him every single question to get his,**
24 **like, general feedback to how he feels about the**
25 **question. You're giving him time to --**

1 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, I disagree with the
2 characterization that there's coaching going
3 on.

4 I think he's looking at me to see if I'm
5 going to object based on the Marsh instruction,
6 which I think is fair because he's giving me
7 time to listen to the question and object. So
8 I just disagree that there's coaching going on.

9 There are no -- just so the record's
10 clear, there is no hand signals, there's no
11 verbal ticks, there's no hand gestures --

12 MS. FORD: And I'm not suggesting that
13 there is.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q I'm just suggesting every time you just --
16 you look directly to Mr. Jazil to get his feedback
17 about how he feels about the question, so I'm
18 just -- and I realize there's a lot of privileged
19 material here, but I'm just saying if Mr. Jazil is
20 not objecting, you need to answer the question. If
21 he's not objecting on the basis of privilege, you
22 need to answer the question.

23 A I well understand that. I'll look at him
24 if I want to.

25 Q Okay. At the time that Mr. Foltz was

1 **hired, was the Governor's Office aware that**
2 **Mr. Foltz had previously drawn redistricting plans**
3 **for the Wisconsin legislature in the 2010 cycle?**

4 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
5 instruction again.

6 THE WITNESS: Yes.

7 A I'm sorry, what cycle did you say?

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 **Q That he had drawn redistricting plans for**
10 **the Wisconsin legislature in the 2010 cycle?**

11 A We're aware that he had drawn plans for
12 the Wisconsin legislature. I don't remember the
13 particular cycle.

14 **Q And when did the Governor's Office become**
15 **aware of this? Let me rephrase my question. Was**
16 **the Governor's Office aware of this at the time that**
17 **they hired Mr. Foltz?**

18 A Yes.

19 **Q Were you or anyone at the Governor's**
20 **Office aware that the plans that Mr. Foltz drew were**
21 **found by a federal court to be one of the most**
22 **aggressive partisan gerrymanders in the country?**

23 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to object to form,
24 and I'll give you the Marsh instruction.

25 A I'm going to follow the guidance of

1 counsel here. I'd have to talk about the internal
2 office conversations.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q Well, I'll rephrase my question.

5 Were you aware -- I'm not asking about
6 conversations, but were you aware while you were
7 working with Mr. Foltz that a federal court had
8 found one of his plans to be an aggressive partisan
9 gerrymander?

10 A No.

11 Q Were you aware that a federal court had
12 found that Mr. Foltz regularly evaluated his draft
13 plans on the basis of how likely they would be to
14 elect Republicans when he was working in Wisconsin?

15 A No.

16 Q Was anyone at the Governor's Office aware
17 of that, to your knowledge?

18 A I don't know.

19 Q Were you or anyone in the Governor's
20 Office aware that a federal court had found that
21 Mr. Foltz's map in Wisconsin improperly diluted the
22 votes of minority voters?

23 MR. JAZIL: Let me give you the Marsh
24 instruction. I'll go back to the objection
25 that I made at the beginning of this deposition

1 on the corporate rep nature.

2 But to the extent you can answer, you can
3 answer.

4 A I was not aware.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q Did Mr. Foltz's history in Wisconsin give**
7 **you pause before hiring him in light of Florida's**
8 **fair redistrict amendments?**

9 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
10 instruction.

11 To the extent you can answer, you can
12 answer.

13 A I just said I wasn't aware of these -- of
14 the specific details about his history in Wisconsin
15 that you mentioned.

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 **Q And when you were working with Mr. Foltz,**
18 **were you aware that he had drawn redistricting plans**
19 **for Texas in the 2020 cycle?**

20 A I was aware that he had drawn plans for
21 Texas. The specific cycle -- I testified that he
22 was -- that I was aware that he was actually drawing
23 plans for Texas at the time I was testifying. So I
24 guess that probably would be considered the '20 to
25 '22 cycle. I'm not sure how they refer to it in

1 Texas.

2 (Exhibit 34 was marked for
3 identification.)

4 BY MS. FORD:

5 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 34. It is a
6 printout from the -- I think this is the Princeton
7 Gerrymandering Project which gave Texas's final
8 Congressional plan a partisan grade of F.

9 And my question is simply whether you or
10 anyone at the Governor's Office was aware that
11 Mr. Foltz's Congressional plan had received a grade
12 of F for partisan fairness by this institution?

13 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
14 Marsh instruction.

15 But you can answer if you can.

16 A Did he draw this plan?

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 Q To my knowledge, he did.

19 A I know literally nothing about the details
20 of the Texas redistricting plan whatsoever.

21 Q Okay. So you were not aware that Texas'
22 Congressional plans got this sort of feedback?

23 A I just literally said I was aware of no
24 details about the Texas redistricting plan. I
25 worked in Florida, don't know anything about their

1 redistricting plan.

2 Q Okay. Did the Governor's Office receive
3 any feedback from the legislature or anyone outside
4 the Governor's Office that hiring Mr. Foltz was a
5 bad idea?

6 A From the legislature or anyone outside the
7 Governor's Office?

8 Q I presume Mr. Jazil is going to object on
9 the basis of privilege if I ask if anyone in the
10 Governor's Office opposed the idea of hiring Adam
11 Foltz. So I'm asking you -- trying to better my
12 question to avoid the privilege objection.

13 Did the Governor's Office receive any
14 feedback from the legislature or any third party,
15 for that matter, that hiring Mr. Foltz was a bad
16 idea?

17 A Not that I am aware of.

18 Q Did the Governor's Office receive any
19 feedback at all from the legislature, any third
20 party, about the Governor's Office's decision
21 working with Mr. Foltz?

22 A Not that I'm aware of.

23 Q Had you met Mr. Foltz before he came into
24 this role?

25 A No.

1 Q This is the first time you worked with
2 him?

3 A Yes.

4 Q Had anyone on the Governor's team met or
5 worked with Mr. Foltz before he came on as a
6 consultant in Florida?

7 A I don't know.

8 Q So you said before that Mr. Foltz was
9 engaged to do mapmaking, right?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Did he do anything else?

12 A No.

13 Q Okay. Let's go back to Exhibit 31 which
14 was the ProPublica article, and go to page 8 which,
15 I apologize, is not marked.

16 A Is it the page that begins at the top with
17 the ^^^[indiscernible].

18 Q Yeah. I think that's it. Just give me
19 one second.

20 Below this chart here in the fifth
21 paragraph, "A week after the kick-off meeting," do
22 you see that sentence?

23 A Sure.

24 Q Okay. I'll just read it for the record.
25 "A week after the kick-off meeting, Torchinsky

1 **scheduled a Zoom call between Kelly, Bryan, and a**
2 **second consultant, Adam Foltz.**

3 **Did that meeting, in fact, take place?**

4 A So the second week of January, that sounds
5 right.

6 Q **Was that the first meeting that the**
7 **Governor's team had with Mr. Foltz?**

8 A I'm not sure.

9 Q **What was the purpose of that meeting?**

10 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
11 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
12 extent --

13 A Purely internal conversations. I'm going
14 to follow the guidance of counsel.

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q **Okay. And did anyone else attend that**
17 **meeting other than who is listed here:**

18 **Mr. Torchinsky, yourself, Mr. Bryan, and Mr. Foltz?**

19 A If it's the meeting I am thinking of, I
20 believe Mo was part of that meeting as well.

21 Q **Anyone outside the Governor's Office?**

22 A No.

23 Q **Did you ever have any meetings with**
24 **Mr. Foltz where there was someone outside of the**
25 **Governor's Office present?**

1 A No.

2 Q So you said in the beginning of the
3 process only Mr. Foltz was drawing redistricting
4 plans, and I believe you told the legislature at the
5 special session, at least, that some point you began
6 working with Mr. Foltz; and by the time of plan, at
7 least 94, you were working with him.

8 How did you work with Mr. Foltz?

9 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you the
10 Marsh instruction. To the extent you can
11 answer, you can.

12 A I talked in the meetings about
13 collaborating with Adam on that second plan that the
14 Governor's Office submitted.

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q My question is just, like, what does the
17 word "collaborate" mean? Did Adam draw Plan 94, and
18 you sort of provided feedback? Did you primarily
19 draw 94, and he provided feedback? What was the
20 process like?

21 A We were both map-drawers for Plan 94.

22 Q Okay. And when the Governor's office
23 received draft plans from Mr. Foltz, did they
24 typically come with analysis or data?

25 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you the

1 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
2 extent that --

3 A Sure. Sure.

4 Typically, when we received -- our office
5 received a plan from Adam, there was often data and
6 the visual map files themselves sent with the plan.

7 BY MS. FORD:

8 Q Okay. And did you typically review the
9 analysis and the data that would be sent along with
10 the plans?

11 A Yes.

12 (Exhibit 35 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 35. It is an
16 e-mail that was produced by the Governor's Office in
17 this litigation. It's an e-mail chain including
18 Mr. Foltz, Mr. Jazil, and other members of the
19 Governor's team that we discussed yesterday. It's
20 dated January 14, 2022.

21 If you scroll to the second page, you'll
22 see that Mr. Foltz appears to be sending draft maps
23 to Mr. Jazil who then passes them along to the
24 Governor's Office.

25 Was Mr. Foltz instructed to send all his

1 drafts through outside counsel?

2 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to direct you not to
3 answer that based on the Marsh instruction.

4 A I'd have to get into internal office
5 conversations to answer the question, so I'm going
6 to follow the guidance of counsel, but I would
7 assume you have a large amount of e-mail records
8 that would answer your question.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q And you can see here from the attachment
11 if you look at the very top of this page, there's
12 the attachment called 005A, which I believe to be a
13 draft that Mr. Foltz had drawn.

14 Did the Governor's staff meet directly
15 with Mr. Foltz after this to review his draft plans?

16 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
17 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
18 you can.

19 A I'd have to talk about internal office
20 conversation to answer the question. I'm going to
21 follow the guidance of counsel.

22 MS. FORD: So we don't waste a lot of
23 time, I just -- for the record, if I were to
24 ask questions about who at EOG provided
25 feedback on the plans, what that feedback was,

1 would you object to all of those on the basis
2 of the Marsh instruction?

3 MR. JAZIL: I'd object to what the
4 feedback was, the who provided the feedback.

5 If you have specific e-mails that Judge
6 Marsh said should be released or that were
7 already released as part of the public records
8 request, I think that'd be a little different
9 because that kind of answers the question
10 already of who.

11 If you just want him to essentially put on
12 the record or authenticate for purposes of
13 trial the correspondence, just to confirm,
14 that'd be okay.

15 MS. FORD: Okay. Sounds good. We might
16 get to a couple of those.

17 I'll tell you. There were many e-mails
18 courting plans. I promise I intend to only ask
19 about a couple.

20 (Exhibit 36 was marked for
21 identification.)

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 36. It is a --
24 this is produced by your office. It's an e-mail
25 chain between Mr. Jazil, yourself, Mr. Newman,

1 **Mr. Pratt, Mr. Meros. All of them were with the**
2 **Governor's Office.**

3 **The subject line of this is "Files for**
4 **Submission." And it was the same -- I'll just**
5 **represent that was the same day that Mr. Foltz's**
6 **first plan was submitted to the legislature,**
7 **Plan 79.**

8 **So I'm just looking for confirmation here**
9 **that when Mr. Jazil is sending files for submission,**
10 **that's what this e-mail is. He's sending you all**
11 **the files that should be submitted to the**
12 **legislature through the portal.**

13 A I can't tell based on this if that's what
14 that was. If you look, the attachment, it's an
15 XLSX. It's an Excel file.

16 **Q Uh-huh. Would that be helpful?**

17 A Plan formats wouldn't be in an Excel file.

18 **Q Oh, I see what you mean.**

19 A It would in, like, a SHC file or THC.

20 A Could be a TXT file.

21 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, you should have the
22 Excel file. It matches up with this.

23 MS. FORD: Yeah, I do. Just in case.

24 (Discussion off record.)

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 37 is the attachment to
3 this January 16 e-mail from Mr. Jazil which was
4 Exhibit 36. It was titled "All Plans Comparison,"
5 and it was produced in Excel form, and we just
6 printed it out in PDF form.

7 Otherwise, we made no edits to it. And
8 these little two boxes that you see where it says
9 Plan 005A -- it's a little hidden -- but Plan 5A5,
10 and there's a tab with Mr. Foltz's name, that was
11 already embedded in the document when we received
12 it.

13 (Exhibit 37 was marked for
14 identification.)

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q Was Plan 005A or 005 -- or A5 one of
17 the -- was one of those the plan that was eventually
18 submitted to the legislature as Plan 79?

19 A I'm not certain based on looking at this.

20 Q A separate question I have while you're
21 thinking about it is, I see here there's a Plan A,
22 B, and C.

23 Do you know what that refers to?

24 A I know Adam had drawn other plans. I
25 would presume those are some of the other plans.

1 **Q Okay. Who chose the Plan 79 as the one**
2 **that would be submitted to the legislature?**

3 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you the
4 Marsh instruction, but to the extent you can
5 answer it, answer it.

6 A I'd have to talk about internal office
7 conversations, so I'm going to follow the guidance
8 of counsel.

9 MR. JAZIL: If you want to rephrase the
10 question and ask whether he discussed which of
11 these plans to submit with anyone at the
12 legislature, I think that would be a good
13 question.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 **Q Sure. Did the Governor's Office discuss**
16 **with the legislature or any third party what plans**
17 **that the Governor would submit?**

18 A You mean specifically about that first
19 plan?

20 **Q Yeah, about Plan 79.**

21 A No.

22 **Q What about Plan 94?**

23 A No.

24 **Q Not specifically related to this exhibit,**
25 **but in your testimony to the legis- -- or**

1 presentation to the legislature, you said that -- we
2 discussed here today -- that Mr. Foltz was the
3 author of Plan 79.

4 Is Mr. Foltz the sole author of that plan?

5 A Yes.

6 Q And how do you know that? Is it just an
7 assumption?

8 A No.

9 Q Okay. How do you know that?

10 A He was our only map-drawer.

11 Q I guess I'm saying, did you ever ask
12 Mr. Foltz if he had collaborated or consulted with
13 anyone else in drawing Plan 79?

14 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
15 instruction.

16 You can answer if you can.

17 A I'd have to get into internal office
18 conversations to answer your question. I'm going to
19 follow the guidance of counsel.

20 (Exhibit 38 was marked for
21 identification.)

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q This is Exhibit 38. Exhibit 38 is a memo
24 from Senator Rodrigues, who was the chair of the
25 Senate committee on redistricting, I believe, that

1 he sent out to all senators, but this was generally
2 made public, to my knowledge, discussing some sort
3 of policies and procedures for redistricting.

4 Have you seen this memo before?

5 A It does not look familiar.

6 Q Here in the second paragraph, which is the
7 only part I want to ask you about, Mr. -- or Senator
8 Rodrigues writes: "Those submitting maps are asked
9 to list every person, group, or organization they
10 collaborated with on their map comment or
11 suggestion."

12 Was the Governor's Office aware of the
13 legislature's request on this matter when they began
14 submitting plans to the legislature?

15 A It doesn't look -- this doesn't look
16 familiar, so I wasn't aware of the memorandum.

17 Q Okay.

18 (Exhibit 39 was marked for
19 identification.)

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 39. This is a
22 copy of the forms submitting Plan 79 to the
23 legislature in January 2022. It appears to be
24 submitted by Mr. Newman, who I think we've
25 established is legal counsel in the Governor's

1 **Office, correct?**

2 A Yes.

3 Q Okay. Here, if you see -- if you go down
4 to the second box here, it says: "List the name of
5 every person, group, or organization you
6 collaborated on your comment, suggestion, or
7 submitted map below," correct?

8 A I'm sorry. Where are you looking?

9 Q I'm looking right here at the second box
10 on the first page.

11 A Oh, sure.

12 Q Mr. Newman did not list Mr. Foltz here,
13 correct?

14 A Correct.

15 Q Why did Mr. Newman not fill out this
16 information?

17 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
18 Marsh instruction.

19 A I'd have to talk about internal office
20 conversations, so I'm going to follow the guidance
21 of counsel.

22 MR. JAZIL: And I will add attorney-client
23 privilege to that, too, so on the basis of
24 legal advice.

25

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q What was the general public's reaction to
3 Plan 79?

4 A What was the general public's reaction?

5 Q Yeah. Let me back up.

6 What was the legislature's reaction to
7 Plan 79?

8 A The entire institution?

9 Q Did you receive feedback from the
10 legislature on Plan 79?

11 A Yes.

12 Q What was that feedback?

13 A The feedback was pretty direct feedback in
14 a house subcommittee meeting that was on the record
15 and detailed.

16 Q Did the Governor's Office receive any
17 feedback about Plan 79 directly from the legislature
18 not in a subcommittee testimony or something like
19 that?

20 A Sure. I've gotten feedback that we got on
21 the first and second plan from the House and Senate
22 about some of their line drawing practices and
23 things of that nature; I think the general feedback
24 that I've talked about before.

25 Q Is it fair to say that the legislature was

1 not receptive to Plan 79?

2 A The legislature I don't think ever took a
3 vote on Plan 79, so I don't think it would be fair
4 for me to characterize the action of a body that
5 didn't actually vote on the issue.

**6 Q Is it fair to say that house leadership
7 was not receptive to Plan 79?**

8 A They didn't consider it. I think that's
9 the best way I can characterize it, they didn't take
10 it up for a vote and consider it.

**11 Q And same for the Senate, the Senate did
12 not take it up or consider it at all?**

13 A Plan 79? Correct.

14 (Exhibit 40 was marked for
15 identification.)

16 BY MS. FORD:

**17 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 40. This is an
18 e-mail that was produced to us by your office. Once
19 again, it is from you to Mr. Jazil dated January 18,
20 2022, which is just two days after your office
21 submits its first Plan 79 to the legislature.
22 Subject is "Follow-up" and there's an attachment
23 here, "rationale."**

**24 What was the document that you provided to
25 Mr. Jazil here?**

1 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
2 Marsh instruction and attorney-client
3 privilege.

4 A Do you have the document?

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 **Q I do not.**

7 A I don't remember what the document is just
8 by looking at the name on the e-mail. If you have a
9 copy of it ...

10 **Q No. It was redacted. I don't have a copy**
11 **of it. My question primarily about it was going to**
12 **be whether that rationale document was sent to the**
13 **legislature or any other third party?**

14 A Do you have a copy of an e-mail where it
15 was? By looking at this, I don't know.

16 **Q Okay. Was there a general effort after**
17 **Plan 79 was released to get the House and the Senate**
18 **to consider it and adopt it?**

19 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
20 Marsh instruction. Perhaps you can rephrase
21 the question to where I don't need to give the
22 instruction.

23 MS. FORD: Sandi, could you reread my
24 question?

25 (The requested portion was read.)

1 BY MS. FORD:

2 Q Did the Governor's Office have discussions
3 with the House or the Senate to convince them to
4 support Plan 79?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Were those the exact same meetings that we
7 had talked about earlier or were those different
8 meetings?

9 A I referenced phone calls, conversations,
10 not things that were all formal meetings, but, yes,
11 I referenced earlier in one of my earlier answers.

12 Q And in those discussions or continuing
13 conversations, who was the Governor's Office
14 communicating with on the side of the legislature?

15 A To my knowledge, Mat Bahl.

16 Q Okay. Did Mr. Bahl express that the House
17 had constitutional --

18 A I should say attorneys, too. Attorneys,
19 too.

20 Q Okay. Did Mr. Bahl or any of the House or
21 Senate lawyers express that they had constitutional
22 concerns about Plan 79?

23 A I don't recall that statement.

24 Q Did they provide any feedback on Plan 79
25 to you, to the Governor's Office?

1 A They offered the opportunity for the
2 office to come to committee and articulate the
3 concepts behind the map.

4 Q Did that ultimately end where Mr. Popper
5 provided testimony to the house redistricting
6 committee?

7 A Yes. I think it might have been their
8 subcommittee, Congressional subcommittee, but
9 otherwise, yes.

10 Q That's what you were referring to?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Okay.

13 (Exhibit 41 was marked for
14 identification.)

15 BY MS. FORD:

16 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 41 is an e-mail chain
17 that was produced to us by -- actually, it was not
18 produced to us by your office, I don't think. I
19 believe it was just a public record that the
20 Governor's Office released to American Oversight.
21 To be clear, I don't think we actually got this in
22 discovery.

23 But it's an e-mail from Ryan Newman to
24 members of the Governor's team, including Mr. Jazil.
25 It's dated January 24, 2022.

1 **If you can go to the second page, and**
2 **could you please read the e-mail from Mr. Newman**
3 **starting with "Mo, the Governor's looking"?**

4 A Sure. "Mo, the Governor is looking for an
5 update from the House on their map. CN, can you
6 please arrange a call with Andy ASAP this morning.
7 Also, are we still planning to speak with Dan
8 today?"

9 Q I assume here, just for purpose of the
10 record, that Andy is a reference to Andy Bardos from
11 the House and Dan would have been a reference to Dan
12 Nordby from the Senate?

13 A I would assume the same.

14 Q Okay. What update was the Governor
15 looking for from the House?

16 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
17 Marsh instruction.

18 But to the extent you can answer, answer.

19 A I would have to talk about internal office
20 conversations, so I'm going to follow the guidance
21 of counsel.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q Okay. Here later in the e-mail chain it
24 seems that Mr. Jazil did speak with the House about
25 whatever update that the Governor was seeking.

1 So what was that update?

2 A Again, I'd have to talk about --

3 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
4 Marsh instruction and attorney-client
5 privilege.

6 A I'd have to talk about internal office
7 conversations, so I'm going to follow the guidance
8 of counsel.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 Q Well, this was a message that was relayed
11 from the House back to the Governor's Office. And
12 to you-all, I would think that falls outside the
13 Marsh order.

14 MR. JAZIL: The fact that there were
15 conversations held, the substance of those
16 conversations between the lawyers would fall
17 outside the legislative privilege portion of
18 Marsh's order.

19 What was then relayed to the Governor's
20 Office and discussed with the Governor's Office
21 through the Governor's lawyers would be covered
22 by the attorney-client privilege.

23 It wouldn't be covered by the legislative
24 privilege because it's a lawyer's gloss on
25 conversations and a lawyer's assessment of how

1 that affects the ^Goldsby office, too.

2 The first would be attorney-client
3 privilege.

4 The second would be attorney-client
5 privilege and legislative privilege. So I am
6 going to instruct him not to answer.

7 A I'm going to follow the guidance of
8 counsel.

9 BY MS. FORD:

10 **Q This reference from Mr. Newman: "Are you**
11 **still planning to speak with Dan today?"**

12 And then it looks like in the next e-mail
13 **Mo says -- Mr. Jazil says: "Dan and George are.**
14 **The Senate aren't available."**

15 Is that the meeting that you previously
16 spoke about that you met with Dan Nordby?

17 A No.

18 **Q Did you attend the meeting that they**
19 **appeared to be setting up here for late January?**

20 A No.

21 **Q Do you know who did attend that meeting?**

22 A No.

23 **Q Do you know what was discussed at that**
24 **meeting?**

25 A No.

1 **Q You can set this aside.**

2 MR. JAZIL: What number was this?

3 MS. FORD: That was 41.

4 (Exhibit 42 was marked for
5 identification.)

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 **Q So Mr. Kelly, this is -- Exhibit 42 is a**
8 **letter from the Governor himself to the Florida**
9 **Supreme Court. It's dated February 1, 2022. This**
10 **was produced by your office, and it was obviously**
11 **released publicly.**

12 **Are you familiar with this letter?**

13 A Yes.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 **Q Did the Governor's Office discuss the idea**
16 **of submitting an advisory request to the Florida**
17 **Supreme Court with the House and Senate?**

18 A Yes.

19 **Q What was the House and Senate's reaction**
20 **to that idea?**

21 A To my recollection, this may have been the
22 House's idea.

23 **Q Okay. Well, let me back up. I had**
24 **assumed it was the Governor's idea.**

25 **Who at the House suggested that the**

1 **Governor seek an advisory opinion?**

2 A I remember Mat Bahl encouraging this.

3 Q **And did the House explain why they thought**
4 **this would -- the Governor should do this?**

5 A Yes. For the plain reason laid out in the
6 letter: To get advice from the Supreme Court on a
7 legal question that was imminent and before the
8 legislature.

9 Q **Did the House express -- House or Senate**
10 **express any position that they would need sort of**
11 **sign off from the Florida Supreme Court to go ahead**
12 **with what the Governor is asking them to do about**
13 **CD-5?**

14 A I'm not sure I understood your question.

15 Q **Did the House tell the Governor that they**
16 **would support his version of CD-5 if he received a**
17 **favorable opinion out of this advisory opinion?**

18 A I don't recall any commitment being made
19 like that.

20 Q **Okay. Let's go to page 4 on this letter.**
21 **I'll just read it for the record, the paragraph**
22 **starting with "Specifically." I'll just read the**
23 **first two sentences.**

24 **"Specifically, I ask whether the Florida**
25 **Constitution nondiminishment standard mandates a**

1 **sprawling Congressional District in Northern Florida**
2 **that stretches hundreds of miles from east to west**
3 **solely to connect Black voters in Jacksonville with**
4 Black voters in Gadsden and Leon Counties (with a
5 few in between) so that they may elect candidates of
6 their choice even without a majority. This Court
7 has previously suggested the answer is yes."

8 And what did the Governor's Office mean by
9 this when they said: "The Court has previously
10 suggested the answer is yes"?

11 A The Florida Supreme Court drew the
12 benchmark district.

13 Q **Is it fair to say that the Governor's**
14 **Office understood that at least under existing**
15 **Florida precedent on the Fair District Amendments,**
16 **that retention of CD-5 was required?**

17 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you a Marsh
18 instruction and note for the record that there
19 is a citation in a parenthetical explaining
20 what suggestion is, so -- in Exhibit 42.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 Q **Okay. I'll just restate my question,**
23 **Mr. Kelly.**

24 **Is it fair to say that the Governor's**
25 **Office understood that under existing Florida**

1 precedent on the Fair District Amendments that was
2 in effect at the time of this letter, that retention
3 of CD-5 was required?

4 A No. The letter plainly asks the question.
5 (Exhibit 43 was marked for
6 identification.)

7 BY MS. FORD:

8 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 43 is the February 10,
9 2022, opinion from the Florida Supreme Court
10 declining to accept the Governor's request for an
11 advisory opinion.

12 I assume that you have seen this before?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Okay. And it looks like a fair and
15 accurate copy of that opinion?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Did the Governor's Office have any
18 discussions with the House or Senate about this
19 order when it came down?

20 A I'm not sure.

21 Q I don't want to read through this. But
22 would you agree with me that the Florida
23 Supreme Court did not tell the Governor that he was
24 free to propose or sign a map that eliminated an
25 existing performing district in this opinion?

1 MR. JAZIL: Object to form, but you can
2 answer.

3 A It's been quite a while since I've read
4 this. It's probability been since February of 2022.
5 Do you mind if I read it again?

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 Q Yeah. Sure.

8 A (Examining document.)

9 Okay. I've read it. I apologize.

10 What was the question?

11 Q In this advisory -- or in this opinion
12 denying -- sorry.

13 In this February 10 order from the Florida
14 Supreme Court denying the advisory opinion, the
15 Florida Supreme Court did not tell the Governor that
16 he was free to propose or sign a map that eliminated
17 an existing performing district, correct?

18 MR. JAZIL: Object to form, but you can
19 answer.

20 A No. No. They made no such comment at
21 all.

22 BY MS. FORD:

23 Q How did this order affect the Governor's
24 approach to mapmaking, if at all?

25 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh

1 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
2 answer.

3 A I believe in various ways we've
4 publicly -- because we had to answer media questions
5 about this. As an office, we publicly stated that
6 we'll continue to work with the legislature.

7 BY MS. FORD:

8 Q And following the release of this order,
9 did the Governor's Office have any discussion with
10 the legislature about whether the legislature would
11 be willing to change its approach to CD-5?

12 A Yes, very publicly.

13 Q What about privately?

14 A Yes.

15 Q What were those discussions?

16 A Same ones we've covered before.

17 Q Fair to characterize those discussions as
18 the legislature continued to refuse to draw a plan
19 that eliminated the existing Benchmark CD-5?

20 A No.

21 Q How would you characterize them then?

22 A The legislature remained willing to
23 listen, talk, look at, obviously, the subsequent map
24 submitted, the second map submitted, and continued
25 conversations. They were pretty public.

1 Q Did the legislature explain what they
2 would need to be able to support a map that did not
3 protect the existing CD-5?

4 A No.

5 Q I believe you said before that -- maybe
6 was it the House asked the Governor's Office to send
7 a representative to talk about the issue of CD-5; is
8 that right?

9 A Yes. The House invited our office to send
10 our representative to come and explain to their
11 subcommittee -- I don't recall the exact date. I
12 think you might have mentioned it before -- but to
13 explain to their subcommittee the synopsis of the
14 Governor's legal position.

15 Q Great. We'll get to that right now, which
16 was, it was on February 18, 2022, when Mr. Robert
17 Popper appeared before the House Redistricting
18 Committee, maybe it was a subcommittee, to talk
19 about CD-5.

20 And I assume that you're familiar with the
21 meeting and testimony that I'm talking about?

22 A Yes.

23 Q I know that Mr. Popper is an attorney, but
24 when he appeared before the House Redistricting
25 Committee, he was not acting as counsel to the

1 **Governor, correct?**

2 A Correct.

3 **Q Why did the Governor's Office send**
4 **Mr. Popper just instead of one of the Governor's own**
5 **legal counsel?**

6 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
7 Marsh instruction, but to the extent you can
8 answer, answer it.

9 A Mr. Popper had a unique professional level
10 of understanding of redistricting, had, I believe,
11 been working with the Department of Justice under
12 both Republican and Democratic administrations and,
13 of course, had even one of the compactness commonly
14 used -- one was the House and Senate were using
15 compactness standards named after him. He had a
16 unique level of expertise and understanding.

17 (Exhibit 44 was marked for
18 identification.)

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 **Q Mr. Kelly, this is a document I was**
21 **provided by the Governor's Office in this**
22 **litigation. It's dated February 12, 2022. It**
23 **contains a discussion of the Governor's team**
24 **attempting to find a witness to appear as a witness**
25 **for the House.**

1 You were not on this e-mail chain. Would
2 you like a moment to read it?

3 A Thank you. Yes.

4 Q Might actually be helpful to start from
5 the last page and work yourself up.

6 A Okay. I've read it. Thank you.

7 Q Great.

8 So the Governor's Office first considered
9 other individuals other than Mr. Popper to give
10 testimony to the House, correct?

11 A Correct.

12 Q John Gore was asked to give testimony?

13 A I don't personally know that name, but I
14 see a John referenced, and I see a Gore referenced.

15 Q Okay. So you don't know who John Gore is?

16 A No.

17 Q Did he have any role that you know of in
18 the Florida redistricting process other than what is
19 captured here in this e-mail?

20 A None that I'm aware of.

21 Q Okay. This says here, "Guys,
22 unfortunately John will not be able to be a witness
23 for the hearing."

24 Why did Mr. Gore decline to give
25 testimony?

1 A I'm not aware.

2 Q **This e-mail mentions Chris Coates as a**
3 **possible option. Do you know who Chris Coates is?**

4 A I know the name. I don't know who he is.
5 I know the name, though.

6 Q **Why was he considered to give testimony?**

7 A Why was he considered? I'd have to talk
8 about internal conversations to the office.

9 Q **Did the Governor's Office, in fact, reach**
10 **out to Chris Coates to see if he would be willing to**
11 **testify?**

12 A I believe so. Or someone on our behalf
13 reached out, one of our counsel, perhaps.

14 Q **Did he agree to testify?**

15 A I don't know.

16 Q **Do you have any information about that**
17 **follow-up or any of Mr. Coates' response to the**
18 **Governor's Office when he was asked?**

19 A No.

20 Q **The e-mail also mentions Hans -- I'll**
21 **admit I've never said his name out loud before --**
22 **Hans von Spakovsky, do you know?**

23 A I think it's Hans.

24 Q **Hans, yeah. Let's call him Hans.**

25 A But I can't do the last name either.

1 Q Okay. Do you know who he is?

2 A I'm familiar with the name.

3 Q Did the Governor's Office, in fact, reach
4 out to Hans to ask if he would testify?

5 A I believe so.

6 Q And did he agree to testify?

7 A I don't know.

8 Q Do you have any information about the
9 Governor's Office's conversations with Mr. -- with
10 Hans about whether he would testify?

11 A No.

12 Q And this e-mail also mentions, at the top
13 of page 2, Michael Barley. It says: "Michael
14 Barley was also unable to help."

15 Who is Michael Barley?

16 A I know the name, but I don't know who he
17 is.

18 Q Okay. Do you know if -- well, this says
19 he was unable to help. Do you have any information
20 about why Mr. Barley was not able to testify?

21 A No.

22 Q Do you know at the end of the day why
23 Mr. Popper was chosen as the witness that the
24 Governor's Office would send?

25 A For the reasons I mentioned earlier.

1 Mr. Popper has a unique level of understanding and
2 expertise in redistricting, has the unique
3 perspective of working at the Department of Justice
4 in both Democratic and Republican administrations;
5 again, has a compactness standard actually named
6 after him. He has a unique level of expertise.

7 **Q To your knowledge, did any other**
8 **individual at the Governor's Office reach out to**
9 **agree to testify on behalf of the Governor's Office**
10 **on this issue?**

11 A Yes.

12 **Q Who did?**

13 A There was a citizen from Clay County
14 who -- spoken citizen comment, public comment at the
15 meeting.

16 **Q Do you remember that individual's name?**

17 A No. You could -- if you looked at the
18 committee record, you could probably discern who
19 that was. The name I don't remember off the top of
20 my head.

21 **Q Okay. And did the Governor's Office reach**
22 **out to anyone we've not discussed who declined to**
23 **testify on behalf of the Governor's Office?**

24 A I don't believe so.

25 **Q Okay.**

1 (Exhibit 45 was marked for
2 identification.)

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 45 is an e-mail chain
5 that was, once again, produced by the Governor's
6 Office in this litigation. It is an e-mail chain
7 conversation between Mr. Popper, Mr. Newman, and
8 then the Governor's outside counsel and then
9 internal legal counsel. You are not on this e-mail
10 chain.

11 Would you just like a few moments to skim
12 through it?

13 A Sure. Thank you.

14 (Examining document.)

15 Okay. Thank you.

16 Q Based on this e-mail chain, it appears
17 that the Governor's team set up a meeting and spoke
18 with Mr. Popper in advance of his testimony.

19 Is that a fair characterization of this
20 e-mail chain?

21 A It looks like that's what they were trying
22 to do.

23 Q Did you ultimately end up speaking to
24 Mr. Popper at all? You, yourself.

25 A Yes.

1 **Q Was it in this meeting or another meeting?**

2 A I don't believe it was this meeting.

3 **Q So you don't think you attended whatever**
4 **meeting came out of this?**

5 A Correct.

6 **Q Okay. Do you know what was discussed on**
7 **this call?**

8 A No, not specifically. I don't know --
9 also know that this call happened. All I can see
10 from this is that there was an attempt to set up a
11 call.

12 **Q Did the Governor's Office ask Mr. Popper**
13 **to testify about anything in particular?**

14 A Yes.

15 **Q What did they ask him to testify about?**

16 A His comments to the committee, which were
17 provided to the committee, lay out exactly that,
18 regarding the Congressional District 5, the
19 violation of the Equal Protection Clause, United
20 States Constitution. His comments were meant to
21 encapsulate the reason for inviting Mr. Popper.

22 **Q And you said that you spoke with**
23 **Mr. Popper, was it in advance of his testimony to**
24 **the House?**

25 A Yes.

1 **Q When was that meeting, to the best of your**
2 **knowledge?**

3 A I spoke with him the night before his
4 testimony.

5 **Q Was anyone else on that conversation?**

6 A Yes.

7 **Q Who else was present?**

8 A I'm not sure.

9 **Q Was it generally people from the**
10 **Governor's Office or outside the Governor's Office?**

11 A The Governor's Office, yes.

12 **Q What was discussed on that call?**

13 A Mr. Popper was coming to testify the next
14 day, so it was a prep call for his testimony,
15 talking through the meeting, how it would go,
16 logistics.

17 **Q Mr. Popper sent the Governor's Office his**
18 **planned testimony in advance, correct?**

19 A Correct.

20 **Q And did the Governor's Office provide**
21 **feedback or edits to that testimony?**

22 A Yes.

23 **Q What were -- what was the general feedback**
24 **that the Governor's Office provided to Mr. Popper?**

25 A I remember providing some feedback about

1 style of just Florida legislative committees. I
2 don't recall anything else.

3 Q Did the Governor's Office ask Mr. Popper
4 to testify to anything that Mr. Popper refused to
5 testify about or declined to?

6 A No.

7 Q Was Mr. Popper's testimony primarily
8 written by Mr. Popper or was it primarily written by
9 the Governor's team?

10 A Mr. Popper.

11 Q Did the Governor's Office agree with
12 Mr. Popper's testimony, what he ultimately gave to
13 the House committee?

14 A Yes. With the caveat he answered a lot of
15 questions and answers, and I don't recall everything
16 that he said in question and answer.

17 But the testimony that he provided and we
18 gave to the committee in written form in advance of
19 the meeting, that was the testimony that we were
20 agreeing to.

21 Q And I think you said yesterday you didn't
22 attend that meeting, but you did later watch it?

23 A I watched pretty significant portions of
24 the meeting.

25 Q Okay. And what was the House's response

1 to Mr. Popper's testimony?

2 A The committee was quite hostile to him,
3 slanderous of him, acted as though they didn't know
4 why he was there. It was a very unprofessional,
5 very hostile meeting.

6 Q So they were not receptive to Mr. Popper's
7 testimony?

8 A Certainly not receptive to him as a
9 person. I don't know about the testimony itself.

10 Q Mr. Kelly, just let me know if you need a
11 break at any point.

12 MR. JAZIL: Could I impose on you for a
13 five-minute break?

14 MS. FORD: Yeah. Sure.

15 (A recess took place from 11:34 a.m. to
16 11:43 a.m.)

17 (Exhibit 46 was marked for
18 identification.)

19 BY MS. FORD:

20 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 46 is an e-mail chain
21 that was produced by your office from Mr. Newman to
22 Mr. Uthmeier from February 19, 2022. It seems to be
23 passing along a news alert that had been
24 circulated -- or received among the Governor's
25 Office about Mr. Popper's testimony.

1 And the title, just so the record is
2 clear, is, "Florida GOP in conflict: DeSantis'
3 redistricting expert doesn't convince House panel."

4 In general, this article recounts how the
5 House at that same committee hearing where
6 Mr. Popper testified went ahead and passed a plan
7 that retained the Benchmark CD-5 right after
8 Mr. Popper's testimony.

9 Is that your memory as well?

10 A You saying that does remind me, yes, they
11 passed their -- whatever plan they had in front of
12 them at the time, they passed it that day.

13 Q Okay. So the House at least did not
14 change its mind about CD-5 after Mr. Popper's
15 testimony, correct?

16 A Correct.

17 Q You can set that aside if you'd like.

18 Did the Governor's Office do any outreach
19 to specific legislators to try to change the
20 legislature's position?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Who did they do outreach to?

23 A To my recollection, our office called a
24 vast majority of the legislature.

25 Q When you say the "vast majority," the vast

1 majority of Republican members? Did they also call
2 Democrat members?

3 A Yes.

4 Q That question was bad. It was a compound
5 question.

6 Did the Governor's Office -- let's start
7 with one half of that question.

8 Did the Governor's Office do outreach to
9 Democratic legislators to convince them to support
10 the Governor's version of CD-5?

11 A I'm not sure if it was specific to CD-5.
12 I know our office reached out to Republican and
13 Democratic legislators on the Governor's -- our
14 office's alternative proposals. I don't --
15 specifically to 5, I'm not sure.

16 Q I'm sorry. What was the last thing you
17 said?

18 A Specifically to District 5, I'm not sure.

19 Q Thank you.

20 Which Democrats did the Governor's Office
21 reach out to?

22 A I don't recall.

23 Q Okay. When you said before that the
24 Governor's Office had contacted the vast majority of
25 the legislature, who conducted this outreach on

1 behalf of the Governor's Office?

2 A Stephanie Kopelousos, James Uthmeier,
3 myself. I remember the three of us.

4 Q Okay. Were these individual one-on-one
5 meetings with specific legislators?

6 A Yes.

7 Q How many meetings do you think you had
8 like these? By "meetings," I also mean phone calls
9 or however the meeting took place, conference calls,
10 physical meetings.

11 A How many? In person and phone calls?

12 Q Sure.

13 A I'm not sure a total, couple hundred.

14 Q What would you summarize as the general
15 pitch the Governor's Office made on these calls to
16 legislators?

17 A Support the alternative map that we have
18 put forward.

19 Q So that would have been either Plan 79 or
20 Plan 94?

21 A Right.

22 Q Okay. Did you --

23 A Or individually during the special
24 session. The plan that was finally enacted, too.

25 Q Okay. Did you receive any feedback from

1 **Republican legislators in any of those meetings that**
2 **they believed the Governor's version of CD-5 was**
3 **unconstitutional?**

4 A No.

5 Q **What feedback did you generally receive**
6 **from legislators in these meetings?**

7 A I'm not sure how to characterize general
8 feedback across --

9 Q **Sure. It may have varied. So give me**
10 **some examples of feedback you received.**

11 A For the meetings that I specifically am
12 aware of the feedback, generally most legislators we
13 talked to wanted to vote for the Governor's
14 alternative.

15 Q **Did they say why they wanted to vote for**
16 **the Governor's alternative?**

17 A Because they thought it was
18 constitutional.

19 Q **Did they in those meetings agree to vote**
20 **for the Governor's alternative?**

21 A Some did. Some didn't.

22 (Exhibit 47 was marked for
23 identification.)

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 Q **So, Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 47.**

1 **Exhibit 47 is a public record from the Governor's**
2 **Office. It wasn't produced in this litigation. It**
3 **was produced just through the general public records**
4 **process. This appears to me to be a vote record --**
5 **there's an official name for it -- of the vote on**
6 **the bill of the legislature's redistricting plan**
7 **that was passed.**

8 **Have you seen this before?**

9 A Yes. If not this literal one, I've seen
10 the vote count before.

11 Q Yeah. In the colored version, these are
12 highlighted in yellow. I apologize, today we have
13 it printed out in black and white. This appears to
14 me to be a highlighted list of all of the
15 Republicans who voted no on the legislature's
16 redistricting plan, the one that was ultimately
17 vetoed by the Governor.

18 **Does that appear to be a fair**
19 **characterization of what this is?**

20 A Can I just have a quick minute to study
21 it?

22 Q **Sure.**

23 A (Examining document.)

24 Sure. Thank you.

25 Yes. That appears to be what this is.

1 Q Okay. Thank you.

2 Was the Governor's Office keeping track of
3 which Republicans were in support of his plan and
4 which were not?

5 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
6 instruction.

7 A To answer that would require me to talk
8 about internal conversations. I'm going to take the
9 advice of counsel.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q Okay. In the meetings that you had with
12 Republican individual legislators when you were
13 asking for their support for the Governor's plan,
14 did the Governor or you or his office promise to do
15 anything for these legislators if they voted to --
16 whether they voted to either support the Governor's
17 plan or to vote this one down?

18 A No.

19 Q Did the Governor -- in your -- sorry. Let
20 me start the question over.

21 In your meetings with legislators when you
22 were asking them for their support for the
23 Governor's plan or to not vote for the legislature's
24 plan, did you or the Governor's Office suggest there
25 would be any sort of reprisals for legislators who

1 **voted for it?**

2 A No.

3 Q Did the Governor's Office have any -- in
4 its outreach, did the Governor's Office meet with
5 Representative Sabatini?

6 A I don't believe so.

7 Q You don't remember personally meeting with
8 him?

9 A I've never personally met with
10 Representative Sabatini.

11 Q Okay.

12 (Exhibit 48 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Mr. Kelly, this is Exhibit 48. This was
16 the form that Mr. Newman submitted to the
17 legislature on February 14, 2022, for Plan 94 from
18 the Governor's Office.

19 Does this appear to be a fair and accurate
20 copy of that submission form?

21 A Yes.

22 Q And like the form for Plan 79, Mr. Newman
23 did not fill out the box that asked him to list the
24 name of every person, group, or organization that he
25 collaborated with on the comments, suggestion, or

1 **submitted map, correct?**

2 A Correct.

3 **Q Why did he leave that box blank?**

4 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to ask you not to
5 answer based on Marsh instruction and
6 attorney-client privilege.

7 A We'd only work as the Office of the
8 Governor.

9 (Exhibit 49 was marked for
10 identification.)

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 49 is an e-mail chain**
13 **between Mr. Jazil, Mr. Newman, Mr. Pratt, Mr. Meros,**
14 **yourself, Mr. Beato --**

15 MS. FORD: Did I pronounce that right?

16 MR. BEATO: Uh-huh.

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 **Q And here you'll see that beginning of the**
19 **chain Mr. Foltz sent Mr. Jazil a spreadsheet, and**
20 **Mr. Foltz writes: "Per client request, I have**
21 **reduced the number of plans in the summary to just**
22 **the more relevant proposals, Plan 13A, Plan 14B,**
23 **Plan 8019, Plan 8015, and the Benchmark Plan. "**

24 **My question for you here is: When**
25 **Mr. Foltz says "per client request," who is the**

1 client that he's referring to?

2 A The Executive Office of the Governor.

3 Q Okay. Who made the decision that these
4 were the relevant proposals to consider?

5 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
6 Marsh instruction, Mr. Kelly.

7 A I'm going to follow the guidance of
8 counsel since I would have to talk about internal
9 office conversations.

10 (Exhibit 50 was marked for
11 identification.)

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 Q So Mr. Kelly, this is a public record that
14 was produced by the Governor's Office through
15 records requests, I believe, for American Oversight.
16 I got it directly off the Governor's website in
17 response to that request.

18 This Plan 13B, is this a plan that you
19 drew?

20 A I believe this is the same exact thing as
21 the second map that our office submitted. So I
22 believe this is the map that Adam and I collaborated
23 on.

24 Q Okay. So it's just under a different
25 name?

1 A Yes. Although it says right on the
2 document "Public Plan 9045."

3 Q Maybe I'm just misunderstanding something,
4 but I typically refer to that second plan that you
5 and Mr. Foltz collaborated on as Plan 0094.

6 Did it also have the name Plan 9045?

7 A Maybe I'm mixing up the names. My
8 apology. Maybe I'm mixing up the names then.

9 Q Okay. Do you think this is the plan that
10 you and Mr. Foltz collaborated on?

11 A You've got me concerned that I'm mixing up
12 the numbers. Is it possible that I could see the
13 second plan that we submitted side by side with
14 this?

15 Q Sure. Yeah. I think we have that in
16 these. It's going to be Exhibit 16.

17 A 16? (Examining document.)

18 Q Mr. Kelly, to be fair and candid with you,
19 I'm not trying to trip you up or anything like that.
20 We just didn't receive any map file named 13B in all
21 of the files that we received from Mr. Foltz, and I
22 don't know if any public plan named 9045.

23 So I'm just asking if you know what this
24 is.

25 A I believe when I look at it -- and

1 obviously, I don't have the zoomed-in detailed
2 level, but it's very, very similar. And I don't
3 have any reason to not believe that it's the same
4 exact thing as the public plan, the second public
5 plan submitted.

6 **Q Okay.**

7 A It's always possible at a very detailed
8 level that there could be subtle differences, but
9 obviously, I couldn't tell by this. And obviously,
10 that 9045 seemed familiar to me. I suspect they're
11 the same map.

12 **Q Okay. And I realize you honestly don't**
13 **have a perfect comparison here, and that's your best**
14 **guess right now.**

15 **Yesterday, if you remember, we had talked**
16 **about when you met with the House and the Senate**
17 **before the special session you brought two plans?**

18 A Yes.

19 **Q One was one that was called 14A, went on**
20 **to be the Enacted Map.**

21 **Is this the other plan that you brought?**

22 A I don't think -- I don't know -- I don't
23 know if this was because I do believe this was
24 probably the -- this was -- looks more like a second
25 plan that we submitted as an office. I don't

1 believe this was one of the same at all. I believe
2 this is substantially different.

3 Q Were you able to find out or clarify last
4 night what was the second plan?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. And what plan was that?

7 A Yes. I believe in comparing my files --
8 if it's okay, do you mind if I go to that exhibit?

9 Q Yeah. Sure. That'd be helpful.

10 A I believe that the two maps you identified
11 as -- albeit it, I've never seen them in this format
12 before -- but the two maps you identified as 14A and
13 14B, I believe those were the two --

14 Q Okay.

15 A -- that we brought to that meeting.

16 Q Okay. That's helpful. Thank you.

17 I won't ask you -- I'll take a look at it
18 in a break so we can spare you some time. We'll
19 find it later.

20 Thank you for looking that up. I
21 appreciate it.

22 Did the Governor's Office instruct
23 Mr. Foltz or give him any specific instructions
24 regarding race, his use of race in drawing
25 redistricting plans?

1 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
2 instruction, but you can answer to the extent
3 you've talked about it.

4 A Broadly follow the law, which I talked
5 about in committee. I think anything else would be
6 internal office conversations, and I'll follow the
7 guidance of counsel.

8 (Exhibit 51 was marked for
9 identification.)

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q Mr. Kelly, I'll represent to you this was
12 produced to us by the Governor's Office. You can
13 see the Bates down here. It's -- it was an
14 attachment from a March 30 e-mail from Mr. Jazil
15 that had been sent from Mr. Foltz to Mr. Jazil, from
16 Mr. Jazil to you.

17 You know what? Maybe we should describe
18 the e-mail.

19 No, I think we actually -- it's already an
20 exhibit. Give me one second. If I have the
21 exhibit, I'd rather you just see it.

22 A Sure.

23 Q Yeah, we had just marked it as Exhibit 49.
24 You see there's an attachment here that says: "All
25 plans comparison"?

1 A Yeah.

2 Q Okay. This is the attachment.

3 A Got it.

4 Q If you open it up, it's just converted to
5 Excel form. You see it has Plan 13A, Plan 14B
6 listed here.

7 So you've seen this before? You've seen
8 analyses like these from Mr. Foltz before?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Okay. If you flip back to the last couple
11 of pages here. I apologize, there's not a page
12 number. But Mr. Foltz appears to have provided the
13 Governor's team with a breakdown of each district by
14 race, correct?

15 A Which page?

16 Q The one -- see this chart, it's the one
17 directly after that.

18 A Got it.

19 Q And it's across several plans, but here
20 it's comparing the benchmark to Plan 8019,
21 Plan 8015, Plan 13A, Plan 14B.

22 Do you see that?

23 A Yes.

24 Q So the question I'd asked is Mr. Foltz
25 provided the Governor's team with a breakdown of

1 each district by race, correct?

2 A Race, ethnicity, CVAP.

3 Q Why did the Governor's Office ask
4 Mr. Foltz to produce this data for them for every
5 district?

6 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
7 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
8 extent you discussed this with ...

9 A I'd have to talk about internal office
10 conversations. I'm going to take the guidance of
11 counsel.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 Q Okay. Mr. Foltz provided similar analyses
14 like this for essentially all of the draft maps that
15 he produced, correct?

16 A Similar, yes.

17 Q Okay. And Mr. Bryan also prepared some
18 data for the Governor's Office, right?

19 A Yes. He prepared the CVAP data, the
20 citizens voting age population data.

21 (Exhibit 52 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q Mr. Kelly, this Exhibit 52 was produced to
25 us by the Governor's Office in this case. It was

1 produced in Excel format and printed in PDF, which
2 is why you don't see a Bates number on this. The
3 Governor's Office hasn't put a Bates on the Excel
4 file.

5 A Gotcha.

6 Q But here we printed it with the title of
7 the document -- or the title of the spreadsheet, the
8 worksheet name, such as "Benchmark" here at the top,
9 and then the author of the metadata.

10 Were these kind of analyses from Mr. Bryan
11 provided to you? And if it's helpful, there were
12 many of these in the discovery process. I pulled
13 what appeared to be the most complete one at the
14 end.

15 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, the title Plans
16 Analysis 4-14-22, is that the date that you
17 found?

18 MS. FORD: That was the title of the
19 spreadsheet.

20 MR. JAZIL: Is there a date associated
21 with the spreadsheet?

22 MS. FORD: The date it was created.

23 MR. JAZIL: Was that in the metadata or
24 elsewhere.

25 MS. FORD: I'm not sure. That's just the

1 name of the Excel sheet.

2 MR. JAZIL: Thank you.

3 A I'm not sure if it was or wasn't. The
4 format was raw, doesn't look that familiar. I'm
5 sure the e-mail record would show whether it was or
6 wasn't. But I can tell you the format doesn't look
7 that familiar.

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q Was this information, then, that would
10 have been provided to Mr. Foltz, do you think, that
11 was not provided to you?

12 A I'm not sure.

13 Q Go back to Exhibit 51, I think it was.

14 A Okay.

15 Q Here, there's a -- I'm very sorry that I
16 can't give you the exact page number, but if you
17 scroll through it, this provides a breakdown on the
18 basis of race for Plans 13A and 14B, including by
19 Hispanic voting age population, Black voting age
20 population. Would you agree with that?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Okay. And in your testimony before the
23 legislature, you stated: "I'm actually unaware of
24 the Black voting age population of District 14.
25 This was not drawn with any type of racial intent at

1 all. This was not drawn with even looking at racial
2 data for this district. There was not, to my
3 knowledge, any reason to do so."

4 Does that sound like your testimony from
5 the legislature?

6 A Yes.

7 Q But you did, in fact, have access to
8 racial data provided by Mr. Foltz for a variety of
9 the plans that you considered, correct?

10 A I have seen numerous spreadsheets like
11 this.

12 Q I'll keep going to get maybe finished
13 before lunch.

14 (Exhibit 53 was marked for
15 identification.)

16 BY MS. FORD:

17 Q Mr. Kelly, this was produced by the
18 Governor's Office. It's a memo from Ryan Newman to
19 the House Redistricting Committee from February 18,
20 which is that same day Mr. Popper testified. And I
21 am almost 100 percent sure this was made public at
22 the same time.

23 Have you seen this memo before?

24 A Yes.

25 Q In this memo, Mr. Newman describes what I

1 typically call CD-5, which here was numbered CD-3 in
2 this proposal, and he says: "This district also
3 does not respect political subdivisions for
4 communities defined by actual shared interests."

5 My question for you is, what was the basis
6 for the belief that the communities in this district
7 do not have shared interests?

8 A Forgive me. Where -- in the first
9 paragraph, you said? Or which paragraph?

10 Q I apologize. I should have given that to
11 you. Here we go. It's on the second page, last
12 paragraph, third sentence.

13 I'll read it for the record. "Giving the
14 foregoing considerations, it is evident that
15 nonracial grounds cannot explain proposed
16 Congressional District 3 versus the district by
17 traditional districting principles. Far from
18 compact, the district requires compacting scores as
19 low as 0.11 on the Reock test, 0.63 on the area
20 Convex Hull test, and 0.1 on the Polsby-Popper test.
21 It also does not respect political subdivisions or
22 communities defined by actual shared interests."

23 My question for you is, what is the basis
24 for the statement that communities in this map do
25 not have shared interests?

1 A The reference that Mr. Newman was making,
2 if you look a couple of paragraphs, it -- it
3 starts -- I guess it really kind of starts on the
4 second paragraph of the first page, first paragraph
5 on the second page, he is referring to a quote from
6 case law.

7 Q So I understand that that might be a --
8 whether the district has shared interests might be a
9 consideration the court takes into effect, but here
10 the Governor's Office is stating this district --
11 the communities in this district do not have actual
12 shared interests.

13 So I'm just asking you, what was the basis
14 for that statement?

15 A The absence of a shared interest that
16 relates to the quote from case law above.

17 Q Okay. On page 5, if you look at the
18 second paragraph -- it's the first full paragraph,
19 the last sentence, it reads: "Because Congressional
20 District 3 does not contain a minority group that is
21 sufficiently large and geographically compact to
22 constitute a majority, Article 3, Section 20A's
23 nondiminishment provision does not apply."

24 What was the Governor's Office basis for
25 this position?

1 A As the -- several of our office's
2 different legal memorandums outline, the district is
3 extremely noncompact, the statistical noncompactness
4 was quoted in this letter.

5 Q So the part of this that I'm most
6 interested in is the representation that because
7 this district did not constitute a majority,
8 essentially a 50 percent threshold, nondiminishment
9 provision does not apply.

10 What's the Governor's Office basis for
11 that position?

12 A Sure. The memo is tying together the
13 Voting Rights Act, case law 50 percent threshold
14 that you would use in a Voting Rights Act analysis,
15 and then the Equal Protection clause of the 14th
16 Amendment of the United States Constitution.

17 And the letter is probably better than I
18 could outlining why the nondiminishment standard
19 does not apply to this district.

20 Q Was the Governor's Office aware that in
21 the last redistricting cycle, the Florida
22 Supreme Court held that there was no numerical
23 threshold that was required for a district to
24 qualify for a diminishment?

25 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh

1 instruction, but to the extent you can answer
2 it, you can answer it.

3 A I think we testified in committee the
4 errors made by the Florida Supreme Court.

5 BY MS. FORD:

6 Q So the Governor's Office was aware but
7 just believed that the Florida Supreme Court was
8 wrong?

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

10 But you can answer.

11 A I would reference the very specific
12 testimony that we gave in committee that the Florida
13 Supreme Court significantly erred in their ruling.

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Okay. Eventually, as you know, the
16 legislature went ahead and passed both Plan 8019 and
17 Plan 8015 as a primary map and secondary map, as
18 they called it, to present to the Governor.

19 Did the Governor's Office discuss the idea
20 of having two plans, a primary map and secondary
21 map, with the legislature?

22 A Yes.

23 Q Okay. Whose idea was that?

24 MR. JAZIL: I'll give you the Marsh
25 instruction, but you can answer.

1 A The Florida House of Representatives.

2 BY MS. FORD:

3 **Q What was the idea behind that approach?**

4 MR. JAZIL: And again, to the extent that
5 it was discussed outside the confines of the
6 Governor's Office, you can answer.

7 A The House articulated their "why" on the
8 floor of The House of Representatives. I am not
9 sure I could better say it because that was
10 literally their words, not mine, on the floor of the
11 House. So I would refer to the House's testimony in
12 their own chamber.

13 BY MS. FORD:

14 **Q When you -- when the Governor's Office**
15 **discussed this, did they only discuss it with the**
16 **House, or did you also discuss it with the Senate?**

17 A I don't recall any specific discussions
18 with the Senate.

19 **Q Who met with the House to discuss this**
20 **from the Governor's Office?**

21 A I'm not certain.

22 **Q Were you present at that meeting?**

23 A No.

24 **Q In March after the legislature had**
25 **passed -- trying to remember the name of the actual**

1 **bill.**

2 MR. JAZIL: I think the name is listed on
3 the Enacted Map itself.

4 MS. FORD: 102? It was an amendment, so
5 this is a little bit harder.

6 BY MS. FORD:

7 **Q Let me just say, when the legislature --**
8 **in March 2022 after the legislature passed its**
9 **primary plan and its secondary plan, the Governor**
10 **vetoed that bill, correct?**

11 A Yes.

12 **Q And that was the bill that had both the**
13 **primary map and the secondary map in case the first**
14 **one --**

15 A I should clarify. You said in March. I
16 don't know the -- I don't recall the exact veto
17 date.

18 **Q Sure. And the bill that the Governor**
19 **vetoed had a primary map and then a secondary map in**
20 **case the first one was found to violate the**
21 **nondiminishment provision; correct?**

22 A In case the first one was found to violate
23 the Equal Protection Clause, United States
24 Constitution.

25 **Q Okay. Are you aware of any other instance**

1 in this past redistricting cycle in which a Governor
2 vetoed the redistricting plan of his own party?

3 A No.

4 Q Are you aware of that ever occurring?

5 A I am not aware.

6 (Exhibit 54 was marked for
7 identification.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 54 is the memo from
10 March 29, 2022, from Mr. Newman to the Governor
11 offering what I understand to be the Governor's
12 Offices' opinion on the constitutionality of the
13 primary plan and the secondary plan.

14 Is that a fair characterization of what
15 this is?

16 A Yeah. It's a letter from Mr. Newman to
17 the Governor on the topic you mentioned.

18 Q Okay. I ask if you -- you've read this
19 before?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And just to set the table, the
22 legislature's primary plan had created a version of
23 CD-5 that was fully based in Duval County, correct?

24 A I don't remember which was the primary,
25 which was the secondary.

1 Q Yeah. Let's actually just have it
2 referenced. So Exhibit 23 is the primary, 8019. We
3 don't have 8015, but the primary plan is Exhibit 23,
4 Plan 8019.

5 Does this refresh your memory?

6 A Yes. Thank you. And I realize in looking
7 at this, too, then, the secondary plan was the
8 elongated --

9 Q Is the one that -- something that looks
10 more like the Benchmark --

11 A Yep.

12 Q -- 5. And actually, it is produced in
13 color later in this memo. Not a great version, but
14 you can see it.

15 Okay. Okay. So just to go back, the
16 legislature's primary plan had created a version of
17 CD-5 that was fully based in Duval County, correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And this version of CD-5 was significantly
20 more compact than the version of CD-5 in the
21 secondary plan, correct?

22 A Correct.

23 Q The Governor's stated reason -- I should
24 back up.

25 Can this veto memorandum be said to fairly

1 **state the opinion of the Governor?**

2 A Yes.

3 Q Okay. So the Governor's stated reason for
4 vetoing the primary plan was that this version of
5 CD-5 would not comply with Florida's nondiminishment
6 requirements.

7 **What was the basis for that conclusion?**

8 A The legislature had significant testimony
9 about the district having a -- I don't know the
10 exact number, but 10 or so -- drop in the Black
11 voting age population of the district.

12 And so the legislature's attempt to thread
13 the needle, as they were here, in trying to comply
14 with one standard, they then essentially drew a
15 district based -- still based on race. Their still
16 stated purpose on the record was based on race.

17 They then drew a District 4 around it that
18 suffered significantly based on compactness, and
19 then they violated their own -- stated on their
20 record -- understanding of the diminishment
21 standard. And so they essentially created a
22 Catch-22 where they violated state and federal law
23 multiple ways with this iteration.

24 Q **Did the Governor's Office perform its own**
25 **functional analysis on this Duval County version of**

1 CD-5.

2 A No.

3 Q So it relied on the legislature's data and
4 functional analysis for making any conclusions it
5 reached?

6 A Yes. And then their significant testimony
7 on the record.

8 Q Give me one second. Let's go to the last
9 page.

10 A Are we on Exhibit 54?

11 Q Yes. Still the veto memo. Here
12 Mr. Newman writes when describing the secondary map,
13 he says: "In the secondary map, by contrast,
14 District 5 complies with the Florida Constitution's
15 nondiminishment requirement, but in doing so, it
16 violates the Equal Protection Clause of
17 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

18 Can that be said to be the Governor's
19 legal position on District 5 and the secondary map?

20 A Yes.

21 Q Was there any intervening precedent in
22 between the February memo that Mr. Newman wrote on
23 February 18 and this veto memo that you're aware of
24 that changed the Governor's legal position on CD-5?

25 MR. JAZIL: Object.

1 You can answer.

2 A I don't know what you mean.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q We can move on. Sorry. I do have another
5 question on this.

6 This memo concludes that compliance with
7 the Fair District Amendments is not a compelling
8 interest sufficient to satisfy strict scrutiny.

9 What is the Governor's Office basis for
10 that opinion?

11 A I don't know that I can articulate that
12 better than the memo does.

13 Q In this veto memo, did the Governor's
14 Office express any concern about the
15 constitutionality of any other district in the
16 legislature's primary plan?

17 A Could I have a chance to read back through
18 it again?

19 Q Uh-huh.

20 A (Examining document.)

21 Thank you. What was your question again?

22 Q My question was: Did the Governor's
23 Office express constitutional concerns with any
24 other districts in the primary plan or the secondary
25 plan in this memorandum?

1 A Yes.

2 **Q On what districts?**

3 A The memorandum lists District 4 on page 3
4 of the memorandum, a district that was, as it said,
5 to take on a bizarre donut shape that almost
6 completely surrounds District 5 and, by reference,
7 is pointing to that issue of districts that are
8 adjacent to the unconstitutional districts.

9 **Q Other than District 5, District 4, and any**
10 **one that by definition would touch that district and**
11 **be implicated by it, does this memo raise any**
12 **constitutional concerns with any other districts in**
13 **the primary or secondary plan?**

14 A No.

15 **Q Outside of CD-5 and the districts that**
16 **touch it -- we'll incorporate that -- did the**
17 **Governor's Office believe that Plan 8019 complied**
18 **with the Fair District Amendments?**

19 A As articulated in the compromise plan that
20 we put forward that I drew, we believed that the
21 plan could improve in multiple ways and be
22 significantly improved in several districts
23 throughout the map.

24 **Q I understand that you thought it could be**
25 **improved. I guess my question for you is: Did the**

1 Governor's Office believe the rest of the plan was
2 constitutional under the Fair District Amendments?

3 A The question of constitutionality
4 ultimately -- of the plan ultimately gets settled by
5 the court, but the process of redistricting was of
6 constant improvement in looking at the maps that we
7 submitted, including the changes we made from --
8 that I drew from this map to the ultimate map that
9 was enacted, put the final map in a much better
10 position to defend its constitutionality,
11 compactness, use of city lines, county lines. It
12 was a -- whole progression throughout was improving
13 the map, consistently.

14 Q Would you agree with me that there is no
15 such things as a perfect plan?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Did the Governor's Office ever reach a
18 determination that -- outside of District 5 -- that
19 any districts in the primary plan or secondary plan
20 violated any Tier 2 criteria?

21 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
22 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
23 extent you can.

24 A I explained exhaustively to legislative
25 committees there were numerous Tier 2 criteria that

1 could be improved and the final Enacted Map did
2 exactly that.

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 **Q** I'll just -- I don't want to go in
5 **circles. I realize you believe that there were**
6 **Tier 2 improvements that could be made. I'm asking**
7 **you: Did the Governor's Office make a judgment that**
8 **the legislature's plan violated any Tier 2 criteria**
9 **other than the District 4 problem that we already**
10 **discussed?**

11 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
12 Marsh instruction. To the extent, you can
13 answer, answer.

14 A I spoke in the House and Senate committees
15 for four to five hours at length about Tier 2
16 criteria that could be improved significantly and
17 did exactly that.

18 My testimony was extremely detailed about
19 Tier 2 improvements that could be made throughout
20 these maps.

21 BY MS. FORD:

22 **Q** **Is your testimony today that if you can**
23 **make an improvement to a map, that means the map has**
24 **worse statistics, we'll say, is unconstitutional**
25 **under the Fair District Amendments?**

1 A No.

2 Q Did the Governor's Office ever convey to
3 the Florida House or Senate in any manner that they
4 believed any other district in that map was
5 unconstitutional?

6 A In which map?

7 Q In the primary map or the secondary map.
8 I'll represent to you my understanding is
9 outside of North Florida, the districts are exactly
10 the same in the primary map and the secondary map.
11 So once we're talking outside of North Florida,
12 we're talking about the same map.

13 A Unless it was minor touching up that the
14 legislature did, I think that's probably fair, that
15 North Florida is the major difference, if there are
16 any.

17 Q So my question was: Did the Governor's
18 Office ever tell the House or the Senate that they
19 believed any other district in Central Florida,
20 Tampa Bay, the Gulf Coast, East Coast, the entire
21 map, South Florida, anything outside of North
22 Florida, did they ever tell the House or the Senate
23 that they believed any district in those regions was
24 unconstitutional?

25 A We certainly conveyed many of the

1 districts could be improved upon and that would help
2 with their argument of being constitutional.

3 **Q Okay. So that's a no?**

4 A I've answered it the way I answered it.

5 MS. FORD: Should we take a break for
6 lunch?

7 MR. JAZIL: It's up to you guys.

8 (Discussion off record.)

9 (A recess took place from 12:41 p.m. to
10 1:20 p.m.)

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 **Q Mr. Kelly, so either today or yesterday,**
13 **you spoke about how you met with the House and the**
14 **Senate to go over the Governor's proposed plans in**
15 **advance of the special session, right?**

16 A Yes.

17 **Q And you said yesterday that you brought**
18 **two plans and today we've established that those**
19 **were Plans 14A and Plan 14B; is that right?**

20 A Yes.

21 **Q Okay. Who from the Governor's Office**
22 **attended that meeting?**

23 A Myself, James Uthmeier, Ryan Newman. I
24 believe just the three of us from the Governor's
25 Office.

1 **Q And am I right that there were actually**
2 **two separate meetings, one with the House, one with**
3 **the Senate?**

4 A The meeting with the two maps was one
5 meeting.

6 **Q Okay. And both the House and the Senate**
7 **were there?**

8 A Yes.

9 **Q Okay. I apologize if I asked you this**
10 **earlier. I simply forget. I know you've testified**
11 **that you drew Plan 14A, correct, what went on to be**
12 **the enacted map?**

13 A Yes.

14 **Q Did you also draw Plan 14B?**

15 A Yes.

16 **Q Did Mr. Foltz assist you in drawing**
17 **Plan 14B?**

18 A No.

19 **Q Okay. Why were those two plans the plans**
20 **that you brought to the meeting?**

21 A We brought two options for the -- for the
22 House and Senate to look at.

23 **Q Okay. And who was there from the Senate**
24 **side at that meeting?**

25 A Dan Nordby. I think just Dan.

1 **Q Okay. What about the House?**

2 **A Mat Bahl, Leda Kelly, Andy Bardos. I**
3 **think that was it from the House.**

4 **Q Was there anyone else at that meeting who**
5 **was not a member -- member or staff of the**
6 **legislature or the Governor's Office?**

7 **A No.**

8 **Q Okay. What was the purpose of that**
9 **meeting?**

10 **A To share the alternative options in hopes**
11 **of having a compromised plan for a special session.**

12 **Q Were the plans presented as a sort of**
13 **choice that the legislature can make between the two**
14 **plans?**

15 **A That and to get feedback.**

16 **Q Okay. What was the legislature's**
17 **feedback?**

18 **A The feedback that we got, we presented 14A**
19 **as the better of the two options, and they agreed.**

20 **Q Was this the only plan you had with the**
21 **House and Senate in advance of the special session?**

22 **A Say that again. The only plan?**

23 **Q I'm sorry. Was this the only meeting that**
24 **you had with the House and Senate in advance of the**
25 **special session?**

1 A No.

2 **Q What other meetings occurred?**

3 A We had a meeting with the House and a
4 separate meeting with the Senate to -- after the
5 meeting that we're talking about -- to basically
6 brief them prior to my presentations in committee.

7 **Q Let's go back to this first meeting, the**
8 **meeting where you brought the two plans, 14A and**
9 **14B.**

10 Did anyone in that meeting express legal
11 concerns about Plan 14A?

12 A No.

13 **Q Did anyone express legal concerns about**
14 **Plan 14B?**

15 A No.

16 **Q Why did the Governor's Office -- or when**
17 **the Governor's Office recommended Plan 14A to the**
18 **House and Senate, why did they make that**
19 **recommendation?**

20 A Sure. 14A, the only differences were in
21 the Tampa area, Tampa Bay region, and a little bit
22 of the outlying districts, but the Tampa Bay region.

23 14A only split Hillsborough County three
24 times. 14B split it four times. 14A just visually,
25 it was more compact. 14A had better clear use of

1 two major boundary lines, like State Road 60.

2 14A had a district that wholly included
3 Pinellas County; 14B did not. That district of
4 Pinellas went over Hillsborough a little bit.

5 And just the result of doing that, I
6 talked a lot yesterday, I think, about how some of
7 those districts intersected and created a nice
8 common point where three districts intersected,
9 clean lines, use of roadways. 14A accomplished that
10 kind of visual clear use of roadways and
11 compactness. 14B, it was not as -- it was not as
12 good.

13 **Q Did the Governor's Office believe that**
14 **both of these maps, 14A and 14B, were**
15 **constitutional?**

16 A Yes.

17 **Q So let's go on to the -- fair to say**
18 **essentially Plan 14A was chosen at that meeting to**
19 **be a plan that progressed in the legislature?**

20 A Yes.

21 **Q The plan that the Governor's Office would**
22 **present publicly?**

23 A Yes.

24 **Q Were there any dissenting opinions to that**
25 **decision?**

1 A No.

2 Q So let's go on to the meetings with the
3 Senate and the House that you discussed where you, I
4 guess, fully presented Plan 14A. Is that a fair
5 characterization of the meeting?

6 A The committee meetings, you mean or ...

7 Q No. I'm sorry. To -- in your
8 presentation to the legislature, for example,
9 Senator Rodrigues said, "On Tuesday, April 12, I was
10 briefed by the Governor's Office on a map which has
11 been published as Plan 109."

12 Was that the meeting you referred to
13 earlier that you had with the Senate where you
14 walked through the plan?

15 A Yes.

16 Q And then you had a similar but separate
17 meeting with the House on the same topic?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Okay. Who was at the Senate meeting?

20 A Chair Rodrigues, Jay Ferrin. There was
21 another Senate staffer there. I can picture them,
22 but I never remember his name. But it was another
23 one of the Senate, you know, like committee staff
24 who was there, obviously myself, and either Nick
25 Meros or Josh. One of our lawyers, either Nick or

1 Josh.

2 Q Anyone at that meeting who was not a
3 member of the Senate or the Governor's Office?

4 A No. Stephanie Kopelousos may have been in
5 that meeting. She's our legislative director.

6 Q Was anyone else from the Senate invited
7 who did not attend?

8 A Not that I know of.

9 Q Was any Democratic legislator invited?

10 A Not that I know of.

11 Q Okay. What would you say was the purpose
12 of the meeting with the Senate, in your own words?

13 A Sure. To walk through the map that --
14 that -- ultimately the Enacted Map that I was going
15 to be presenting in committee, give a preview of
16 that map to the chair.

17 Q Did you bring any physical sort of
18 materials with you to that meeting or any papers,
19 presentations that you made?

20 A Yes. Yes.

21 Q What did you bring?

22 A A printout of the -- like a binder
23 printout of the map and the data for the map.

24 Q Were any changes made to the map after
25 that meeting?

1 A No.

2 **Q What happened at that meeting?**

3 A I just -- it's simple that -- me talking
4 the chair, Chair Rodrigues, through the map.

5 **Q Did you receive any questions from Chair**
6 **Rodrigues or any of the other Senate**
7 **representatives?**

8 A If I did, it wasn't many. I recall him
9 mostly just listening.

10 **Q Did anyone at that meeting express concern**
11 **that the Governor's plan did not comply with the**
12 **Fair District Amendments?**

13 A No.

14 **Q Did anyone express that they thought that**
15 **it did comply with the Fair District Amendments?**

16 A No.

17 **Q That topic just wasn't addressed at that**
18 **meeting?**

19 A Correct.

20 **Q Did anyone express concern at that Senate**
21 **meeting that there would be a lawsuit in response to**
22 **the plan if it passed?**

23 A I don't know.

24 **Q All of my questions pertain to that Senate**
25 **meeting. I'm not asking about internal EOG's**

1 **conversations.**

2 **Was there any discussion of the plan's**
3 **impact on minority voters?**

4 A Not that I recall.

5 Q **Were you asked to make any changes to the**
6 **map in that Senate meeting?**

7 A No.

8 Q **And was there any sort of planned**
9 **follow-up after that meeting?**

10 A No.

11 Q **Did anything else happen at that Senate**
12 **meeting that we haven't discussed?**

13 A I think we've covered the synopsis of the
14 meeting.

15 Q **Okay. So you had a separate meeting with**
16 **the House, correct?**

17 A Yes.

18 Q **Who from the House side was at that**
19 **meeting?**

20 A Chair Leek, Chair Sirois, and Leda Kelly.

21 Q **And then obviously yourself?**

22 A Myself, either Nick or Josh. One was at
23 one meeting, one was at the other. And same answer
24 regarding Stephanie, she was at one of the two
25 meetings. I can't remember which, but she was at

1 one of the two.

2 **Q Was there anyone at that meeting who was**
3 **not a member of the House or the Governor's Office?**

4 A No.

5 **Q To your knowledge, was any Democratic**
6 **legislator invited to that meeting?**

7 A I don't know.

8 **Q Can you walk me through what happened at**
9 **that meeting?**

10 A Sure. Same type of meeting, as the
11 meeting with the Senate. It was a walk-through of
12 the map, myself explaining the map to the
13 two chairs.

14 **Q Did you receive any questions from the**
15 **chairs or House staff?**

16 A The two chairs, I remember, had questions,
17 yeah.

18 **Q What were those questions?**

19 A I don't recall any specific questions. I
20 just recall, as I was explaining the map, just a lot
21 of clarifications about just what some of the
22 geographical features were. They seemed to be just
23 trying to make sure that they understood what I was
24 presenting.

25 **Q Did anyone express concern at that meeting**

1 that the Governor's plan did not comply with the
2 Fair District Amendments?

3 A No.

4 Q Did anyone express that they thought that
5 the Governor's plan did comply with the Fair
6 District Amendments?

7 A I don't think they ever used those words.

8 Q Okay. Was there any discussion of the
9 plan's impact on minority voters?

10 A Not that I can recall.

11 Q Was there any sort of -- sorry. Let me
12 ask you a different question first.

13 Did anyone in that meeting ask you to make
14 any changes to the plan?

15 A No.

16 Q Was there any sort of planned follow-up
17 after that meeting?

18 A No. I guess -- I mean, you asked about
19 follow-up. In both cases, I was going to be
20 presenting, so I guess that's maybe the obvious
21 follow-up, but no other follow-up.

22 Q So obviously, the legislature had not
23 agreed -- this is my characterization -- had not
24 agreed with the Governor about CD-5 when it passed
25 its earlier proposal that the Governor vetoed.

1 **At what point in time did the House change**
2 **its mind about its willingness to sign on to a plan**
3 **that, I would say, diminishes CD-5?**

4 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

5 But you can answer if you understand the
6 question.

7 A I mean, I can only say that the House
8 agreed when the House took a vote. I mean, that's
9 when the chamber actually -- that's when the chamber
10 agrees, is when the chamber takes a vote on an
11 issue.

12 BY MS. FORD:

13 **Q Sure. When did House leadership agree**
14 **that they would consider the Governor's version of**
15 **CD-5? And by that, I mean they would put it on the**
16 **floor for a vote?**

17 A I don't know. I'd have to know things
18 about the House leadership conversations. I don't
19 know.

20 **Q When did they tell the Governor's Office**
21 **that they would support the Governor's version of**
22 **CD-5?**

23 A The day of that meeting with Mat Bahl, Dan
24 Nordby, Andy Bardos, and I need to say, like, staff
25 can't convey how the members are going to vote on

1 something, so -- but they conveyed that they would
2 hear our attempt at a compromise proposal.

3 Q Would that meeting -- if I remember
4 correctly, that was a meeting where you had both
5 plans you were discussing about 14A and 14B?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Meetings don't have titles.

8 A No, it's okay.

9 Q And was that the first time that the
10 Governor's Office became aware that the Senate would
11 also sort of agree to a plan that utilized the
12 Governor's preferred version of CD-5?

13 A That's where the Senate through their
14 counsel agreed to hear the plan. Again, I mean,
15 staff at a meeting like that can't convey how
16 40 members of the Senate are going to vote.

17 Q Sure. Did the House explain why it had
18 changed its mind in its willingness to take up and
19 vote on this plan?

20 A They were -- the staff there were very
21 complimentary of the proposed compromise which
22 became the Enacted Map.

23 Q Okay. So in your presentation before the
24 legislature, you talk a lot about why you thought
25 CD-5 as drawn by the legislature in the earlier

1 plans would not survive federal constitutional
2 challenge.

3 And you expressed opinions on why CD-5
4 would not survive strict scrutiny. Essentially, you
5 say it was not narrowly tailored to meet a
6 compelling state interest. Just giving you
7 background for my question.

8 Are you familiar with the strict scrutiny
9 test that's used in federal court?

10 A Generally. Not to the degree that one of
11 our counsel would be. I believe I was citing exact
12 text or near text from one of our legal memorandum.
13 I was offering a near quote from it.

14 Q And what -- in your estimation, what does
15 a compelling state interest mean?

16 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

17 You can answer.

18 A I really would need to defer to counsel to
19 answer a question like that. The level that you're
20 asking it, I can refer to our legal memorandum which
21 we provided in various forms and fashions, but
22 you're asking me to give an argument that a lawyer
23 would give. I am a map-drawer.

24 BY MS. FORD:

25 Q So the reason I'm asking you, Mr. Kelly,

1 is because in that meeting you stated you thought
2 that the legislature's earlier version of CD-5 would
3 not pass strict scrutiny because it's not narrowly
4 tailored to meet a compelling state interest. So
5 I'm just asking you for the basis of those opinions.

6 So what does it mean to you -- what does a
7 compelling state interest mean to you?

8 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

9 A Just answered the question.

10 BY MS. FORD:

11 Q So you're not able to tell me today what
12 that means?

13 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

14 You can answer the question.

15 A I just answered the question, that you're
16 asking me a question that one of our lawyers really
17 would be more appropriate to answer. I told you
18 already that I was basically reading a quote or near
19 quote from one of our legal memorandum.

20 I wasn't there to give in-depth legal
21 opinions to the two chambers. I was there to
22 present the map as the map-drawer.

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q Okay. So to the extent that you were
25 attempting to offer legal opinions on CD-5, is it

1 fair to say then you were just offering legal
2 opinions that had been expressed to you by the
3 Governor's Office?

4 A Yes.

5 Q In your presentation before the
6 legislature, you say: "The compelling interest is
7 for the mapmaker to define."

8 Do you recall saying that?

9 A No. Do you have a copy of the transcript?

10 Q Yeah, I do. We took it out because it was
11 huge. I know it's here.

12 (Exhibit 55 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MS. FORD:

15 Q Mr. Kelly, this is a transcript of your
16 presentation before the Senate committee during the
17 special session in April. If you scroll back to the
18 very last page, you'll see this was transcribed by
19 an official service.

20 Let's go to page 23 of this. Here, I
21 believe, Senator Gibson is asking you a question,
22 and you respond in this third paragraph.

23 Would you like to read it, or would you
24 like me to read it?

25 A Sure. Go ahead.

1 Q You say Ms. -- or sorry -- Senator Gibson
2 asked: "What is in the best interest for the
3 State?"

4 And you respond: "Thank you. That's not
5 really a question I could answer. The compelling
6 interest is for the map-drawer to define. I did not
7 draw Benchmark CD-5 or District 5. I did not draw
8 any of the legislature's attempt to redraw or
9 reconfigure Benchmark District 5. That compelling
10 interest is something that you, the legislature,
11 would have to define."

12 My question for you is that you later
13 state in this presentation that you think that CD-5
14 does not achieve a compelling state interest. And I
15 was -- I'm simply just curious how you determine
16 that if you think that a compelling state interest
17 is something for the legislature, the person who
18 drew the map, to decide for themselves?

19 A Sure. The legislature's record had not
20 defined any other interest for that district but
21 race. So there was no compelling state interest to
22 define their map. They had failed in that process.

23 Q You also state in this testimony that you
24 believe that CD-5 was not narrowly tailored. Was
25 that, again, just a legal opinion from the

1 Governor's legal counsel that you were expressing?

2 A Yes.

3 Q Were there any other meetings with the
4 House or the Senate that the Governor's Office had
5 related to Congressional redistricting that we
6 haven't talk about today?

7 A Not that I know of. I think we've covered
8 them.

9 Q Did anyone in the Governor's Office ever
10 discuss redistricting with the Republican National
11 Committee or any of its staff or agents?

12 A No.

13 Q When I say "anyone," so I don't have to
14 say -- do you understand that I mean, you know, its
15 staff, its leadership, employees, any official
16 agents on its behalf?

17 A Thank you for that clarification. The
18 answer is still no.

19 Q Okay. And that definition will apply to
20 all the entities that I'm about to ask you about.

21 Did anyone in the Governor's Office have
22 any conversations or discussions about redistricting
23 with the Republican Party of Florida?

24 A No.

25 Q What about the National Republican

1 Congressional Committee?

2 A No.

3 Q The Redistricting Majority Project?

4 A No.

5 Q The Republican State Leadership Committee?

6 A No.

7 Q The National Republican Redistricting

8 Trust?

9 A No.

10 Q Ballard Partners?

11 A No.

12 Q Are any other consultant or agent that
13 would have been working on behalf of the Republican
14 Party?

15 A No.

16 Q Did you speak with other individuals in
17 the Governor's Office about this topic or question
18 in preparation for today's testimony?

19 A Yes.

20 Q About this specific topic?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Has Governor DeSantis ever spoken about
23 his Congressional redistricting plan at Republican
24 Party conferences or events?

25 A Has he ever spoken about his plan?

1 **Q Has he ever spoken about Congressional**
2 **redistricting at Republican Party conferences or**
3 **events?**

4 A Not that I know of. He's spoken about
5 redistricting in front of quite a bit of media,
6 quite openly.

7 **Q Are you aware about any comments he made**
8 **on redistricting in May of 2021 to a local**
9 **Republican Party group in Pennsylvania?**

10 A No.

11 **Q Are you aware of any comments he made**
12 **about Congressional redistricting at the 2022**
13 **Florida Sunshine Summit?**

14 A No.

15 (Exhibit 56 was marked for
16 identification.)

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 **Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 56 is an article that**
19 **was published in Politico on November 17, 2022. The**
20 **title of this article is, "GOP to DeSantis: Thanks**
21 **for helping us flip the House."**

22 **Have you seen this article before?**

23 A I don't think so.

24 **Q If you can flip to the second page, the**
25 **first full page of text, could you please read for**

1 me the third and fourth paragraphs for the record?

2 A Sure. "But Republicans in Florida and
3 nationally are now praising the Governor for
4 strong-arming his own party to approve his
5 Congressional maps which netted Florida Republicans
6 four additional Congressional seats on election day
7 and essentially helped the GOP win the teeny House
8 majority."

9 And then the quote: "Republicans in
10 Congress owe a big thank you to Florida Governor Ron
11 DeSantis whose insistence on redrawing the State's
12 Congressional districts led to a four-seat pickup in
13 the U.S. House on Tuesday, said Rep Vern Buchanan, a
14 Florida Republican who could serve as chairman of
15 the House Ways and Means Committee after the
16 Republicans assume control of the chamber in
17 January."

18 "Florida now has 20 Republican members of
19 the House as a result of the Governor's assistance
20 on his maps. Only one state has more Republicans in
21 Congress."

22 Q Thank you.

23 So here Representative Vern Buchanan is
24 giving the Governor credit for the seats that
25 Republicans netted here.

1 Do you agree that Governor DeSantis should
2 get credit for the current House Republican
3 majority?

4 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

5 A No.

6 (Exhibit 57 was marked for
7 identification.)

8 BY MS. FORD:

9 Q There's no method to this madness, the
10 last exhibits that I wanted to ask about. I didn't
11 have time to put it in my outline very neatly.

12 Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 57 is the submission
13 form by Mr. Newman submitted to the Florida
14 legislature on April 13, 2022, which was submitting
15 Plan 109, what would go on to be the Enacted Map.

16 Does this look like a fair and accurate
17 copy of that submission?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And in this submission form, Mr. Newman
20 did not list your name on this, correct?

21 A Correct.

22 Q Is there a reason why he submitted it
23 instead of you?

24 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
25 Marsh instruction, and in addition,

1 attorney-client privilege.

2 A Well -- and I noted the second time
3 earlier when I looked at it, I think it was
4 Exhibit -- or one of the earlier -- I think it was
5 maybe Exhibit 48, one of the earlier exhibits --
6 that we are an office. Ryan Newman was acting as a
7 designee of our office. Anyone who worked in our
8 office on this, we worked as part of the office.

9 (Exhibit 58 was marked for
10 identification.)

11 BY MS. FORD:

12 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 58 is an e-mail that
13 was produced by your office to us in this case.
14 It's an e-mail chain between Taryn Fenske, who you
15 said does communications for your office?

16 A Communications director.

17 Q She forwarded something to Mr. Newman, but
18 the substance of the e-mail is Ms. Fenske's
19 correspondence with Gary Fineout from Politico.

20 Here, if you look at the last page of
21 Mr. Fineout's -- he provides some questions in
22 writing and asks some questions about Adam Foltz.

23 Do you want to take a second to read that?
24 I assume you haven't seen this before.

25 A Thank you. Appreciate it.

1 (Examining document.)

2 Okay. Thank you.

3 Q Okay. My question is simply: Here in the
4 response to Mr. Fineout, Ms. Fenske says: "Hey,
5 Gary. Is Adam a political operative because you say
6 he is or because you don't agree with his map?
7 Either way, it sounds like petty name calling."

8 Ms. Fenske here, to a lay observer,
9 appears to be implying to me that Mr. Foltz is the
10 author of the map that the Governor's Office has
11 just put forward. Was Ms. Fenske in error in this
12 sort of language?

13 A You're in error in your --

14 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

15 A You're in error in your reading of the
16 e-mail.

17 BY MS. FORD:

18 Q Okay. Can you explain -- what's your
19 reading of the e-mail?

20 A Mr. Fineout is asking about my statements
21 on the record about Adam Foltz's control as a
22 contractor and Ms. Fenske is answering that
23 particular issue.

24 Q Okay. So his map is -- you take that to
25 be a reference to the earlier plans that you had

1 **done with Mr. Foltz?**

2 A I'd have to ask Gary Fineout exactly what
3 the phrase "his map" means.

4 **Q That's Ms. Fenske's quote.**

5 A I'd have to ask her exactly what it means,
6 but, I mean, to be frank, this -- I can tell by the
7 time this was sent while I was presenting in the
8 House, Ms. Fenske and Mr. Fineout were in the room
9 in the audience. So he was clearly asking her
10 questions, but you're taking this out of context.

11 **Q I'm just -- well, that's why I asked you**
12 **if you could -- that's fine.**

13 You mentioned yesterday that you had used
14 the Florida Redistricting website for your map
15 drawing?

16 A Yes.

17 **Q That website had access to election data**
18 **and political data for every district, correct?**

19 A I believe so, yes.

20 **Q And it was possible to generate reports**
21 **that would have contained election data for every**
22 **district in a plan that the mapmaker was drawing,**
23 **correct?**

24 A Correct.

25

1 (Exhibit 59 was marked for
2 identification.)

3 BY MS. FORD:

4 Q Let's come back to that. In the meantime,
5 I'll just finish up with my last two exhibits.

6 Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 59 I will represent to
7 you was produced in a series of public records from
8 the Governor's Office in response to a request about
9 redistricting. It was provided to American
10 Oversight.

11 I apologize that it doesn't have any
12 markings. I think it was a single document in a
13 1700-page public records response that I did not
14 feel like printing out all 1700 pages.

15 Have you seen this map before?

16 A It does not look familiar.

17 Q Okay. You don't think you've ever seen
18 it?

19 A Does not look familiar.

20 Q Okay.

21 (Exhibit 60 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q Mr. Kelly, Exhibit 60 was the page that
25 immediately followed this map, and following it was

1 a 400-page text which seems to me to be like a TXT
2 file of some sort of spreadsheet providing an
3 analysis that appeared to compare this plan on a
4 variety of metrics.

5 Have you ever seen this or a spreadsheet
6 that looks like this before?

7 A No.

8 Q So this was not your analysis?

9 A I haven't the faintest clue what this is.

10 Q This was the format in which it was
11 provided. So I don't have the original Excel
12 spreadsheet or a better format.

13 A The problem always at the Governor's
14 Office is thousands of people e-mail us things, so
15 you could easily be pulling up something that just
16 some random person e-mailed us.

17 Q So you know, there was absolutely no
18 context provided, so ...

19 A Yeah. I don't recognize either one of
20 these documents, 59 or 60.

21 (Exhibit 61 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. FORD:

24 Q Mr. Kelly, for context, I had intended to
25 show you the version just for Plan 109. We can't

1 find it at the moment, so let's use the one for the
2 Plan 79. I'll represent to you that this was
3 produced to us by the House. You can see that with
4 the House Bates stamp date at the bottom.

5 It appears to be a spreadsheet providing
6 for your -- for the Governor's first plan, Plan 79,
7 a breakdown of the plan on a variety of statistics,
8 including the percentage of Democratic voters,
9 Republican voters, Independent voters on a variety
10 of metrics.

11 A You said the House provided this to you?

12 Q The House provided this, that's correct.

13 So in the House redistricting -- I'm
14 sorry. In the Florida Redistricting website, it was
15 possible to generate reports like this, correct?

16 A I've never seen a report like this. I
17 know their website allows you to develop a variety
18 of reports, including political data. I've never
19 seen something like this.

20 Q Okay. I don't have any more questions on
21 this.

22 Did the Governor's Office ask anyone to
23 sign any nondisclosure agreements in connection with
24 redistricting work?

25 A Not that I know of.

1 **Q Okay. When the Governor's Office went**
2 **about collecting documents to respond to the**
3 **subpoena -- I know you provided documents -- who**
4 **else from your office would have provided documents**
5 **or would have engaged in this sort of hand- -- said,**
6 **you know, here's a box of stuff.**

7 A Sure.

8 **Q Who else did that?**

9 A Sure. I know Chris DeLorenzo from our
10 office was the main person going around collecting
11 documents. I know he collected documents from
12 myself, Stephanie Kopelousos, I'm pretty sure James
13 Uthmeier, I believe Chris Spencer, documents our
14 lawyers would have had, which could be Ryan Newman,
15 Josh, Nick. I'm probably forgetting a name or two.
16 But I know -- I know Chris collected documents from
17 a large number -- I say a large, sorry -- or some
18 number of people like the ones I mentioned.

19 **Q Do you know if documents were collected**
20 **from the Governor himself?**

21 A I don't know.

22 **Q In this process did the Governor's Office**
23 **ever discover any pertinent documents had been**
24 **deleted?**

25 A Not to my knowledge.

1 MS. FORD: I don't have any further
2 questions at this time.

3 MR. JAZIL: You want to take a 5-minute
4 break?

5 MS. DJANG: Perfect.

6 MR. JAZIL: Consistent with our discussion
7 yesterday, after you guys are done asking
8 questions, I'll have very brief follow-up,
9 hopefully, three or four questions, and that's
10 it. Then you can have a chance for redirect.

11 MS. FORD: Okay. I was just -- in terms
12 of form, I didn't -- I'm trying to think
13 through whether it matters if the Secretary is
14 a separate deposition.

15 MR. JAZIL: So here's my understanding,
16 and you correct me if I am wrong. We started
17 on the first day. I represented to you that
18 everything he says is a party admission for
19 purposes of the Governor's Office, for the
20 Secretary.

21 So as far as I'm concerned, his answers
22 bind both sides to the extent that they do, and
23 I'm just going to follow up, ask questions
24 after, and that will make it simple.

25 MS. FORD: Works for me.

1 (A recess took place from 2:06 p.m. to
2 2:10 p.m.)

3 DIRECT EXAMINATION

4 BY MR. POSAMATO:

5 Q Mr. Kelly, so we understand that you were
6 also here as a corporate representative for the
7 Secretary of State's Office, is that correct?

8 A Yes.

9 Q I'm going to just show you one of my
10 two exhibits, which is the notice from the Secretary
11 of State's Office.

12 (Exhibit 62 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MR. POSAMATO:

15 Q Have you seen this, sir, before?

16 A Yes.

17 Q As I understand, you're here to testify as
18 to Topics 3 through 11 and then Topics 1, 2, and 17
19 to the extent that they are relevant to your
20 testimony to the Topics 3 through 11; is that
21 correct?

22 A That sounds right, yes.

23 Q Okay. And you understand that this means,
24 as it meant for your testimony on behalf of the
25 Executive Office of Governor, that you are to

1 **provide answers on behalf of the Secretary's**
2 **Office -- of State's office?**

3 A Yes.

4 Q And just like in the context of the
5 **Executive Office of Governor, by the Secretary of**
6 **State's Office -- I mean Secretary of State, his**
7 **staff, employees, consultants, and representatives,**
8 **such as folks like Adam Foltz.**

9 A Yes.

10 Q And are you prepared to testify regarding
11 **Topics 3 through 11, and 1, 2, and 17 to the extent**
12 **they are relevant?**

13 A Yes.

14 Q Can you describe how you prepared to
15 **testify on those topics?**

16 A I met with our counsel.

17 Q Counsel in the Secretary's Office or
18 **secretary of the Executive Office of Governor?**

19 A Counsel for the Executive Office of
20 Governor who includes counsel that the Secretary of
21 State's paying for.

22 Q Did you review any documents?

23 A This document. I think for this portion
24 of the preparation, I think it was this document,
25 although some of these questions are applicable to

1 both.

2 Q Sure. Did you speak to anybody other than
3 your attorneys?

4 A No.

5 Q Nobody else in the Secretary of State's
6 Office besides the attorneys?

7 A No.

8 Q Governor's Office?

9 A No.

10 Q Anybody in the legislature, staff, or
11 members?

12 A No.

13 Q Did you speak to Adam Foltz?

14 A No.

15 Q Can you describe what role the Secretary
16 played in the State's 2021-2022 Congressional
17 redistricting process?

18 A The office contracted for -- our office
19 was the -- had the contracts for our outside counsel
20 and map-drawer, outside counsel, and consultants.

21 Q So did the Secretary play -- Secretary's
22 Office play any other role besides engaging in
23 contracts with the outside?

24 A No.

25 Q And why did the Secretary's Office enter

1 into those contracts rather than the Executive
2 Office of the Governor?

3 A The Executive Office of the Governor
4 doesn't have a budget for outside counsel, so it's
5 pretty common for across policy areas that,
6 typically, the agency for which the policy is most
7 applicable, it's pretty common that that agency
8 typically does have a budget for outside counsel.

9 So typically, those agencies will be the
10 ones that actually pay the legal bills.

11 Q Did the Secretary's Office ever enter into
12 a contract with an electronic consultant or any kind
13 of consultant to help with redistricting in past
14 cycles?

15 A In past cycles? I don't know.

16 Q Can you identify who the Secretary engaged
17 to help with the state's redistricting?

18 A Who was on contract with the Secretary of
19 State's Office?

20 Q That's right.

21 A Mo, their firm, Adam Foltz. I don't --
22 forgive me. I just -- you know, our attorneys, our
23 counsel, are consultants who we've mentioned before.

24 Q Thomas Bryan?

25 A Yes. I don't know if his contract -- I

1 don't know if he was a direct contract himself or if
2 he was through somebody else. But, yes, he was part
3 of it, I guess.

4 **Q My colleague asked you about Eric**
5 **Wienckowski and if you weren't sure --**

6 A I wasn't familiar who he was.

7 **Q I want to ask you about Mo and his**
8 **colleagues.**

9 **But how did you -- how did the Secretary's**
10 **Office decide to engage Mr. Foltz and Mr. Bryan?**

11 MR. JAZIL: To the extent that the
12 information isn't privileged, you can share it.

13 A That would be all internal conversations
14 in our office except to the extent that we directed
15 them to.

16 BY MR. POSAMATO:

17 **Q So I'm asking just in your capacity as**
18 **representative of the Secretary of State's Office.**
19 **Did the Secretary of State have a view on who the**
20 **Secretary should hire to help the state's**
21 **redistricting process?**

22 A Did the Secretary of State?

23 MR. JAZIL: Again, to the extent that the
24 information isn't attorney-client privilege,
25 legislative privilege, you can answer.

1 THE WITNESS: I do not know what would be
2 and would not be attorney-client privilege and
3 legislative privilege here.

4 MR. JAZIL: Okay. Fair enough. To the
5 extent that there was discussion -- you want to
6 explore this more, Joe? Ask him different
7 questions.

8 MR. POSAMATO: Yeah.

9 BY MR. POSAMATO:

10 **Q So as we mentioned earlier, the**
11 **Secretary's Office entered into contracts with**
12 **Mr. Foltz and potentially Mr. Bryan?**

13 A Can I go back to something I said earlier?

14 **Q Sure.**

15 A I think I may have answered your question.
16 I said Secretary of State's Office was directed to.
17 I don't know if that answered your question or not.

18 **Q That does answer my question. But let me**
19 **ask a follow-up.**

20 **Did the Secretary -- was there any**
21 **discussions between Executive Office of the Governor**
22 **and the Secretary of State's Office on who to hire**
23 **to assist the State with the redistricting process?**

24 MR. JAZIL: To the extent those
25 discussions were just among the lawyers, I'm

1 going to direct you not to answer.

2 Do you know of any discussions, outside of
3 the lawyers through the Executive Office of the
4 Governor and Secretary of State's Office, you
5 can answer.

6 A I know the Secretary of State was briefed
7 on the matter to say that these contracts were going
8 to be signed.

9 BY MR. POSAMATO:

10 Q Okay. So is it fair to say that the
11 Secretary -- I'm not trying to breach any
12 attorney-client privilege, but I'm just trying to
13 understand.

14 Is it fair to say that the Secretary of
15 State didn't really have much role in deciding on
16 who to hire? It was -- it mostly came from the
17 Executive Office of the Governor?

18 A Yes. The Secretary of State at the time,
19 Laurel Lee, did not have much of a role in who to
20 hire.

21 Q Okay. Just to put a little more
22 specificity, beyond following direction from the
23 Executive Office of the Governor on who to hire to
24 assist the State with map drawing and redistricting,
25 generally did the Secretary assist the Governor with

1 any other part of the State's redistricting process?

2 A No.

3 Q What about the legislature?

4 A Did the --

5 Q -- Secretary of State --

6 A -- assist the legislature?

7 Q Yeah, any part of the legislature.

8 A No.

9 Q Beyond hiring consultants to assist with
10 map drawing, was the Secretary's Office or
11 anybody -- the Secretary or anybody in the
12 Secretary's Office involved in any map drawing?

13 A No.

14 Q Did this -- was the Secretary or anybody
15 in the Secretary's Office involved in reviewing
16 draft plans?

17 A No.

18 Q When did the Secretary of State's Office
19 first get in touch with Mr. Foltz?

20 A That, I don't know.

21 Q Was the Secretary of State Mr. Foltz's
22 client, or was it the Executive Office of Governor?

23 A The Secretary of State is who had the
24 contracts in this matter.

25 Q So did Mr. Foltz only report to the

1 **Secretary, or did Mr. Foltz also report to folks**
2 **inside the Executive Office of the Governor?**

3 A Mr. Foltz reported to the team and
4 Executive Office of the Governor.

5 Q **Nobody else within the Secretary's Office?**

6 A Correct.

7 Q **Besides Mr. Foltz and Mr. Bryan, were any**
8 **other third-party consultants considered to assist**
9 **the State in its redistricting process?**

10 A I don't know.

11 Q **Were you aware that Mr. Foltz was also**
12 **employed by Texas to assist Texas with its**
13 **redistricting process while he was also working for**
14 **the State of Florida?**

15 A Yes. And I actually testified to that in
16 committee.

17 Q **Can you just broadly describe the scope of**
18 **Mr. Foltz's engagement?**

19 A Map drawing.

20 Q **Are you aware how much Mr. Foltz was paid**
21 **for his work?**

22 A No.

23 Q **Is Mr. Foltz still employed by the**
24 **Secretary?**

25 A Not to my knowledge.

1 **Q Was he paid at all?**

2 A Was he actually paid?

3 **Q Yeah.**

4 A I don't know if he received payment, and I
5 should go back. If he's still under contract, I
6 don't know it, if that makes any difference.

7 **Q What was Mr. Foltz's process for drawing**
8 **draft congressional plans?**

9 A What was his personal process?

10 **Q Yes. Is the Secretary's Office aware or**
11 **anybody in the Secretary's Office aware of the**
12 **process Mr. Foltz undertook to draw up draft plans?**

13 A I was able to testify earlier just some of
14 the high-level direction he was given. I don't know
15 his process. I think when you depose him, he could
16 probably best answer that.

17 **Q Okay. Did the Secretary provide Mr. Foltz**
18 **with any data?**

19 A Did the Secretary of State provide
20 Mr. Foltz with any data? No.

21 **Q Did the Secretary provide Mr. Foltz with**
22 **any guidance to follow when drawing up draft plans?**

23 A No.

24 **Q I just want to turn your attention to -- I**
25 **don't know where I put it now -- Exhibit 54, which**

1 we talked about briefly earlier. This was, I think,
2 an expression of --

3 MS. FORD: The veto memorandum.

4 BY MR. POSAMATO:

5 Q Yeah, the veto memorandum expressing the
6 Governor's Office use on -- yes, this is the
7 Executive Office of the Governor's, I believe, veto
8 memorandum. And I believe earlier you had testified
9 this reflected the Governor's views on CD-5 and the
10 Fair District Amendments?

11 A I think I was asked earlier about CD-5.

12 Q Sure, CD-5?

13 A Yes, it reflects his views on CD- 5.

14 Q Does this also reflect the Secretary of
15 State's Office regarding CD-5?

16 A The Secretary of State's view on CD-5?

17 Q Yeah.

18 A No, this reflects the Governor's view.

19 Q Do you know if the Secretary had a view on
20 CD-5?

21 A I don't know.

22 Q Did the Secretary perform any analysis of
23 any draft plan that Mr. Foltz drafted?

24 A No.

25 Q So the Secretary didn't perform, for

1 **example, a functional analysis on any of Mr. Foltz's**
2 **plans?**

3 A Correct.

4 Q **How many draft plans did Mr. Foltz**
5 **complete?**

6 A I don't know the exact number. Like I
7 say, give or take 10 to -- 10-ish, maybe a little
8 more. There were some plans that he and I worked on
9 together.

10 Q **Sure.**

11 A So I don't -- I'm not trying to parse
12 words there. So some of those we completed
13 together, some he did by himself, some I did. So
14 I'd say he had his hand in, give or take, 10 plans.

15 Q **At the risk of repetition, is it correct**
16 **to say that Mr. Foltz drafted those plans solely at**
17 **the behest of the Executive Office of the Governor?**

18 A Yes.

19 Q **Who specifically in the -- well, did**
20 **anyone specifically in the Executive Office of the**
21 **Governor ask Mr. Foltz to draw up those plans?**

22 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
23 Marsh instruction.

24 BY MR. POSAMATO:

25 Q **And I want to clarify that I'm asking this**

1 **in your capacity as a representative for the**
2 **Secretary of State's Office, to the extent the**
3 **Secretary of State's Office was also involved in**
4 **those discussions and is aware of who directed it.**

5 A Oh, sure. The Secretary of State's Office
6 wouldn't have any idea as to who in the Governor's
7 Office gave Mr. Foltz direction.

8 Q **Can you describe, maybe at a high level to**
9 **the extent you're aware, Mr. Foltz's work process?**
10 **So after he would complete a draft plan, who would**
11 **he send them to?**

12 A Who would he send the draft plan to?

13 Q **Yeah.**

14 A Mr. Foltz would send a draft plan either
15 to myself or to Mo or to both of us.

16 Q **And then what was the process after**
17 **receiving a draft plan from Mr. Foltz?**

18 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you the
19 Marsh instruction here. Answer to the extent
20 you can.

21 A The only way that I could answer that
22 conversation would be to talk about internal
23 conversations through our office. I'm going to take
24 counsel's guidance.

25

1 BY MR. POSAMATO:

2 Q And then are you able to answer to the
3 extent that the Secretary was involved in any of
4 that, in any part of that process?

5 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
6 Marsh instruction again. And so the record is
7 clear, the Secretary of State's Office reports
8 directly to the Executive Office of the
9 Governor. She -- now he -- serves at the
10 pleasure of the Governor. So it is part of the
11 executive branch, but again, answer to the
12 extent you can.

13 MR. POSAMATO: Can I just clarify?

14 MR. JAZIL: Sure.

15 MR. POSAMATO: So is it your position that
16 the Secretary of State's Office is sort of the
17 instrument of the Executive Office of the
18 Governor?

19 MR. JAZIL: Yes.

20 MR. POSAMATO: Like as a matter of law?

21 MR. JAZIL: Yes, and the Executive Office
22 of the Governor's lawyers, for example, serve
23 as legal counsel to the Secretary of State's
24 Office and the Secretary of State's lawyers
25 serve as counsel to the Executive Office of the

1 Governor too, so there is a relationship like
2 that.

3 MR. POSAMATO: Okay.

4 A Can you repeat your question?

5 BY MR. POSAMATO:

6 Q Sure. I had asked, you know, to the
7 extent that the Secretary was involved in the review
8 of draft plans created by Mr. Foltz, are you able to
9 describe what that process was like?

10 A The Secretary of State's Office was never
11 involved in reviewing draft plans.

12 Q Sure.

13 Was any particular individual or -- was
14 any particular individual in charge of Mr. Foltz's
15 work?

16 MR. JAZIL: I give you the same Marsh
17 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
18 answer.

19 A The only way I could answer the question
20 would be to talk about internal conversations to our
21 office. I'm going to follow counsel's guidance.

22 BY MR. POSAMATO:

23 Q Did anyone outside the Secretary of
24 State's Office provide Mr. Foltz with data?

25 A Did anyone outside the Secretary of

1 State's Office provide Mr. Foltz with data? The
2 Governor's Office.

3 Q And what data was that?

4 MR. JAZIL: I am going to give you the
5 Marsh instruction.

6 A Well, and to be clear too, that the
7 legislative tool that was used for map drawing has
8 data, so let's just apply that to everybody. The
9 e-mail records back and forth between our office and
10 Mr. Foltz would cover any of that.

11 BY MR. POSAMATO:

12 Q Okay. Just so I understand your answer,
13 Mr. Foltz would have had access to data provided on
14 the legislature's map drawing tool, and then there
15 would have been -- that's data reflected in some
16 e-mail traffic we've received in discovery between
17 your office and Mr. Foltz?

18 Is it your testimony that that is the
19 exclusive universe of data he would have received
20 from your office, or are you at all relying on the
21 Marsh order?

22 A From our office, that's the exclusive data
23 he would have received from our office.

24 Q Did Mr. Foltz have any assistants or
25 coworkers? You may have answered this earlier.

1 A Did he have any assistance in --

2 **Q Assistants, not -- sort of the noun,**
3 **not -- like people who were helping him?**

4 A In?

5 **Q Map drawing.**

6 A Okay. In the act of map drawing, no.

7 **Q Did Mr. Foltz analyze any draft plans that**
8 **originated in the legislature?**

9 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
10 instruction, but to the extent you can answer,
11 answer.

12 A The public record of e-mail traffic shows
13 that he did.

14 BY MR. POSAMATO:

15 **Q Did anybody decide which plans Mr. Foltz**
16 **would review that the legislature had proposed or**
17 **considered?**

18 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
19 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
20 extent --

21 A The only way that I could answer that
22 question would be to talk about conversations
23 internal to our office, so I'm going to take
24 counsel's guidance.

25

1 BY MR. POSAMATO:

2 Q Did Mr. Foltz review or analyze any draft
3 plans that originated from the Executive Office of
4 the Governor?

5 A Yes, the e-mail traffic between us would
6 show that he did.

7 Q Sure. But beyond just e-mail traffic, are
8 there any other plans that Mr. Foltz analyzed that
9 originated from the Executive Office of the
10 Governor?

11 A Yes. I would think, though, it's -- you
12 know, I say that. I think -- I would think it all
13 shows up in the e-mail.

14 Q Are you sure?

15 A That's how we exchanged plans. So any
16 plan we exchanged, we e-mailed it to each other.

17 Q So any plan Mr. Foltz would have reviewed
18 from the Executive Office of the Governor would be
19 in e-mail?

20 A Yeah.

21 Q Other than draft plans, did Mr. Foltz
22 create any other work product for the Secretary or
23 for the Executive Office of the Governor?

24 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
25 Marsh instruction, but answer if you can.

1 A Other than draft plans?

2 BY MR. POSAMATO:

3 Q Yes.

4 A Mr. Foltz would send some data with those
5 plans.

6 Q And is that data -- does that data take
7 the form of the plan comparisons that my colleague
8 showed you in earlier testimony?

9 A Yes, there was a -- one that -- there was
10 one particular exhibit that -- if you'll give me a
11 moment. The data Mr. Foltz would send would look
12 similar to Exhibit 51.

13 Q Did Mr. Foltz provide any data or any
14 analysis other than what's the sort of data analysis
15 that's represented in Exhibit 51?

16 A No.

17 Q Did any third party other than Mr. Foltz
18 assist the Secretary with its work during the
19 2021-2022 redistricting process?

20 A I apologize, I dropped a napkin, I got
21 distracted. I'm so sorry. Could you repeat your
22 question?

23 Q Did any third party other than Mr. Foltz
24 or Mr. Bryan assist the Secretary with its work
25 during the 2021-2022 redistricting process?

1 A No.

2 Q Did the Secretary have any contact with
3 any third party other than Mr. Foltz or Mr. Bryan
4 regarding the State's 2021-2022 redistricting
5 process?

6 A No.

7 Q Did any third party contact the Secretary
8 to offer their assistance during the State's
9 2021-2022 redistricting process?

10 A Did any third party contact them? I
11 couldn't speak to the potentially thousands of
12 e-mails state agencies get all day long from average
13 citizens. I couldn't speak to that.

14 Q Is the Secretary aware of any third
15 parties who assisted the legislature during the
16 2021-2022 redistricting process?

17 A I apologize, say it again.

18 Q If I'm talking too quickly, you can tell
19 me to slow down, too.

20 Is the Secretary aware of any third
21 parties who assisted the legislature during the
22 2021-2022 redistricting process?

23 A No.

24 Q Did the Secretary have any communications
25 with any member of the U.S. Congress during the last

1 **redistricting cycle?**

2 A No.

3 Q I am going to ask you whether the
4 **Secretary had communications with a series of**
5 **entities.**

6 A Sure.

7 Q Did the Secretary have any communications
8 **with the Republican National Committee?**

9 A No.

10 Q The Republican Party of Florida?

11 A No.

12 Q The National Republican Congressional
13 **Committee?**

14 A No.

15 Q The Redistricting Majority Project?

16 A No.

17 Q The Republican State Leadership Committee?

18 A No.

19 Q The National Republican Redistricting
20 **Trust?**

21 A No.

22 Q Ballard Partners.

23 A No.

24 Q Or any other consultant or agent on behalf
25 **of any entity affiliated with the Republican Party?**

1 A No.

2 Q I just have a few more questions. During
3 the 2021-2022 redistricting process, did the
4 Secretary communicate with Governor DeSantis
5 concerning the State's redistricting of its
6 Congressional plan?

7 A Secretary communicate with the Governor?
8 Not to my knowledge.

9 Q Did the Secretary communicate with anyone
10 in the Executive Office of the Governor concerning
11 the State's redistricting process?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Who within the Executive Office of the
14 Governor did the Secretary communicate with?

15 A Whoever worked on the contracts that we've
16 been talking about with the consultants and lawyers.

17 Q Were those conversations limited to the
18 contracts you were discussing?

19 A Yes.

20 Q You didn't talk about anything else -- or
21 the Secretary's Office did not discuss any other
22 topics with the Executive Office of the Governor
23 besides the contracts?

24 A Correct.

25 Q Did the Secretary communicate with

1 Governor DeSantis or anyone in the Executive Office
2 of the Governor about any draft plan created by
3 Mr. Foltz during the last cycle?

4 A No.

5 Q Did the legislature consult with the
6 Secretary on any election administration questions
7 with respect to implementing a new Congressional
8 plan?

9 A With respect to implementing the new plan?
10 I'm not sure. Kind of beyond the process.

11 Q Sure. And this is sort of on the edge of
12 topics that you were here to testify about.

13 A Yes.

14 Q Just talking about your communications
15 about the process generally with the legislature and
16 Governor's Office. I ask the same questions of the
17 Governor's Office.

18 Did the Secretary have any discussions
19 with the Governor's Office regarding the
20 implementation of a new Congressional plan?

21 A Regarding the actual implementation of it?
22 That, I don't know.

23 Q Did the Secretary have any communication
24 with any member of the legislature regarding the
25 redistricting process in the last cycle?

1 A No.

2 Q Did the Secretary review any draft plans
3 proposed by the legislature?

4 A No.

5 Q Did the Secretary review any data
6 considered or created by the legislature?

7 A No.

8 Q Did the Secretary have any contact with
9 redistricting staff members?

10 A No.

11 Q And did the Secretary or anyone in the
12 Secretary's Office give any member of the
13 legislature feedback on any plans submitted by the
14 legislature?

15 A No.

16 MR. POSAMATO: I think that is all I have,
17 but if you guys give me a minute just to
18 discuss with my colleague.

19 (Discussion off record.)

20 MR. POSAMATO: That's all we got.

21 (A recess took place from 2:37 p.m. to
22 2:50 p.m. and continues in Volume 2.)

23

24

25

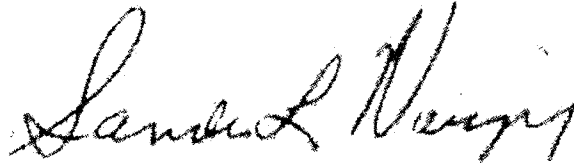
CERTIFICATE OF OATH

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, the undersigned authority, certify that
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
STATE'S OFFICE personally appeared before me on June
8, 2023, and was duly sworn.

SIGNED AND SEALED on June 12, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
snargiz@comcast.net
Commission #HH239213
EXPIRES: APRIL 18TH, 2026

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, SANDRA L. NARGIZ, Registered
Professional Reporter, certify that I was authorized
to and did stenographically report the deposition of
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
STATE'S OFFICE; that a review of the transcript was
requested, and that the foregoing transcript, pages
1 through 190, is a true record of my stenographic
notes.

I further certify that I am not a
relative, employee, attorney or counsel of any of
the parties, nor am I a relative or employee of any
of the parties' attorney or counsel connected with
the action, nor am I financially interested in the
action.

DATED on June 12, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Notary Public in Florida
snargiz@comcast.net

1 June 12, 2023

2 MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

3

4 RE: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs. Cord Byrd, et
al. and Common Cause vs. Cord Byrd
5 Case No. 2022 CA 000666 AND 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
Deposition of JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as
6 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE
7 on June 8, 2023

8 Dear Counsel:

9 The transcript of the above proceeding is now
available and requires signature by the witness.
10 Please e-mail fl.production@lexitaslegal.com for
access to a read-only PDF transcript and
11 PDF-fillable errata sheet via computer or use the
errata sheet that is located at the back of the
12 transcript. Once completed, please print, sign, and
return to the email address listed below for
13 distribution to all parties. If you are in need of
assistance, please contact Lexitas at 888-811-3408.

14

If the witness does not read and sign the transcript
15 within a reasonable amount of time (or 30 days if
Federal), the original transcript may be
16 filed with the Clerk of the court. If the witness
wishes to waive his/her signature now, please have
17 the witness sign in the blank at the bottom of this
letter and return to the email address listed below.

18

Very truly yours,

19

20 Sandra L. Nargiz, RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Lexitas
21 1551 Forum Place, Suite 200-E
West Palm Beach, Florida 33401
22 fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
I do hereby waive my signature.

23

24 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
25 STATE'S OFFICE
Job No. 309153

1 ERRATA SHEET - VOLUME 1

2 DO NOT WRITE ON TRANSCRIPT - ENTER CHANGES HERE

3 In Re: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs. Cord Byrd, et
4 al. and Common Cause vs. Cord Byrd
5 Case Nos.: 2022 CA 000666 and
6 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
7 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as
8 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
9 GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE
10 June 8, 2023

11	PAGE	LINE	CHANGE	REASON
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				

20 Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have
21 read the foregoing transcript of the above
22 proceeding and I hereby swear that my testimony
23 therein was true at the time it was given and is now
24 true and correct, including any corrections and/or
25 amendments listed above.

26 Signature of Witness: _____
27 Dated this ____ day of _____, 2023.
28 email to: fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
29 Job No. 309153

<hr/> <p>Exhibits</p> <hr/> <p>Exhibit 028 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 4:0 7:11</p> <p>Exhibit 029 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 4:0 11:6</p> <p>Exhibit 030 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 4:0 15:13,23</p> <p>Exhibit 031 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 4:0 20:15,18 67:13</p> <p>Exhibit 032 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 4:0 40:1,6</p> <p>Exhibit 033 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 45:5,8</p> <p>Exhibit 034 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 65:2,5</p> <p>Exhibit 035 Gov ernor's Rep 4:0 70:12,15</p> <p>Exhibit 036 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 72:20,23 74:4</p> <p>Exhibit 037 Gov ernor's Rep 4:0 74:2,13</p>	<p>Exhibit 038 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 76:20,23</p> <p>Exhibit 039 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 77:18,21</p> <p>Exhibit 040 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 80:14,17</p> <p>Exhibit 041 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 83:13,16</p> <p>Exhibit 042 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 87:4,7 89:20</p> <p>Exhibit 043 Gov ernor's Rep. 4:0 90:5,8</p> <p>Exhibit 044 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 94:17</p> <p>Exhibit 045 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 99:1,4</p> <p>Exhibit 046 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 103:17,20</p> <p>Exhibit 047 Gov ernor's Rep 5:0 107:22,25 108:1</p> <p>Exhibit 048 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 110:12,15 159:5</p> <p>Exhibit 049 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 111:9,12</p>	<p>116:23</p> <p>Exhibit 050 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 112:10</p> <p>Exhibit 051 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 116:8 120:13 185:12,15</p> <p>Exhibit 052 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 118:21,24</p> <p>Exhibit 053 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 121:14</p> <p>Exhibit 054 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 128:6,9 131:10 176:25</p> <p>Exhibit 055 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 152:12</p> <p>Exhibit 056 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 156:15,18</p> <p>Exhibit 057 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 158:6,12</p> <p>Exhibit 058 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 159:9,12</p> <p>Exhibit 059 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 162:1,6</p> <p>Exhibit 060 Gov ernor's Rep. 5:0 162:21,24</p> <p>Exhibit 061 Gov ernor's Rep.</p>	<p>5:0 163:21</p> <p>Exhibit 062 Sec retary State Re p. 5:0 167:12</p> <hr/> <p>0</p> <hr/> <p>0.1 122:20</p> <p>0.11 122:19</p> <p>0.63 122:19</p> <p>005 74:16</p> <p>005A 71:12 74:9,16</p> <p>0094 113:5</p> <hr/> <p>1</p> <hr/> <p>1 87:9 167:18 168:11</p> <p>10 90:8 91:13 130:10 178:7, 14</p> <p>10-ish 178:7</p> <p>100 121:21</p> <p>102 127:4</p> <p>109 142:11 158:15 163:25</p>
--	--	---	---

<p>10:10 55:6</p> <p>10:20 55:7</p> <p>11 20:20 167:18, 20 168:11</p> <p>11:34 103:15</p> <p>11:43 103:16</p> <p>12 94:22 142:9</p> <p>12:41 137:9</p> <p>13 19:15 158:14</p> <p>13A 111:22 117:5, 21 120:18</p> <p>13B 112:18 113:20</p> <p>14 70:20 110:17 120:24</p> <p>14A 114:19 115:12 137:19 138:11 139:18 140:8, 11,17,20,23, 24,25 141:2, 9,14,18 142:4 149:5</p> <p>14B 111:22 115:13 117:5,21 120:18 137:19 138:14,17 140:9,14,24</p>	<p>141:3,11,14 149:5</p> <p>14th 25:14 124:15 131:17</p> <p>16 74:3 113:16, 17</p> <p>17 156:19 167:18 168:11</p> <p>1700 162:14</p> <p>1700-page 162:13</p> <p>18 45:9 80:19 93:16 121:19 131:23</p> <p>19 103:22</p> <p>1:20 137:10</p> <hr/> <p>2</p> <hr/> <p>2 7:23 19:4 39:11,12 97:13 134:20, 25 135:6,8, 15,19 167:18 168:11 190:22</p> <p>20 12:10 28:17 64:24 157:18</p> <p>2010 62:3,10</p> <p>2020</p>	<p>64:19</p> <p>2021 11:16 12:14 13:7 15:5,16 22:25 23:1 156:8</p> <p>2021-2022 169:16 185:19,25 186:4,9,16,22 188:3</p> <p>2022 15:16 20:20 23:4 24:10 39:13 45:9 70:20 77:23 80:20 83:25 87:9 90:9 91:4 93:16 94:22 103:22 110:17 127:8 128:10 156:12,19 158:14</p> <p>20a's 123:22</p> <p>21 13:17 22:1</p> <p>22 64:25</p> <p>23 11:16 129:2,3 152:20</p> <p>24 83:25</p> <p>28 7:10,11</p> <p>29 11:6 128:10</p>	<p>2:06 167:1</p> <p>2:10 167:2</p> <p>2:37 190:21</p> <p>2:50 190:22</p> <hr/> <p>3</p> <hr/> <p>3 122:16 123:20,22 133:3 167:18, 20 168:11</p> <p>30 15:13,23 116:14</p> <p>31 20:15,18 23:1 67:13</p> <p>32 40:1,6</p> <p>33 45:5,8</p> <p>34 65:2,5</p> <p>35 70:12,15</p> <p>36 72:20,23 74:4</p> <p>37 74:2,13</p> <p>38 76:20,23</p> <p>39 77:18,21</p>
---	---	---	--

<hr/> <p>4</p> <hr/> <p>4</p> <p>88:20 130:17 133:3,9 135:9</p> <p>4-14-22</p> <p>119:16</p> <p>40</p> <p>80:14,17 149:16</p> <p>400-page</p> <p>163:1</p> <p>41</p> <p>83:13,16 87:3</p> <p>42</p> <p>87:4,7 89:20</p> <p>43</p> <p>90:5,8</p> <p>44</p> <p>94:17</p> <p>45</p> <p>99:1,4</p> <p>46</p> <p>103:17,20</p> <p>47</p> <p>107:22,25 108:1</p> <p>48</p> <p>110:12,15 159:5</p> <p>49</p> <p>111:9,12 116:23</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <p>39:13 46:21</p>	<p>100:18 105:15,18 123:17 129:12 131:14,19 133:6,9 134:18 153:7, 9 177:13</p> <p>5-minute</p> <p>166:3</p> <p>50</p> <p>112:10 124:8, 13</p> <p>51</p> <p>116:8 120:13 185:12,15</p> <p>52</p> <p>118:21,24</p> <p>53</p> <p>121:14</p> <p>54</p> <p>128:6,9 131:10 176:25</p> <p>55</p> <p>152:12</p> <p>56</p> <p>156:15,18</p> <p>57</p> <p>158:6,12</p> <p>58</p> <p>159:9,12</p> <p>59</p> <p>162:1,6 163:20</p> <p>5A5</p> <p>74:9</p> <hr/> <p>6</p> <hr/> <p>6</p>	<p>10:2</p> <p>60</p> <p>141:1 162:21, 24 163:20</p> <p>61</p> <p>163:21</p> <p>62</p> <p>167:12</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <p>19:14</p> <p>79</p> <p>33:10 73:7 74:18 75:1,20 76:3,13 77:22 79:3,7,10,17 80:1,3,7,13, 21 81:17 82:4,22,24 106:19 110:22 164:2,6</p> <hr/> <p>8</p> <hr/> <p>8</p> <p>67:14</p> <p>8015</p> <p>111:23 117:21 125:17 129:3</p> <p>8019</p> <p>111:23 117:20 125:16 129:2, 4 133:17</p> <hr/> <p>9</p> <hr/> <p>9045</p> <p>113:2,6,22 114:10</p>	<p>94</p> <p>33:11 69:7, 17,19,21 75:22 106:20 110:17</p> <p>9:00</p> <p>6:1</p> <hr/> <p>A</p> <hr/> <p>a.m.</p> <p>6:1 55:6,7 103:15,16</p> <p>A5</p> <p>74:16</p> <p>absence</p> <p>123:15</p> <p>absolutely</p> <p>163:17</p> <p>accept</p> <p>90:10</p> <p>access</p> <p>121:7 161:17 182:13</p> <p>accommodate</p> <p>19:10</p> <p>accomplished</p> <p>141:9</p> <p>accurate</p> <p>90:15 110:19 158:16</p> <p>achieve</p> <p>153:14</p> <p>act</p> <p>9:13,14 124:13,14 183:6</p> <p>acted</p> <p>103:3</p>
---	---	--	---

<p>acting 93:25 159:6</p> <p>action 80:4</p> <p>actual 37:13 40:4 122:4,22 123:11 126:25 189:21</p> <p>Adam 8:5 33:13,15 45:13 46:9 47:16 56:16 57:14 66:10 68:2 69:13,17 70:5 74:24 112:22 159:22 160:5,21 168:8 169:13 170:21</p> <p>add 78:22</p> <p>addition 158:25</p> <p>additional 10:19 11:1 157:6</p> <p>addressed 144:17</p> <p>adjacent 133:8</p> <p>administration 189:6</p> <p>administrations 94:12 98:4</p> <p>admission 166:18</p> <p>admit 96:21</p>	<p>adopt 81:18</p> <p>advance 99:18 100:23 101:18 102:18 137:15 139:21,24</p> <p>advantage 21:11</p> <p>advice 18:18,21,25 20:2,12 40:22 42:22 43:18 50:7 59:14 78:24 88:6 109:9</p> <p>adviser 51:10</p> <p>advising 51:8,13,15</p> <p>advisory 87:16 88:1,17 90:11 91:11, 14</p> <p>affect 91:23</p> <p>affects 86:1</p> <p>affiliated 187:25</p> <p>affirm 6:3</p> <p>affirmed 6:13</p> <p>afternoon 12:6</p> <p>age 52:13 118:20 120:19,24</p>	<p>130:11</p> <p>agencies 170:9 186:12</p> <p>agency 170:6,7</p> <p>agent 8:25 155:12 187:24</p> <p>agents 154:11,16</p> <p>aggressive 62:22 63:8</p> <p>agree 7:1 27:25 90:22 96:14 97:6 98:9 102:11 107:19 120:20 134:14 148:13 149:11 158:1 160:6</p> <p>agreed 35:18,22 139:19 147:23,24 148:8 149:14</p> <p>agreeing 102:20</p> <p>agreements 164:23</p> <p>agrees 148:10</p> <p>ahead 88:11 104:6 125:16 152:25</p> <p>aide 11:25 13:5</p> <p>albeit 115:11</p>	<p>alert 103:23</p> <p>alerts 17:10,11,13, 16</p> <p>Alex 8:4 40:11</p> <p>ALEXANDER 6:12</p> <p>alter 19:13</p> <p>alternative 35:12 105:14 106:17 107:14,16,20 139:10</p> <p>alternatives 25:25</p> <p>amendment 25:14 124:16 127:4 131:17</p> <p>amendments 36:22 64:8 89:15 90:1 132:7 133:18 134:2 135:25 144:12,15 147:2,6 177:10</p> <p>American 83:20 112:15 162:9</p> <p>amount 71:7</p> <p>analyses 117:8 118:13 119:10</p> <p>analysis 45:19 53:14,</p>
--	--	--	---

<p>24 69:24 70:9 119:16 124:14 130:25 131:4 163:3,8 177:22 178:1 185:14</p> <p>analyze 183:7 184:2</p> <p>analyzed 184:8</p> <p>Andy 84:6,10 139:2 148:24</p> <p>answering 18:18 160:22</p> <p>answers 8:20 72:9 82:11 102:15 166:21 168:1</p> <p>apologize 16:22 20:22 44:25 67:15 91:9 108:12 117:11 122:10 138:9 162:11 185:20 186:17</p> <p>apology 113:8</p> <p>appeared 86:19 93:17, 24 119:13 163:3</p> <p>appears 70:22 77:23 99:16 108:4, 13,25 117:12 160:9 164:5</p> <p>applicable 168:25 170:7</p>	<p>application 52:15</p> <p>apply 123:23 124:9, 19 154:19 182:8</p> <p>approach 91:24 92:11 126:3</p> <p>approve 157:4</p> <p>April 142:9 152:17 158:14</p> <p>area 122:19 140:21</p> <p>areas 10:3 170:5</p> <p>argument 137:2 150:22</p> <p>arrange 84:6</p> <p>arrival 37:18</p> <p>article 16:11,18 18:3 20:19 21:2 39:9,12 41:2 51:2 67:14 104:4 123:22 156:18,20,22</p> <p>articulate 83:2 132:11</p> <p>articulated 126:7 133:19</p> <p>ASAP 84:6</p> <p>asks</p>	<p>90:4 159:22</p> <p>assessment 85:25</p> <p>assist 138:16 172:23 173:24,25 174:6,9 175:8,12 185:18,24</p> <p>assistance 157:19 183:1 186:8</p> <p>assistants 182:24 183:2</p> <p>assisted 186:15,21</p> <p>assisting 47:21 48:9,18 49:1 52:6</p> <p>assume 46:9,11,16 48:7 53:14 71:7 84:9,13 90:12 93:20 157:16 159:24</p> <p>assumed 87:24</p> <p>assuming 49:15</p> <p>assumption 13:21 76:7</p> <p>attachment 71:10,12 73:14 74:2 80:22 116:14, 24 117:2</p> <p>attempt 100:10 130:12 149:2 153:8</p>	<p>attempting 94:24 151:25</p> <p>attend 31:20 68:16 86:18,21 102:22 143:7</p> <p>attended 23:14 31:15 32:1 100:3 137:22</p> <p>attending 43:25</p> <p>attention 19:17 176:24</p> <p>attorney 93:23</p> <p>attorney's 50:11</p> <p>attorney-client 41:15 50:5,9 78:22 81:2 85:4,22 86:2, 4 111:6 159:1 171:24 172:2 173:12</p> <p>attorneys 33:24 82:18 169:3,6 170:22</p> <p>audience 161:9</p> <p>authenticate 72:12</p> <p>author 76:3,4 119:9 160:10</p> <p>average 186:12</p>
--	---	---	---

<p>avoid 66:12</p> <p>aware 15:1 20:5 51:12 54:1 62:1,11,15, 16,20 63:5,6, 11,16,20 64:4,13,18, 20,22 65:10, 21,23 66:17, 22 77:12,16 95:20 96:1 107:12 124:20 125:6 127:25 128:4,5 131:23 149:10 156:7,11 175:11,20 176:10,11 179:4,9 186:14,20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <hr/> <p>back 10:10 14:24 15:15 29:3 31:16 39:8 44:22 48:3 51:3 63:24 67:13 79:5 85:11 87:23 117:10 120:13 129:15,24 132:17 140:7 152:17 162:4 172:13 176:5 182:9</p> <p>background 6:21 150:7</p>	<p>bad 46:1 66:5,15 105:4</p> <p>Bahl 23:16,19 82:15,16,20 88:2 139:2 148:23</p> <p>Ballard 155:10 187:22</p> <p>Bardos 84:10 139:2 148:24</p> <p>Barley 97:13,14,15, 20</p> <p>based 48:24 53:11, 12 59:13 61:5 71:3 73:13 74:19 99:16 111:5 128:23 129:17 130:15,16,18</p> <p>baseline 57:6</p> <p>basically 140:5 151:18</p> <p>basis 61:21 63:13 66:9 72:1 78:23 120:18 122:5,23 123:13,24 124:10 130:7 132:9 151:5</p> <p>Bates 116:13 119:2, 3 164:4</p>	<p>Bay 136:20 140:21,22</p> <p>Beato 111:14,16</p> <p>began 6:1 69:5 77:13</p> <p>beginning 22:24 59:4 63:25 69:2 111:18</p> <p>begins 67:16</p> <p>behalf 7:16 8:2,20, 23 9:13,14 53:1 96:12 98:9,23 106:1 154:16 155:13 167:24 168:1 187:24</p> <p>behest 178:17</p> <p>belief 122:6</p> <p>believed 107:2 125:7 133:20 136:4, 19,23</p> <p>bells 12:1 45:20</p> <p>benchmark 37:23 89:12 92:19 104:7 111:23 117:20 119:8 129:10 153:7,9</p> <p>big</p>	<p>48:7 157:10</p> <p>bill 26:22,25 37:17,22 108:6 127:1, 10,12,18</p> <p>bills 37:6,8 170:10</p> <p>bind 166:22</p> <p>binder 143:22</p> <p>Bipartisan 16:12</p> <p>bit 10:24 17:9 34:22 60:21, 22 127:5 140:21 141:4 156:5</p> <p>bizarre 133:5</p> <p>black 89:3,4 108:13 120:19,24 130:10</p> <p>Black-held 20:25</p> <p>blank 111:3</p> <p>blew 20:24</p> <p>blocks 31:3</p> <p>body 80:4</p> <p>bottom 164:4</p>
---	--	---	--

boundaries 32:15	138:20,21 140:8	candidates 89:5	24 133:15 147:24 148:3, 15,22 149:12, 25 150:3 151:2,25 153:7,13,24 177:9,11,12, 15,16,20
boundary 56:20 141:1	Bryan 40:13 41:21 44:5,9 45:17 46:6,12 53:9, 16,19 68:1,18 118:17 119:10 170:24 171:10 172:12 175:7 185:24 186:3	capacity 8:25 10:17 171:17 179:1	census 31:3
bounds 9:2		captured 95:19	census- designated 35:19,23
box 78:4,9 110:23 111:3 165:6	Bryan's 52:5,17	case 73:23 118:25 123:6,16 124:13 127:13,20,22 159:13	Central 136:19
boxes 74:8	Buchanan 157:13,23	cases 147:19	certified 6:14
branch 180:11	budget 42:17 170:4,8	Catch-22 130:22	chain 45:8,13,16 70:17 72:25 83:16 84:23 95:1 99:4,6, 10,16,20 103:20 111:12,19 159:14
breach 173:11	<hr/> C <hr/>	caveat 102:14	chair 76:24 142:20 143:16 144:4, 5 145:20
break 55:2 103:11, 13 115:18 137:5 166:4	call 22:1 28:22 33:18 39:14 40:7 43:4,12, 21,25 44:3 68:1 84:6 96:24 100:7, 9,11 101:12, 14 105:1 122:1	CD- 177:13	chairman 157:14
breakdown 117:13,25 120:17 164:7	called 71:12 104:23 114:19 125:18	CD-3 122:1	chairs 146:13,15,16
briefed 142:10 173:6	calling 160:7	CD-5 25:18,20 26:15,16,17 27:23 28:1 30:1,6 32:18 35:10 36:2,11 37:17,23 88:13,16 89:16 90:3 92:11,19 93:3,7,19 104:7,14 105:10,11 107:2 122:1 128:23 129:17,19,20 130:5 131:1,	challenge 150:2
briefly 177:1	calls 82:9 106:8,9, 11,15		chamber 26:22 126:12 148:9,10
bring 26:3 27:4 33:2,7 143:17,21	candid 113:18		
broadly 116:4 175:17			
broken 21:1			
brought 33:8 114:17, 21 115:15 137:17			

157:16	chosen	50:14	78:6 110:25
chambers	7:18 97:23	clause	112:22 113:5,
35:12 151:21	141:18	100:19 124:15	10
chance	Chris	127:23 131:16	collaborating
16:19 132:17	40:10 42:15,	Clay	69:13
166:10	16 96:2,3,10	98:13	colleague
change	165:9,13,16	clean	171:4 185:7
30:23 92:11	Christina	141:9	190:18
104:14,19	6:19	clear	colleagues
148:1	circles	21:19 34:17	171:8
changed	135:5	49:17 54:6	collected
131:24 149:18	circulated	61:10 83:21	165:11,16,19
characterization	17:12 103:24	104:2 140:25	collecting
16:18,25 17:7	citation	141:10 180:7	165:2,10
61:2 99:19	89:19	182:6	color
108:19 128:14	cities	clearest	129:13
142:5 147:23	56:20	36:15	colored
characterize	citing	client	108:11
80:4,9 92:17,	150:11	111:20,25	comment
21 107:7	citizen	112:1 174:22	38:21,23
charge	98:13,14	clue	77:10 78:6
181:14	citizens	163:9	91:20 98:14
Charlie	52:13 118:20	CN	comments
19:16	186:13	84:5	37:12,13
chart	city	coaching	100:16,20
67:20 117:16	134:11	60:22 61:2,8	110:25 156:7,
chief	clarification	Coast	11
8:4 16:3,7	154:17	136:20	commitment
23:20,25 40:9	clarifications	Coates	88:18
chiefs	146:21	96:2,3,10	committee
29:22,24	clarify	Coates'	25:2,24 36:14
choice	18:17 34:3	96:17	37:13 76:25
89:6 139:13	42:7 115:3	coffee	83:2,6 93:18,
choose	127:15 178:25	55:4	25 98:18
60:3	180:13	collaborate	100:16,17
chose	clarity	27:3 69:17	102:13,18
75:1	18:15 23:18	collaborated	103:2 104:5
	33:22 46:2	76:12 77:10	116:5 121:19
			125:3,12

<p>140:6 142:6, 23 143:15 152:16 154:11 155:1,5 157:15 175:16 187:8,13,17</p> <p>committees 102:1 134:25 135:14</p> <p>common 141:8 170:5,7</p> <p>commonly 94:13</p> <p>communicate 22:2 188:4,7, 9,14,25</p> <p>communicating 82:14</p> <p>communication 189:23</p> <p>communications 7:2 16:2 159:15,16 186:24 187:4, 7 189:14</p> <p>communities 122:4,6,22,24 123:11</p> <p>compact 56:18 122:18 123:21 129:20 140:25</p> <p>compacting 122:18</p> <p>compactness 94:13,15 98:5 130:18 134:11 141:11</p>	<p>compare 163:3</p> <p>comparing 115:7 117:20</p> <p>comparison 74:4 114:13 116:25</p> <p>comparisons 185:7</p> <p>compelling 132:7 150:6, 15 151:4,7 152:6 153:5, 9,14,16,21</p> <p>complete 119:13 178:5 179:10</p> <p>completed 178:12</p> <p>completely 59:15 133:6</p> <p>compliance 132:6</p> <p>complicated 9:18</p> <p>complied 133:17</p> <p>complies 131:14</p> <p>complimentary 149:21</p> <p>comply 130:5,13 144:11,15 147:1,5</p> <p>compound 105:4</p> <p>compromise</p>	<p>133:19 149:2, 21</p> <p>compromised 139:11</p> <p>concepts 83:3</p> <p>concern 26:24 30:7 132:14 144:10,20 146:25</p> <p>concerned 113:11 166:21</p> <p>concerns 15:17,18 23:12 25:9, 11,13,15 27:2,14,20 30:5,7 37:2 82:22 132:23 133:12 140:11,13</p> <p>concludes 132:6</p> <p>conclusion 130:7</p> <p>conclusions 131:4</p> <p>condensing 19:11</p> <p>conducted 105:25</p> <p>conference 28:22 106:9</p> <p>conferences 155:24 156:2</p> <p>confines 126:5</p>	<p>confirm 72:13</p> <p>confirmation 73:8</p> <p>conflict 8:6 104:2</p> <p>Congress 157:10,21 186:25</p> <p>congressional 12:10 16:11, 15 17:4 19:10 20:25 21:9 25:1,10 26:1 28:12 39:5 49:3 65:8,11, 22 83:8 89:1 100:18 122:16 123:19 154:5 155:1,23 156:1,12 157:5,6,12 169:16 176:8 187:12 188:6 189:7,20</p> <p>Congressman 19:16</p> <p>Congresswoman 19:15</p> <p>connect 89:3</p> <p>connection 164:23</p> <p>consideration 123:9</p> <p>considerations 122:14</p> <p>considered 64:24 95:8</p>
--	---	---	---

96:6,7 121:9 175:8 183:17 190:6 Consistent 166:6 consistently 134:13 constant 134:6 constitute 123:22 124:7 Constitution 88:25 100:20 124:16 127:24 131:17 Constitution's 131:14 constitutional 82:17,21 107:18 132:23 133:12 134:2 137:2 141:15 150:1 constitutionalism 128:12 132:15 134:3,10 consult 189:5 consultant 8:5 43:7 44:11,16 52:18,20,21 55:11 67:6 68:2 155:12 170:12,13 187:24 consultants 9:9,16 13:15	168:7 169:20 170:23 174:9 175:8 188:16 consultation 59:9 consulted 76:12 consulting 41:21 contact 58:15,18 186:2,7,10 190:8 contacted 105:24 contained 161:21 content 50:16 context 161:10 163:18,24 168:4 continue 12:23 92:6 continued 29:5,10,19,25 92:18,24 continues 190:22 continuing 35:9 82:12 contract 13:7 41:21,23 43:7 52:17, 23,25 53:4 57:24 58:9 60:3 170:12, 18,25 171:1	176:5 contracted 13:16 169:18 contracting 12:7 contractor 59:20 160:22 contracts 169:19,23 170:1 172:11 173:7 174:24 188:15,18,23 contractual 9:22 contrast 131:13 control 157:16 160:21 conversation 26:18 27:12 29:13 71:20 99:7 101:5 179:22 conversations 15:10 20:1,11 31:19 40:20 42:23 43:17 54:24 55:18 58:4 60:12 63:2,6 68:13 71:5 75:7 76:18 78:20 82:9,13 84:20 85:7,15,16,25 92:25 96:8 97:9 109:8 112:9 116:6 118:10 145:1 148:18 154:22 171:13 179:23	181:20 183:22 188:17 converted 117:4 Convex 122:20 convey 136:2 148:25 149:15 conveyance 38:13 conveyed 38:5,7,9 136:25 149:1 convince 82:3 104:3 105:9 copy 10:6 77:22 81:9,10,14 90:15 110:20 152:9 158:17 corporate 7:15 8:5 64:1 167:6 correct 7:18 13:21 24:7 32:8 40:14 42:10 44:8 46:19 78:1,7,13,14 80:13 91:17 94:1,2 95:10, 11 100:5 101:18,19 104:15,16 111:1,2 117:14 118:1, 15 121:9 127:10,21
---	---	--	---

<p>128:23 129:17,21,22 138:11 144:19 145:16 158:20,21 161:18,23,24 164:12,15 166:16 167:7, 21 175:6 178:3,15 188:24</p> <p>correctly 149:4</p> <p>correspondence 22:8 72:13 159:19</p> <p>counsel 7:21 10:17 18:18,21,25 20:2,12 40:22 42:9,12,22 43:18,23 44:16,21 47:21,24 48:6 49:4 51:10,21 52:3 54:25 55:19 58:4 59:14 60:13 61:1 63:1 68:14 71:1,6, 21 73:21 75:8 76:19 77:25 78:21 84:21 85:8 86:8 93:25 94:5 96:13 99:8,9 109:9 112:8 116:7 118:11 119:15 149:14 150:11,18 154:1 168:16,</p>	<p>17,19,20 169:19,20 170:4,8,23 180:23,25</p> <p>counsel's 50:23 179:24 181:21 183:24</p> <p>count 31:2 108:10</p> <p>counties 56:20 89:4</p> <p>country 62:22</p> <p>county 19:10 98:13 128:23 129:17 130:25 134:11 140:23 141:3</p> <p>couple 21:3 34:13,15 49:12,14 72:16,19 106:13 117:10 123:2</p> <p>court 62:21 63:7, 11,20 87:9,17 88:6,11 89:6, 9,11 90:9,23 91:14,15 123:9 124:22 125:4,7,13 134:5 150:9</p> <p>courting 72:18</p> <p>cover 182:10</p> <p>covered 17:20 50:20</p>	<p>85:21,23 92:16 145:13 154:7</p> <p>coworkers 182:25</p> <p>create 184:22</p> <p>created 119:22 128:22 129:16 130:21 141:7 181:8 189:2 190:6</p> <p>credit 157:24 158:2</p> <p>Crist 19:16</p> <p>criteria 56:18 134:20, 25 135:8,16</p> <p>criticized 20:5</p> <p>curious 153:15</p> <p>current 158:2</p> <p>CVAP 52:13 53:11, 23 118:2,19</p> <p>cycle 14:4 39:4 62:3,7,10,13 64:19,21,25 124:21 128:1 187:1 189:3, 25</p> <p>cycles 170:14,15</p>	<hr/> <p>D</p> <hr/> <p>Dan 32:2 84:7,11 86:11,13,16 138:25 148:23</p> <p>data 52:14 53:11, 23 56:17 69:24 70:5,9 118:4,18,19, 20 121:2,8 131:3 143:23 161:17,18,21 164:18 176:18,20 181:24 182:1, 3,8,13,15,19, 22 185:4,6, 11,13,14 190:5</p> <p>date 47:11 93:11 119:16,20,22 127:17 164:4</p> <p>dated 11:16 70:20 80:19 83:25 87:9 94:22</p> <p>Davila 23:17,23</p> <p>day 37:7 73:5 97:22 101:14 104:12 121:20 148:23 157:6 166:17 186:12</p> <p>days 80:20</p>
---	--	--	---

de 30:25	deliberations 12:20	describe 48:17 52:5	diminishes 148:3
dead 37:18	Delorenzo 165:9	56:2 116:17	diminishment 124:24 130:20
December 23:1	Democrat 19:14,16	168:14 169:15	direct 6:15 36:16
decide 14:3 153:18	105:2	175:17 179:8	37:10,14
171:10 183:15	Democratic 94:12 98:4	181:9	41:18 50:10
deciding 173:15	105:9,13	describes 121:25	54:14 71:2
decision 66:20 112:3	143:9 146:5	describing 41:3 131:12	79:13 167:3
141:25	164:8	designee 7:19 159:7	171:1 173:1
decline 95:24	Democrats 19:22 20:7	detail 30:19	directed 171:14 172:16
declined 98:22 102:5	105:20	detailed 21:21 22:8	179:4
declining 59:13 90:10	denying 91:12,14	79:15 114:1,7	directing 18:22
deep 44:23	Department 94:11 98:3	135:18	direction 173:22 176:14
defend 134:10	depending 30:18	details 64:14 65:19,	179:7
defer 150:18	depose 176:15	24	directly 36:23,25
define 152:7 153:6,	deposition 6:22 7:24	determination 134:18	61:16 71:14
11,22	8:2,6 10:16,	determine 153:15	79:17 112:16
defined 122:4,22	20 12:25	develop 164:17	117:17 180:8
153:20	63:25 166:14	development 28:17	director 11:18 16:2
definition 133:10 154:19	deputy 8:3 23:25	dialogue 29:3,5,6,7,8,	42:16 143:5
degree 150:10	Desantis 6:11 20:24	10,15,17 30:1	159:16
deleted 165:24	21:7 37:16	difference 136:15 176:6	disagree 61:1,8
	155:22 156:20	differences 114:8 140:20	discern 98:18
	157:11 158:1	diluted 63:21	disclose 51:23
	188:4 189:1		discover 165:23
	Desantis' 104:2		discovery 83:22 119:12
			182:16

<p>discuss 31:8,13 75:15 87:15 125:19 126:15,16,19 154:10 188:21 190:18</p> <p>discussed 12:15 25:18, 22 27:18 32:18 34:19 41:10 47:7 49:9 54:15 56:13,25 70:19 75:10 76:2 85:20 86:23 98:22 100:6 101:12 118:8 126:5, 15 135:10 142:3 145:12</p> <p>discusses 7:24</p> <p>discussing 32:10 77:2 149:5 188:18</p> <p>discussion 27:24 73:24 92:9 94:23 137:8 145:2 147:8 166:6 172:5 190:19</p> <p>discussions 12:19 22:21 28:21 29:19 38:4 39:2 41:9 82:2,12 90:18 92:15, 17 126:17 154:22 172:21,25 173:2 179:4</p>	<p>189:18</p> <p>dissenting 141:24</p> <p>distracted 185:21</p> <p>district 12:10 19:11, 14,15 25:18 30:23 36:21 37:23 89:1, 12,15 90:1,25 91:17 100:18 105:18 117:13 118:1,5 120:24 121:2 122:2,6,16,18 123:8,10,11, 20 124:2,7, 19,23 130:9, 11,15,17 131:14,19 132:7,15 133:3,4,6,9, 10,18 134:2, 18 135:9,25 136:4,19,23 141:2,3 144:12,15 147:2,6 153:7,9,20 161:18,22 177:10</p> <p>districting 122:17</p> <p>districts 19:11,14 20:25 21:10 25:20,22 56:19 132:24 133:2,7,8,12, 15,22 134:19</p>	<p>136:9 137:1 140:22 141:7, 8 157:12</p> <p>DJANG 166:5</p> <p>DOA 37:18</p> <p>document 10:12 16:21 74:11 80:24 81:4,7,12 91:8 94:20 99:14 108:23 113:2,17 119:7 132:20 160:1 162:12 168:23,24</p> <p>documents 10:14,18 14:9 25:17 163:20 165:2,3,4,11, 13,16,19,23 168:22</p> <p>donut 133:5</p> <p>draft 16:14 17:4 21:25 26:4,7 49:5,13 53:9 54:11,20 63:12 69:23 70:22 71:13, 15 118:14 174:16 176:8, 12,22 177:23 178:4 179:10, 12,14,17 181:8,11 183:7 184:2, 21 185:1</p>	<p>189:2 190:2</p> <p>drafted 177:23 178:16</p> <p>drafts 71:1</p> <p>draw 12:7 16:12 28:1 35:10 36:10 49:22 53:16 56:18 58:25 59:3,19 65:16 69:17, 19 92:18 138:14 153:7 176:12 178:21</p> <p>drawing 12:15 35:17 47:4,17 56:7, 10,17 64:22 69:3 76:13 79:22 115:24 138:16 161:15,22 173:24 174:10,12 175:19 176:7, 22 182:7,14 183:5,6</p> <p>drawn 21:9,15 46:22 49:6 53:10 54:12,21 62:2,9,11 64:18,20 71:13 74:24 120:25 121:1 149:25</p> <p>draws 13:20 14:1</p> <p>drew</p>
---	--	---	---

<p>32:12 62:20 89:11 112:19 130:14,17 133:20 134:8 138:11 153:18</p> <p>drop 130:10</p> <p>dropped 185:20</p> <p>duly 6:13</p> <p>Duval 128:23 129:17 130:25</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <hr/> <p>e-mail 7:3 11:9 12:13 15:23 40:6 42:8 45:8 70:16,17 71:7 72:24 73:10 74:3 80:18 81:8,14 83:16,23 84:2,23 86:12 95:1,19 96:2, 20 97:12 99:4,6,9,16, 20 103:20 111:12 116:14,18 120:5 159:12, 14,18 160:16, 19 163:14 182:9,16 183:12 184:5, 7,13,19</p> <p>e-mailed 163:16 184:16</p>	<p>e-mails 49:12,14,15, 18 72:5,17 186:12</p> <p>earlier 48:15 82:7,11 97:25 138:10 142:13 147:25 149:25 151:2 159:3,4,5 160:25 172:10,13 176:13 177:1, 8,11 182:25 185:8</p> <p>early 22:19 59:8</p> <p>easily 163:15</p> <p>east 19:11 89:2 136:20</p> <p>economic 28:17</p> <p>edge 189:11</p> <p>edits 74:7 101:21</p> <p>education 28:17</p> <p>educational 26:14</p> <p>effect 22:8 57:13 90:2 123:9</p> <p>effort 81:16</p> <p>elect 63:14 89:5</p>	<p>elected 34:2,4,5,11</p> <p>election 157:6 161:17, 21 189:6</p> <p>electoral 21:11</p> <p>electronic 170:12</p> <p>eliminated 90:24 91:16 92:19</p> <p>elongated 129:8</p> <p>else's 26:25</p> <p>embedded 74:11</p> <p>employed 175:12,23</p> <p>employees 9:9,20 154:15 168:7</p> <p>enacted 54:17,18 106:24 114:20 127:3 134:9 135:1 138:12 143:14 149:22 158:15</p> <p>encapsulate 100:21</p> <p>encouraging 88:2</p> <p>end 22:24 35:3,4, 25 36:4,7,8 37:7 38:3 39:4 58:16</p>	<p>83:4 97:22 99:23 119:14</p> <p>engage 44:10 171:10</p> <p>engaged 43:6 44:5 47:25 55:11 56:3 67:9 165:5 170:16</p> <p>engagement 55:22 175:18</p> <p>engaging 169:22</p> <p>enter 169:25 170:11</p> <p>entered 9:21 172:11</p> <p>entire 79:8 136:20</p> <p>entirety 31:2</p> <p>entities 154:20 187:5</p> <p>entity 13:20 187:25</p> <p>EOG 71:24</p> <p>EOG's 144:25</p> <p>equal 25:14 100:19 124:15 127:23 131:16</p> <p>equation 15:20</p> <p>equivalent 37:23</p>
--	---	---	---

Eric 45:1,14 171:4	130:10 150:11 178:6	134:24	90:25 91:17 92:19 93:3
erred 125:13	EXAMINATION 6:15 167:3	exhibit 7:11,23 11:6 15:13,23 20:15,18 37:18 40:1,6 45:5,8 65:2,5 67:13 70:12, 15 72:20,23 74:2,4,13 75:24 76:20, 23 77:18,21 80:14,17 83:13,16 87:4,7 89:20 90:5,8 94:17 99:1,4 103:17,20 107:22,25 108:1 110:12, 15 111:9,12 112:10 113:16 115:8 116:8, 20,21,23 118:21,24 120:13 121:14 128:6,9 129:2,3 131:10 152:12 156:15,18 158:6,12 159:4,5,9,12 162:1,6,21,24 163:21 167:12 176:25 185:10,12,15	expert 104:3 expertise 94:16 98:2,6 explain 23:12 43:11 88:3 93:1,10, 13 122:15 149:17 160:18 explained 134:24 explaining 27:1 89:19 146:12,20 explicit 22:7 explicitly 21:22 explore 172:6 express 19:21 25:8 36:1,10,19 82:16,21 88:9,10 132:14,23 140:10,13 144:10,14,20 146:25 147:4 expressed 37:21 150:3 152:2 expressing 154:1 177:5 expression 177:2
error 160:11,13,15	examining 10:12 16:21 91:8 99:14 108:23 113:17 132:20 160:1		
errors 125:4	examples 35:24 107:10		
essentially 72:11 118:14 124:8 130:14, 21 141:18 150:4 157:7	Excel 73:15,17,22 74:5 117:5 119:1,3 120:1 163:11		
establish 35:1	exchange 7:2		
established 58:24 77:25 137:18	exchanged 184:15,16		
estimate 41:24	exclusive 182:19,22		
estimation 150:14	excuse 16:1		
ethnicity 118:2	executive 6:10 7:16,25 8:3,9 112:2 167:25 168:5, 18,19 170:1,3 172:21 173:3, 17,23 174:22 175:2,4 177:7 178:17,20 180:8,11,17, 21,25 184:3, 9,18,23 188:10,13,22 189:1		
evaluated 63:12	exhaustively		
events 155:24 156:3			
eventually 45:15 74:17 125:15			
evident 122:14			
exact 47:11 48:1,14 82:6 93:11 112:20 114:4 120:16 127:16		exhibits 158:10 159:5 162:5 167:10 existing 89:14,25	

<p>extent</p> <p>13:1,24 14:7</p> <p>15:8 17:17,18</p> <p>24:21 44:13</p> <p>47:6 48:11,23</p> <p>49:8 50:6</p> <p>51:19 52:9</p> <p>54:5 56:4,24</p> <p>57:8 58:20</p> <p>64:2,11 68:12</p> <p>69:10 70:2</p> <p>71:17 75:4</p> <p>84:18 92:1</p> <p>94:7 116:2</p> <p>118:8 125:1</p> <p>126:4 134:23</p> <p>135:12 151:24</p> <p>166:22 167:19</p> <p>168:11</p> <p>171:11,14,23</p> <p>172:5,24</p> <p>179:2,9,19</p> <p>180:3,12</p> <p>181:7,17</p> <p>183:10,20</p> <p>extremely</p> <p>124:3 135:18</p> <hr/> <p>F</p> <hr/> <p>face-to-face</p> <p>38:6</p> <p>fact</p> <p>13:14 16:13</p> <p>41:7 58:7</p> <p>68:3 85:14</p> <p>96:9 97:3</p> <p>121:7</p> <p>factor</p> <p>35:23</p>	<p>factually</p> <p>29:10</p> <p>failed</p> <p>153:22</p> <p>faintest</p> <p>163:9</p> <p>fair</p> <p>15:15 16:17,</p> <p>24 17:6 36:21</p> <p>41:5 61:6</p> <p>64:8 79:25</p> <p>80:3,6 89:13,</p> <p>15,24 90:1,14</p> <p>92:17 99:19</p> <p>108:18 110:19</p> <p>113:18 128:14</p> <p>132:7 133:18</p> <p>134:2 135:25</p> <p>136:14 141:17</p> <p>142:4 144:12,</p> <p>15 147:2,5</p> <p>152:1 158:16</p> <p>172:4 173:10,</p> <p>14 177:10</p> <p>fairly</p> <p>129:25</p> <p>fairness</p> <p>65:12</p> <p>fall</p> <p>15:5 22:19,23</p> <p>58:18 85:16</p> <p>falls</p> <p>85:12</p> <p>familiar</p> <p>59:10 77:5,16</p> <p>87:12 93:20</p> <p>97:2 114:10</p> <p>120:4,7 150:8</p> <p>162:16,19</p> <p>171:6</p>	<p>fashions</p> <p>150:21</p> <p>favorable</p> <p>19:22 20:7</p> <p>88:17</p> <p>features</p> <p>146:22</p> <p>February</p> <p>23:4 30:13</p> <p>31:25 87:9</p> <p>90:8 91:4,13</p> <p>93:16 94:22</p> <p>103:22 110:17</p> <p>121:19</p> <p>131:22,23</p> <p>federal</p> <p>62:21 63:7,</p> <p>11,20 130:22</p> <p>150:1,9</p> <p>feedback</p> <p>35:16,18</p> <p>37:10 60:24</p> <p>61:16 65:22</p> <p>66:3,14,19</p> <p>69:18,19</p> <p>71:25 72:4</p> <p>79:9,12,13,</p> <p>17,20,23</p> <p>82:24 101:21,</p> <p>23,25 106:25</p> <p>107:5,8,10,12</p> <p>139:15,17,18</p> <p>190:13</p> <p>feel</p> <p>10:8 39:16</p> <p>56:5 162:14</p> <p>feels</p> <p>60:24 61:17</p> <p>Fenske</p> <p>15:24,25</p>	<p>16:1,10 18:2</p> <p>159:14 160:4,</p> <p>8,11,22 161:8</p> <p>Fenske's</p> <p>159:18 161:4</p> <p>Ferrin</p> <p>142:20</p> <p>file</p> <p>73:15,17,19,</p> <p>20,22 113:20</p> <p>119:4 163:2</p> <p>files</p> <p>70:6 73:3,9,</p> <p>11 113:21</p> <p>115:7</p> <p>fill</p> <p>78:15 110:23</p> <p>final</p> <p>34:20 65:7</p> <p>134:9 135:1</p> <p>finally</p> <p>106:24</p> <p>find</p> <p>94:24 115:3,</p> <p>19 164:1</p> <p>fine</p> <p>52:20 161:12</p> <p>Fineout</p> <p>159:19 160:4,</p> <p>20 161:2,8</p> <p>Fineout's</p> <p>159:21</p> <p>finish</p> <p>162:5</p> <p>finished</p> <p>121:12</p> <p>firm</p> <p>170:21</p>
---	---	--	--

<p>five-minute 103:13</p> <p>flip 10:2 19:19 117:10 156:21,24</p> <p>flipping 60:1</p> <p>floor 36:14,16 37:13 126:8, 10 148:16</p> <p>Florida 11:25 12:23 13:25 16:12, 14 17:3 21:1, 7 23:21 30:22 39:14 40:6 45:18 65:25 67:6 87:8,16 88:11,24 89:1,11,15,25 90:9,22 91:13,15 95:18 102:1 104:2 124:21 125:4,7,12 126:1 131:14 136:3,9,11, 15,19,21,22 154:23 156:13 157:2,5,10, 14,18 158:13 161:14 164:14 175:14 187:10</p> <p>Florida's 64:7 130:5</p> <p>folks 39:15 168:8 175:1</p>	<p>follow 14:20 15:3 20:2,11 40:22 42:22 43:17 50:11,23 51:20 52:2 54:24 55:19 58:4 60:12 62:25 68:14 71:6,21 75:7 76:19 78:20 84:20 85:7 86:7 112:7 116:4,6 166:23 176:22 181:21</p> <p>follow-up 29:7 80:22 96:17 145:9 147:16,19,21 166:8 172:19</p> <p>Foltz 8:5 9:23 33:13,15 43:2,6 44:4,9 45:13,16,23 46:3,9 47:17 54:12,21 55:11,14,22 56:9 57:5,24 58:8 61:25 62:2,17,20 63:7,12 64:17 66:4,11,15, 21,23 67:5,8 68:2,7,18,24 69:3,6,8,23 70:18,22,25 71:13,15 76:2,4,12 78:12 111:19,</p>	<p>20,25 113:5, 10,21 115:23 116:15 117:8, 12,24 118:4, 13 120:10 121:8 138:16 159:22 160:9 161:1 168:8 169:13 170:21 171:10 172:12 174:19,25 175:1,3,7,11, 20,23 176:12, 17,20,21 177:23 178:4, 16,21 179:7, 14,17 181:8, 24 182:1,10, 13,17,24 183:7,15 184:2,8,17,21 185:4,11,13, 17,23 186:3 189:3</p> <p>Foltz's 63:21 64:6 65:11 73:5 74:10 160:21 174:21 175:18 176:7 178:1 179:9 181:14</p> <p>Ford 6:16,19 7:8, 13 8:17,18 9:6 11:8 13:4,13 14:2, 13 15:11,21 17:22 18:1,7, 14 19:2 20:3, 13,17 21:23 25:5 38:2,8</p>	<p>40:3,23 41:19 43:1,19 44:17 45:4,7 47:2, 12 48:16 49:2,21 50:13 51:1,22 52:4, 16 54:10,19 55:1,8,20 56:1,8,21 57:4,16 58:5, 14,23 59:11 60:6,14 61:12,14 62:8 63:3 64:5,16 65:4,17 68:15 69:15 70:7,14 71:9,22 72:15,22 73:23 74:1,15 75:14 76:22 77:20 79:1 80:16 81:5,23 82:1 83:15 84:22 85:9 86:9 87:3,6, 14 89:21 90:7 91:6,22 92:7 94:19 99:3 103:14,19 107:24 109:10 110:14 111:11,15,17 112:12 116:10 118:12,23 119:18,22,25 120:8 121:16 125:5,14 126:2,13 127:4,6 128:8 132:3 135:3, 21 137:5,11 148:12 150:24</p>
---	---	--	---

151:10,23 152:14 156:17 158:8 159:11 160:17 162:3, 23 163:23 166:1,11,25 177:3 foregoing 122:14 forget 138:10 forgetting 165:15 forgive 122:8 170:22 form 13:9 51:25 62:23 74:5,6 91:1,18 102:18 110:16,20,22 117:5 125:9 148:4 150:16 151:8,13 158:4,13,19 160:14 166:12 185:7 formal 82:10 format 17:13 115:11 119:1 120:4,6 163:10,12 formats 73:17 forms 77:22 150:21 forward 31:1 50:3,19	53:21 106:18 133:20 160:11 forwarded 40:10 159:17 forwarding 16:10 found 62:21 63:8, 12,20 119:17 127:20,22 four-seat 157:12 fourth 39:20 157:1 frame 35:1,8 frank 161:6 frankly 37:6 free 39:16 56:5 90:24 91:16 friendly 19:22 20:6 front 47:11 104:11 156:5 full 123:18 156:25 fully 128:23 129:17 142:4 functional 130:25 131:4 178:1	<hr/> G <hr/> Gadsden 89:4 game 41:5 Gary 159:19 160:5 161:2 gathering 53:23 gave 36:13 65:7 102:12,18 125:12 179:7 general 44:20 51:9 60:20,24 79:2,4,23 81:16 101:23 104:4 106:14 107:7 108:3 generally 14:19 15:3 17:18,22 77:1 101:9 107:5, 12 150:10 173:25 189:15 generate 161:20 164:15 geographical 56:19 146:22 geographically 123:21 George 86:13 gerrymander 63:9	Gerrymandering 65:7 gerrymanders 62:22 gestures 61:11 get all 186:12 Gibson 152:21 153:1 give 6:4 12:17 14:5 15:6 18:4,11 19:23 20:8 21:16 24:20 40:18 42:20 43:14 44:12 46:24 47:5 48:10,20 49:7 51:17 52:1,7 54:4, 13 55:15,23 56:11,23 57:7 58:1,11 59:5, 23 62:4,24 63:23 64:6,9 65:13 67:18 68:10 69:9,25 71:16 75:3 76:14 78:17 81:1,19,21 84:16 85:3 89:17 91:25 94:6 95:9,12, 24 96:6 107:9 109:5 112:5 115:23 116:1, 20 118:6 120:16 124:25 125:24 131:8 134:21 135:11
--	--	---	---

143:15	75:17 84:4,	35:9 36:1,3,	104:18 105:6,
150:22,23	14,25 87:8	19,21 37:20	8,10,13,20,24
151:20 158:24	88:1,4,12,15	39:2,13	106:1,15
178:7,14,22	90:23 91:15	41:11,12,13,	107:2,13,16,
179:18 180:5	94:1 108:17	22,25 42:13,	20 108:1
181:16 182:4	109:14,19	16 43:22,23	109:2,13,16,
183:9,18	111:8 112:2	44:10 46:22	23,24 110:3,
184:24 185:10	125:18 127:9,	47:3,18 48:9,	4,18 112:14,
190:12,17	18 128:1,10,	18 49:6,23	16 115:22
giving	17 130:1	50:2,18 51:8,	116:12
60:25 61:6	147:24,25	12,15,24	117:13,25
122:13 150:6	155:22 157:3,	52:6,24 53:2,	118:3,18,25
157:24	10,24 158:1	10,17,20 54:5	119:3 121:18
gloss	165:20 167:25	57:23 58:7,	123:10,24
85:24	168:5,18,20	10,15,17	124:10,20
Goldsby	170:2,3	59:19 60:2	125:6,19
86:1	172:21 173:4,	62:1,14,16,19	126:6,14,20
good	17,23,25	63:16,19	128:11 129:23
6:17,18	174:22 175:2,	65:10 66:2,4,	130:3,24
10:13,24 12:6	4 178:17,21	7,10,13,18,20	131:18,24
72:15 75:12	180:9,10,18	67:4 68:7,21,	132:9,13,22
141:12	181:1 184:4,	25 69:14,22	133:17 134:1,
GOP	10,18,23	70:16,19,24	17 135:7
21:10 104:2	188:4,7,10,	71:14 73:2	136:2,17
156:20 157:7	14,22 189:1,2	75:15 77:12,	137:14,21,24
Gore	Governor's	25 79:16	139:6 140:16,
95:12,14,15,	7:19 8:20,23	82:2,13,25	17 141:13,21
24	9:1,2,7,10,	83:20,24 84:3	142:10 143:3
Gotcha	19,21 12:14,	85:11,19,20,	144:11 146:3
119:5	20 13:6,14	21 87:15,24	147:1,5
governor	14:19,24	89:8,13,24	148:14,20,21
6:10 7:17	15:1,3 17:10	90:10,17	149:10,12
8:1,3,9 9:8,	19:20 20:4	91:23 92:9	152:3 154:1,
14,20 11:19	22:2,6,14,21	93:6,14 94:3,	4,9,21 155:17
14:3,8 16:2,8	24:14,16,18	4,21,23 95:8	157:19 160:10
21:7,13,18	25:23 26:3,	96:9,18 97:3,	162:8 163:13
22:3,15 26:23	11,15 27:4,22	9,24 98:8,9,	164:6,22
27:15 37:16	28:22 29:15,	21,23 99:5,8,	165:1,22
42:10 47:20,	18 30:12	17 100:12	166:19 169:8
25 54:2,7,11	31:7,12	101:10,11,17,	177:6,7,9,18
	32:21,25	20,24 102:3,	179:6 180:22
	33:2,6 34:6	9,11 103:24	182:2 189:16,

17,19	guys	helped	114:12
grab	95:21 137:7	157:7	hope
39:18	166:7 190:17	helpful	46:14
grade		18:20 37:10	hopes
65:8,11	H	73:16 95:4	139:10
great	half	115:9,16	hostile
32:17 34:1	105:7	119:11	103:2,5
55:5 93:15	halfway	helping	hours
95:7 129:13	19:5	156:21 183:3	135:15
grounds	hand	hereinafter	house
122:15	6:3 61:10,11	6:14	11:4,25 14:21
group	178:14	Hey	15:4 19:19
48:7 77:9	hand-	160:4	21:24 22:12,
78:5 110:24	165:5	hidden	13,20 23:4,21
123:20 156:9	Hans	74:9	24:3,15,19,24
guess	96:20,22,23,	high	25:7,12,24,25
10:23 21:25	24 97:4,10	56:2 179:8	26:4,10,14
24:13 53:3	happen	high-level	27:14,19,25
59:17 64:24	145:11	176:14	28:21 32:7
76:11 114:14	happened	highlighted	33:16,18,23
123:3 133:25	41:9 100:9	108:12,14	34:3,7 35:18
142:4 147:18,	144:2 146:8	Hillsborough	36:1,15,18
20 171:3	happening	140:23 141:4	37:3,21
guidance	37:19	hire	38:11,17,19,
50:12,24	harder	55:14 171:20	22 57:3
51:20 52:2	127:5	172:22	79:14,21 80:6
54:25 55:19	head	173:16,20,23	81:17 82:3,
58:4 59:9	98:20	hired	16,20 83:5
60:12 62:25	hear	62:1,17	84:5,11,15,24
68:14 71:6,21	37:2 149:2,14	hiring	85:11 87:17,
75:7 76:19	heard	57:23 64:7	19,25 88:3,9,
78:20 84:20	27:19,20	66:4,10,15	15 90:18
85:7 86:7	hearing	174:9	93:6,9,17,24
112:7 116:7	95:23 104:5	Hispanic	94:14,25
118:10 176:22	held	120:19	95:10 100:24
179:24 181:21	19:14,16	history	102:13 104:3,
183:24	85:15 124:22	64:6,14	5,13 114:16
Gulf		honestly	121:19 126:1,
136:20			7,8,11,16,19
			135:14 136:3,
			18,22 137:13

<p>138:2,6,22 139:1,3,21,24 140:3,18 142:3,17 145:16,18 146:3,15 148:1,7,8,13, 18 149:17 154:4 156:21 157:7,13,15, 19 158:2 161:8 164:3, 4,11,12,13</p> <p>House's 25:3 38:20 87:22 102:25 126:11</p> <p>huge 152:11</p> <p>Hull 122:20</p> <p>hundred 106:13</p> <p>hundreds 30:19 31:5 89:2</p> <hr/> <p>I</p> <hr/> <p>idea 12:15 13:3 55:14 66:5, 10,16 87:15, 20,22,24 125:19,23 126:3 179:6</p> <p>ideas 12:9 27:23</p> <p>identification 7:12 11:7</p>	<p>15:14 20:16 40:2 45:6 65:3 70:13 72:21 74:14 76:21 77:19 80:15 83:14 87:5 90:6 94:18 99:2 103:18 107:23 110:13 111:10 112:11 116:9 118:22 121:15 128:7 152:13 156:16 158:7 159:10 162:2, 22 163:22 167:13</p> <p>identified 8:11 115:10, 12</p> <p>identify 170:16</p> <p>immediately 162:25</p> <p>imminent 88:7</p> <p>impact 145:3 147:9</p> <p>implementation 189:20,21</p> <p>implementing 189:7,9</p> <p>implicated 133:11</p> <p>implication 25:21</p> <p>implying 160:9</p> <p>impose</p>	<p>103:12</p> <p>improperly 63:21</p> <p>improve 133:21</p> <p>improved 30:8,10 133:22,25 135:1,16 137:1</p> <p>improvement 134:6 135:23</p> <p>improvements 30:11 135:6, 19</p> <p>improving 134:12</p> <p>in-depth 151:20</p> <p>in-house 59:21</p> <p>incensed 21:8</p> <p>include 28:21 30:13</p> <p>included 20:23 141:2</p> <p>includes 168:20</p> <p>including 12:22 70:17 83:24 120:18 134:7 164:8, 18</p> <p>incorporate 133:16</p> <p>incorrectly 45:15</p>	<p>Independent 164:9</p> <p>indiscernible 67:17</p> <p>individual 10:17 43:20 98:8 106:4 109:12 181:13,14</p> <p>individual's 98:16</p> <p>individually 106:23</p> <p>individuals 8:2 42:8 43:21 95:9 155:16</p> <p>inform 26:14</p> <p>information 46:17 49:11 78:16 96:16 97:8,19 120:9 171:12,24</p> <p>information's 44:14</p> <p>initial 12:4 19:6,9 27:1</p> <p>initiate 24:14</p> <p>inquiry 10:3</p> <p>inside 175:2</p> <p>insistence 157:11</p> <p>instance</p>
--	---	--	--

<p>127:25</p> <p>institution</p> <p>65:12 79:8</p> <p>instruct</p> <p>86:6 115:22</p> <p>instructed</p> <p>70:25</p> <p>instruction</p> <p>12:18,24</p> <p>13:23 14:6</p> <p>15:7 18:5,12,</p> <p>23 19:24 20:9</p> <p>21:17 24:21</p> <p>40:19 41:16,</p> <p>17 42:21</p> <p>43:15 44:13</p> <p>46:25 47:6</p> <p>48:11,21,25</p> <p>49:8 50:5,21</p> <p>51:18 52:1,8</p> <p>54:5,14,22</p> <p>55:16,24</p> <p>56:12,16,24</p> <p>57:8 58:2,12</p> <p>59:6,24 60:9</p> <p>61:5 62:5,24</p> <p>63:24 64:10</p> <p>65:14 68:11</p> <p>69:10 70:1</p> <p>71:3,17 72:2</p> <p>75:4 76:15</p> <p>78:18 81:2,</p> <p>20,22 84:17</p> <p>85:4 89:18</p> <p>92:1 94:7</p> <p>109:6 111:5</p> <p>112:6 116:2</p> <p>118:7 125:1,</p> <p>25 134:22</p> <p>135:12 158:25</p> <p>178:23 179:19</p>	<p>180:6 181:17</p> <p>182:5 183:10,</p> <p>19 184:25</p> <p>instructions</p> <p>6:22 14:24</p> <p>56:9,22</p> <p>115:23</p> <p>instrument</p> <p>180:17</p> <p>intact</p> <p>21:10</p> <p>intend</p> <p>72:18</p> <p>intended</p> <p>163:24</p> <p>intent</p> <p>120:25</p> <p>interest</p> <p>123:15 132:8</p> <p>150:6,15</p> <p>151:4,7 152:6</p> <p>153:2,6,10,</p> <p>14,16,20,21</p> <p>interested</p> <p>58:9 124:6</p> <p>interests</p> <p>122:4,7,22,25</p> <p>123:8,12</p> <p>internal</p> <p>12:19 15:10</p> <p>20:1,10 40:20</p> <p>42:23 43:17</p> <p>54:23 55:18</p> <p>58:3 60:11</p> <p>63:1 68:13</p> <p>71:4,19 75:6</p> <p>76:17 78:19</p> <p>84:19 85:6</p> <p>96:8 99:9</p>	<p>109:8 112:8</p> <p>116:6 118:9</p> <p>144:25 171:13</p> <p>179:22 181:20</p> <p>183:23</p> <p>internally</p> <p>41:10</p> <p>interpose</p> <p>7:22</p> <p>interpreted</p> <p>33:21,25</p> <p>intersected</p> <p>141:7,8</p> <p>interstate</p> <p>32:15</p> <p>intervening</p> <p>131:21</p> <p>invite</p> <p>39:20 43:3,5</p> <p>44:1</p> <p>invited</p> <p>93:9 143:6,9</p> <p>146:6</p> <p>inviting</p> <p>100:21</p> <p>involved</p> <p>14:4,11 29:8</p> <p>60:22 174:12,</p> <p>15 179:3</p> <p>180:3 181:7,</p> <p>11</p> <p>issue</p> <p>29:20 80:5</p> <p>93:7 98:10</p> <p>133:7 148:11</p> <p>160:23</p> <p>issues</p> <p>8:11 22:15</p> <p>30:3 31:8,13</p>	<p>iteration</p> <p>130:23</p> <hr/> <p>J</p> <hr/> <p>Jacksonville</p> <p>89:3</p> <p>James</p> <p>6:12 15:24</p> <p>16:7 23:17</p> <p>106:2 137:23</p> <p>165:12</p> <p>January</p> <p>15:16 22:1,17</p> <p>23:4 24:10</p> <p>25:6,12 28:6,</p> <p>19 29:2 30:13</p> <p>39:13 42:2</p> <p>43:8 44:5</p> <p>45:9 46:21</p> <p>55:12 68:4</p> <p>70:20 74:3</p> <p>77:23 80:19</p> <p>83:25 86:19</p> <p>157:17</p> <p>Jason</p> <p>40:11</p> <p>Jay</p> <p>142:20</p> <p>Jazil</p> <p>7:21 8:22</p> <p>12:17 13:9,23</p> <p>14:5 15:6</p> <p>17:17 18:4,</p> <p>11,21 19:23</p> <p>20:8 21:16</p> <p>24:20 37:24</p> <p>40:9,18 41:7</p> <p>42:8,20 43:14</p> <p>44:12 46:24</p> <p>47:5,22 48:8,</p>
---	---	--	--

10,20 49:7,17 50:4,20 51:17,25 52:7 54:4,13,22 55:15,23 56:4,11,23 57:7 58:1,11, 14,20 59:5,23 60:9,16 61:1, 16,19 62:4,23 63:23 64:9 65:13 66:8 68:10 69:9,25 70:18,23 71:2,16 72:3, 25 73:9,21 74:3 75:3,9 76:14 78:17, 22 80:19,25 81:1,19 83:24 84:16,24 85:3,14 86:13 87:2 89:17 91:1,18,25 94:6 103:12 109:5 111:4, 13,19 112:5 116:1,14,15, 16 118:6 119:15,20,23 120:2 124:25 125:9,24 126:4 127:2 131:25 134:21 135:11 137:7 148:4 150:16 151:8,13 158:4,24 160:14 166:3, 6,15 171:11, 23 172:4,24 178:22 179:18	180:5,14,19, 21 181:16 182:4 183:9, 18 184:24 Joe 172:6 John 95:12,14,15, 22 join 33:18 joining 58:16 Josh 142:25 143:1 145:22 165:15 Joshua 20:20 Jr 11:10,20,24 Judge 18:23 72:5 judgment 135:7 jump 55:2 juncture 30:15 Justice 94:11 98:3 <hr/> K <hr/> Kaplan 20:21 keeping 109:2 Kelly 6:12,17 7:14	8:4,8 10:2 11:9 12:17 18:15 20:18 40:11,24 41:20 55:1,9 60:15,20 65:5 68:1 70:15 72:23 74:2 77:21 80:17 83:16 87:7 89:23 90:8 94:20 99:4 103:10,20 107:25 110:15 111:12 112:6, 13 113:18 116:11 118:24 121:17 128:9 137:12 139:2 145:20 150:25 152:15 156:18 158:12 159:12 162:6,24 163:24 167:5 kick-off 67:21,25 kicked 43:12 kickoff 39:14 40:7 43:12 kind 37:6 48:2 72:9 119:10 123:3 141:10 170:12 189:10 knew 58:25 59:18, 21 60:8 knowledge	8:10 17:23 24:9 55:21 63:17 65:18 77:2 82:15 98:7 101:2 121:3 146:5 165:25 175:25 188:8 Kopelousos 11:11,12,13, 14,17 12:4 13:19 106:2 143:4 165:12 <hr/> L <hr/> laid 88:5 language 160:12 large 71:7 123:21 165:17 largely 21:10 late 21:8 86:19 Laurel 173:19 law 13:25 21:1 116:4 123:6, 16 124:13 130:22 180:20 lawsuit 144:21 lawyer 48:22 150:22 lawyer's 85:24,25
--	---	---	--

<p>lawyers 9:16 29:21,24 41:11,12 44:23 48:12 82:21 85:16, 21 142:25 151:16 165:14 172:25 173:3 180:22,24 188:16</p> <p>lay 100:17 160:8</p> <p>lead 29:14,17</p> <p>leadership 80:6 148:13, 18 154:15 155:5 187:17</p> <p>leave 111:3</p> <p>leaving 21:10</p> <p>led 157:12</p> <p>Leda 139:2 145:20</p> <p>Lee 173:19</p> <p>Leek 145:20</p> <p>legal 14:9,15 22:10 31:18 32:3 43:23 44:16 77:25 78:24 88:7 93:14 94:5 99:9 124:2 131:19, 24 140:10,13</p>	<p>150:12,20 151:19,20,25 152:1 153:25 154:1 170:10 180:23</p> <p>legis- 75:25</p> <p>legislation 17:20</p> <p>legislative 11:18,25 13:5 17:21 18:24 26:22,24 37:3 41:14,17 85:17,23 86:5 102:1 134:24 143:5 171:25 172:3 182:7</p> <p>legislator 143:9 146:6</p> <p>legislators 104:19 105:9, 13 106:5,16 107:1,6,12 109:12,15,21, 25</p> <p>legislature 12:9,11,16,23 13:8,20 14:1 19:19 21:9, 14,20 22:3 25:9 28:7 29:17,20 30:9,12 35:13 39:3 49:10 56:5,13,25 57:15,21 62:3,10,12 66:3,6,14,19 69:4 73:6,12</p>	<p>74:18 75:2, 12,16 76:1 77:14,23 79:10,17,25 80:2,21 81:13 82:14 88:8 92:6,10,18,22 93:1 104:24 105:25 110:17 120:23 121:5 125:16,21 126:24 127:7, 8 130:8 136:14 139:6, 13 141:19 142:8 147:22 149:24,25 152:6 153:10, 17 158:14 169:10 174:3, 6,7 183:8,16 186:15,21 189:5,15,24 190:3,6,13,14</p> <p>legislature's 14:20 18:9 20:6 25:13 52:15 77:13 79:6 104:20 108:6,15 109:23 128:22 129:16 130:12 131:3 132:16 135:8 139:16 151:2 153:8, 19 182:14</p> <p>length 135:15</p> <p>Leon 89:4</p>	<p>let alone 28:18</p> <p>letter 55:22 87:8,12 88:6,20 90:2, 4 124:4,17 128:16</p> <p>letting 60:21</p> <p>level 30:19 56:2 94:9,16 98:1, 6 114:2,8 150:19 179:8</p> <p>light 64:7</p> <p>limited 12:22 26:16, 19 30:1 188:17</p> <p>lines 56:20 134:11 141:1,9</p> <p>Linkedin 11:24</p> <p>list 8:13 44:1 77:9 78:4,12 108:14 110:23 158:20</p> <p>listed 68:17 117:6 127:2</p> <p>listen 37:1 61:7 92:23</p> <p>Listened 27:18</p>
--	--	--	---

listening 144:9	31:1 36:15 50:17 63:25 74:7 77:2 88:18 91:20 106:15 112:3 121:21 125:4 134:7 135:6, 19 143:19,24 156:7,11	16:11 26:2 30:5,8,16,18, 20 31:2,5,6 33:9 34:20 56:7,10,17 57:12,17 63:21 70:6 77:10 78:7 83:3 84:5 90:24 91:16 92:23,24 93:2 106:17 111:1 112:21,22 113:20 114:11,20 122:24 125:17,20,21 127:3,13,19 131:12,13,19 133:23 134:8, 9,13 135:1,23 136:4,6,7,10, 12,21 138:12 142:10 143:13,14,16, 23,24 144:4 145:6 146:12, 20 149:22 151:22 153:18,22 158:15 160:6, 10,24 161:3, 14 162:15,25 173:24 174:10,12 175:19 182:7, 14 183:5,6	map-drawers 69:21 mapmaker 152:7 161:22 mapmaking 67:9 91:24 maps 12:8,12,16 13:8,20 14:1 15:17,19 21:9,20 23:13 25:9,10,15 26:4,7 30:9 32:12 35:12, 14 37:7 57:14,19,20, 22 59:19 70:22 77:8 115:10,12 118:14 134:6 135:20 138:4 141:14 157:5, 20 March 31:25 116:14 126:24 127:8, 15 128:10 marked 7:11 11:6 15:13 20:15 40:1 45:5 65:2 67:15 70:12 72:20 74:13 76:20 77:18 80:14 83:13 87:4 90:5 94:17 99:1 103:17 107:22 110:12 111:9 112:10 116:8,23
lists 133:3			
literal 108:9			
literally 14:10 65:19, 23 126:10			
litigation 70:17 94:22 99:6 108:2	madness 158:9		
local 156:8	main 26:18 30:7 165:10		
logic 15:19	major 136:15 141:1		
logistics 101:16	majority 89:6 104:24, 25 105:1,24 123:22 124:7 155:3 157:8 158:3 187:15		
long 186:12			
looked 57:21 98:17 159:3	make 9:3 26:10 32:21,24 50:1,4 53:19 135:7,23 139:13 140:18 145:5 146:23 147:13 166:24		
lot 37:6,8,12 61:18 71:22 102:14 141:6 146:20 149:24	makes 6:20 176:6		
loud 21:6 96:21	making 123:1 131:4		
low 122:19	mandates 88:25	map-drawer 43:7 57:25 58:9 76:10 150:23 151:22 153:6 169:20	
lunch 121:13 137:6	manner 7:5 136:3		
<hr/> M <hr/>	map		
made 12:21 21:19			

<p>118:21 121:14 128:6 152:12 156:15 158:6 159:9 162:1, 21 163:21 167:12</p> <p>markings 162:12</p> <p>Marsh 12:18,24 13:23 14:6 15:7 18:4,11, 23 19:23 20:8 21:17 24:20 40:19,24 41:16 42:21 43:15 44:13 46:24 47:5 48:10,21,24 49:8 50:4,9, 21 51:18 52:1,8 54:4, 13 55:15,24 56:12,24 57:8 58:1,12,18 59:6,24 60:9 61:5 62:4,24 63:23 64:9 65:14 68:11 69:10 70:1 71:3,16 72:2, 6 75:4 76:14 78:18 81:2,20 84:17 85:4,13 89:17 91:25 94:7 109:5 111:5 112:6 116:1 118:7 124:25 125:24 134:22 135:12 158:25 178:23</p>	<p>179:19 180:6 181:16 182:5, 21 183:9,19 184:25</p> <p>Marsh's 18:24 85:18</p> <p>Mat 23:16,18 27:19 82:15 88:2 139:2 148:23</p> <p>matches 73:22</p> <p>material 61:19</p> <p>materials 27:5 33:3,6 143:18</p> <p>matter 8:12 41:1,8 66:15 77:13 173:7 174:24 180:20</p> <p>matters 166:13</p> <p>means 7:3 135:23 151:12 157:15 161:3,5 167:23</p> <p>meant 100:20 167:24</p> <p>meantime 162:4</p> <p>media 92:4 156:5</p> <p>meet 24:19 31:7,12 71:14 110:4</p>	<p>150:5 151:4</p> <p>meeting 23:16 24:3,8, 11,14 25:6,7, 12,19,22 26:5,8,11,13 27:5,8,11,16, 17,18,25 29:4,7,12 31:15,17,20 32:1,5,9,18, 22,25 33:4,13 34:18,23 35:6 36:17 38:6 39:20 40:17 41:3,4,6,8,10 42:4 43:2,9 46:21 67:21, 25 68:3,6,9, 17,19,20 79:14 86:15, 18,21,24 93:21 98:15 99:17 100:1, 2,4 101:1,15 102:19,22,24 103:5 106:9 110:7 115:15 126:22 137:22 138:4,5,20,24 139:4,9,23 140:3,4,5,7, 8,10 141:18 142:5,12,17, 19 143:2,5, 12,18,25 144:2,10,18, 21,25 145:6, 9,12,14,15, 19,23 146:2, 6,9,10,11,25 147:13,17</p>	<p>148:23 149:3, 4,15 151:1</p> <p>meetings 22:9,13,20 23:2,3,7,8, 11,15 28:5, 17,20,24 31:17,19 33:15 34:6, 13,15,25 36:20 37:21, 25 38:2 39:1 68:23 69:12 82:6,8,10 106:5,7,8,10 107:1,6,11,19 109:11,21 138:2 140:2 142:2,6 145:25 149:7 154:3</p> <p>member 139:5 143:3 146:3 186:25 189:24 190:12</p> <p>members 33:23 34:3 70:18 83:24 105:1,2 148:25 149:16 157:18 169:11 190:9</p> <p>memo 76:23 77:4 121:18,23,25 124:12 128:9 129:13 131:11,22,23 132:6,12,13 133:11</p>
--	--	--	--

memorandum 14:15 25:17 77:16 129:25 132:25 133:3, 4 150:12,20 151:19 177:3, 5,8	158:9 methodology 32:11 metrics 163:4 164:10 Michael 97:13,15 Michelle 23:16,23,24 27:19 micro 30:19 mid-september 12:14 miles 89:2 Miller 11:10,20,24 12:6 13:11 Miller's 12:3 mind 11:2 12:3 28:19 35:24 91:5 104:14 115:8 148:2 149:18 mine 126:10 minimis 30:25 minor 136:13 minority 63:22 123:20 145:3 147:9 minute 108:20 190:17	minutes 55:10 misunderstandin g 113:3 mixing 113:7,8,11 Mo 23:17 40:23 68:20 84:3,4 86:13 170:21 171:7 179:15 modest 21:11 moment 95:2 164:1 185:11 moments 99:11 months 22:22 morning 6:17,18 84:6 move 20:14 132:4 multiple 31:19 130:23 133:21 Murphy 19:15 <hr/> N <hr/> named 11:10 94:15 98:5 113:20, 22 names 48:11 113:7,8	napkin 185:20 narrowly 150:5 151:3 153:24 National 51:10,14 154:10,25 155:7 187:8, 12,19 nationally 157:3 nature 64:1 79:23 neatly 158:11 needle 130:13 negative 60:1 netted 157:5,25 Newman 72:25 77:24 78:12,15 83:23 84:2 86:10 99:7 103:21 110:16,22 111:13 121:18,25 123:1 128:10, 16 131:12,22 137:23 158:13,19 159:6,17 165:14 Newman's 14:15
--	---	--	---

news 17:10,11,13, 16 103:23	167:10 noun 183:2	63:24 66:12 observer 160:8	25:23 26:11 27:4 28:22 29:15,19 30:12 31:7,12 32:21,25 33:2,6 34:7 35:9 36:2,3, 11,19 37:20 39:2 41:11, 12,22 42:1, 13,17 43:6,22 44:10 45:9 46:22 47:3, 10,18 48:9,18 49:1,4,6,24 50:2,18 51:8, 12,15,24 52:24 53:1,2, 10,17,20 54:7,23 57:11,23 58:7,10,15,17 59:20 60:3,11 62:1,14,16,20 63:2,16,20 65:10 66:2,4, 7,10,13,18 68:21,25 69:14,22 70:4,16,24 71:4,19 72:24 73:2 75:6,15 76:17 77:12 78:1,19 79:16 80:18,20 82:2,13,25 83:2,18,20 84:19 85:6, 11,20 86:1 87:10,15 89:8,14,25 90:17 92:5,9
nice 141:7	November 156:19	obtained 39:20	
Nick 142:24,25 145:22 165:15	number 21:19 22:7 30:10 87:2 111:21 117:12 119:2 120:16 130:10 165:17,18 178:6	obvious 147:20	
night 101:3 115:4		occur 24:8	
noncompact 124:3		occurred 28:6 29:2 31:10,23 34:13 140:2	
noncompactness 124:3	numbered 122:1	occurring 27:7 45:19 128:4	
nondiminishment 88:25 123:23 124:8,18 127:21 130:5 131:15	numbers 113:12	October 20:20	
nondisclosure 164:23	numerical 124:22	offer 151:25 186:8	
nonracial 122:15	numerous 35:13 121:10 134:25	offered 83:1	
Nordby 32:2 84:12 86:16 138:25 148:24	<hr/> O <hr/>	offering 128:11 150:13 152:1	
North 136:9,11,15, 21	oath 6:24	office 6:10,11 7:15, 16,19,25 8:3, 9,21,23 9:1, 3,7,15,16,19, 21 12:14,20 13:6,14 14:8, 19,25 15:1,3, 16 17:10,12, 15,24 19:20 20:1,4,11 21:18 22:14, 21 23:24 24:14,16,18	
Northern 89:1	object 13:9 51:25 61:5,7 62:23 66:8 72:1,3 91:1,18 125:9 131:25 148:4 150:16 151:8, 13 158:4 160:14		
note 89:18			
noted 159:2	objecting 61:20,21		
notice 7:9,14 10:3	objection 7:22 8:13		

<p>93:6,9 94:3, 21 95:8 96:8, 9,18 97:3,24 98:8,9,21,23 99:6 100:12 101:10,11,17, 20,24 102:3, 11 103:21,25 104:18,23 105:6,8,12, 20,24 106:1, 15 108:2 109:2,14,24 110:3,4,18 111:7 112:2, 9,14,21 114:25 115:22 116:6,12 118:3,9,18,25 119:3 121:18 123:10,24 124:10,20 125:6,19 126:6,14,20 130:24 132:9, 14,23 133:17 134:1,17 135:7 136:2, 18 137:21,25 139:6 140:16, 17 141:13,21 142:10 143:3 146:3 148:20 149:10 152:3 154:4,9,21 155:17 159:6, 7,8,13,15 160:10 162:8 163:14 164:22 165:1,4,10,22 166:19 167:7, 11,25 168:2,</p>	<p>5,6,17,18,19 169:6,8,18, 22,25 170:2, 3,11,19 171:10,14,18 172:11,16,21, 22 173:3,4, 17,23 174:10, 12,15,18,22 175:2,4,5 176:10,11 177:6,7,15 178:17,20 179:2,3,5,7, 23 180:7,8, 16,17,21,24, 25 181:10,21, 24 182:1,2,9, 17,20,22,23 183:23 184:3, 9,18,23 188:10,13,21, 22 189:1,16, 17,19 190:12</p> <p>office's 23:12 25:9 30:16 66:20 97:9 105:14 124:1</p> <p>Officer 52:6</p> <p>Offices' 128:12</p> <p>official 55:22 108:5 152:19 154:15</p> <p>officially 9:13</p> <p>officials 34:2,4,5,11</p>	<p>one-on-one 106:4</p> <p>open 27:24 117:4</p> <p>openly 156:6</p> <p>operative 160:5</p> <p>opinion 88:1,17 90:9, 11,15,25 91:11,14 128:12 130:1 132:10 153:25</p> <p>opinions 141:24 150:3 151:5,21,25 152:2</p> <p>opportunity 83:1</p> <p>opposed 66:10</p> <p>option 96:3</p> <p>options 138:21 139:10,19</p> <p>order 18:24 40:24 58:18 85:13, 18 90:19 91:13,23 92:8 182:21</p> <p>organization 77:9 78:5 110:24</p> <p>original 163:11</p>	<p>originally 40:8</p> <p>originated 183:8 184:3,9</p> <p>Orlando 19:12</p> <p>out-of-state 39:15</p> <p>outcome 27:10</p> <p>outlet 20:19</p> <p>outline 124:2 158:11</p> <p>outlined 25:15,16</p> <p>outlining 14:10 124:18</p> <p>outlying 140:22</p> <p>outreach 104:18,22 105:8,25 110:4</p> <p>outsource 59:20 60:4</p> <p>Oversight 83:20 112:15 162:10</p> <p>owe 157:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <hr/> <p>p.m. 137:9,10 167:1,2 190:21,22</p>
---	--	--	--

<p>pages 117:11 162:14</p> <p>paid 175:20 176:1, 2</p> <p>panel 104:3</p> <p>Panhandle 30:22</p> <p>papers 143:18</p> <p>paragraph 19:5,8 21:6 39:20,24 67:21 77:6 88:21 122:9, 12 123:4,18 152:22</p> <p>paragraphs 21:4 123:2 157:1</p> <p>parenthetical 89:19</p> <p>parse 178:11</p> <p>part 22:11 26:18 30:21 43:22 49:4,18,23 50:20 53:16 68:20 72:7 77:7 124:5 159:8 171:2 174:1,7 180:4,10</p> <p>participants 44:2</p> <p>participated 39:13</p>	<p>parties 16:15 17:5 54:16 186:15, 21</p> <p>partisan 56:17 62:22 63:8 65:8,12</p> <p>Partners 155:10 187:22</p> <p>party 12:22 58:16, 19 66:14,20 75:16 81:13 128:2 154:23 155:14,24 156:2,9 157:4 166:18 185:17,23 186:3,7,10 187:10,25</p> <p>pass 151:3</p> <p>passed 104:6,11,12 108:7 125:16 126:25 127:8 144:22 147:24</p> <p>passes 70:23</p> <p>passing 103:23</p> <p>past 128:1 170:13, 15</p> <p>pause 64:7</p> <p>pay 170:10</p> <p>paying</p>	<p>168:21</p> <p>payment 176:4</p> <p>PDF 74:6 119:1</p> <p>Pennsylvania 156:9</p> <p>people 9:13,15,21 101:9 163:14 165:18 183:3</p> <p>percent 121:21 124:8, 13</p> <p>percentage 164:8</p> <p>perfect 114:13 134:15 166:5</p> <p>perform 130:24 177:22,25</p> <p>performing 90:25 91:17</p> <p>period 21:24 22:16</p> <p>person 8:8 29:16 47:17 77:9 78:5 103:9 106:11 110:24 153:17 163:16 165:10</p> <p>person's 48:3</p> <p>personal 176:9</p> <p>personally</p>	<p>14:4 35:7 54:8 95:13 110:7,9</p> <p>personnel 8:10</p> <p>perspective 54:6 98:3</p> <p>pertain 144:24</p> <p>pertinent 165:23</p> <p>petty 160:7</p> <p>phone 82:9 106:8,11</p> <p>phrase 161:3</p> <p>physical 28:23 33:3 106:10 143:17</p> <p>pickup 157:12</p> <p>picture 142:21</p> <p>pieces 17:19</p> <p>Pinellas 141:3,4</p> <p>pitch 106:15</p> <p>place 32:4 41:4,8 55:6 68:3 103:15 106:9 137:9 167:1 190:21</p> <p>places 35:20,23</p>
---	---	--	---

plain 88:5	17,19,21 134:1,4,15,19 135:8 137:19 138:11,14,17 139:11,20,22 140:11,14,17 141:18,19,21 142:4,11,14 144:11,22 147:1,5,14 148:2 149:11, 14,19 155:23, 25 158:15 161:22 163:3, 25 164:2,6,7 177:23 179:10,12,14, 17 184:16,17 185:7 188:6 189:2,8,9,20	70:10 71:15, 25 72:18 74:4,24,25 75:11,16 77:14 111:21 114:17 115:25 116:25 117:19 119:15 120:18 121:9 125:20 137:14,18,19 138:19 139:12,14 140:8 149:5 150:1 160:25 174:16 176:8, 12,22 178:2, 4,8,14,16,21 181:8,11 183:7,15 184:3,8,15,21 185:1,5 190:2,13	133:7 points 25:16 policies 77:3 policy 42:17 170:5,6 political 56:19 122:3, 21 160:5 161:18 164:18 Politico 156:19 159:19 Polk 19:10 Polsby-popper 122:20 Popper 83:4 93:17,23 94:4,9 95:9 97:23 98:1 99:7,18,24 100:12,21,23 101:13,17,24 102:3,4,8,10 104:6 121:20 Popper's 102:7,12 103:1,6,25 104:8,14 population 52:14 118:20 120:19,20,24 130:11 portal 73:12 portion 81:25 85:17 168:23
plainly 90:4			
plaintiffs 8:1			
plan 25:1 36:21 38:13 45:18 47:9 49:13 50:18 54:18 57:6 65:8,11, 16,20,24 66:1 69:6,13,17,21 70:5,6 73:6, 7,17 74:9,16, 17,18,21 75:1,19,20,22 76:3,4,13 77:22 79:3,7, 10,17,21 80:1,3,7,13, 21 81:17 82:4,22,24 92:18 104:6, 11 106:19,20, 24 108:6,16 109:3,13,17, 23,24 110:17, 22 111:22,23 112:18 113:2, 4,5,6,9,13,22 114:4,5,21,25 115:4,6 117:5,20,21 125:16,17 127:9 128:2, 13,22 129:3, 4,7,16,21 130:4 132:16, 24,25 133:13,	plan's 145:2 147:9 planned 101:18 145:8 147:16 planning 13:7 84:7 86:11 plans 16:15 17:4,5 18:10 20:6 21:14,25 28:1 46:23 47:4,17 49:5,16,23 50:3 51:9 53:9,17,20 54:11 59:1,3 62:2,9,11,20 63:8,13 64:18,20,23 65:22 69:4,23	play 42:18 54:2 169:21,22 played 169:16 pleasure 180:10 plural 57:19 point 8:8 29:12 30:14 37:15 41:2,20 42:2 47:16 57:10, 11 69:5 103:11 141:8 148:1 pointing	

<p>portions 102:23</p> <p>POSAMATO 167:4,14 171:16 172:8, 9 173:9 177:4 178:24 180:1, 13,15,20 181:3,5,22 182:11 183:14 184:1 185:2 190:16,20</p> <p>posed 35:21</p> <p>position 88:10 93:14 104:20 123:25 124:11 131:19,24 134:10 180:15</p> <p>positions 14:9</p> <p>posture 37:4</p> <p>posturing 37:11</p> <p>potential 19:18</p> <p>potentially 172:12 186:11</p> <p>practical 8:12</p> <p>practices 79:22</p> <p>Praise 16:12</p> <p>praising 157:3</p>	<p>Pratt 73:1 111:13</p> <p>precedent 89:15 90:1 131:21</p> <p>preferred 36:3 149:12</p> <p>prep 101:14</p> <p>preparation 155:18 168:24</p> <p>prepare 10:16,19</p> <p>prepared 10:9,25 118:17,19 168:10,14</p> <p>present 10:22 11:3 12:8,16 13:8 24:6 68:25 101:7 125:18 126:22 141:22 151:22</p> <p>presentation 27:5 76:1 142:8 149:23 152:5,16 153:13</p> <p>presentations 33:3 57:2 59:7 140:6 143:19</p> <p>presented 14:7 139:12, 18 142:4</p> <p>presenting 143:15 146:24 147:20 161:7</p>	<p>presume 66:8 74:25</p> <p>pretty 15:17 21:21 22:7 30:6 35:11 36:13 79:13 92:25 102:23 165:12 170:5,7</p> <p>preview 143:15</p> <p>previously 62:2 86:15 89:7,9</p> <p>primarily 69:18 81:11 102:7,8</p> <p>primary 125:17,20 127:9,13,19 128:13,22,24 129:2,3,16 130:4 132:16, 24 133:13 134:19 136:7, 10</p> <p>Princeton 65:6</p> <p>principles 122:17</p> <p>print 20:23</p> <p>printed 74:6 108:13 119:1,6</p> <p>printing 162:14</p> <p>printout 65:6 143:22,</p>	<p>23</p> <p>prior 31:11 34:18 42:3 43:9 140:6</p> <p>privately 92:13</p> <p>privilege 17:21 18:24 41:14,16 49:19 50:5 61:21 66:9,12 78:23 81:3 85:5,17,22,24 86:3,5 111:6 159:1 171:24, 25 172:2,3 173:12</p> <p>privilege-based 41:17</p> <p>privileged 61:18 171:12</p> <p>probability 91:4</p> <p>problem 8:12 135:9 163:13</p> <p>problems 21:20,21 27:2</p> <p>procedures 77:3</p> <p>proceed 8:15</p> <p>proceedings 6:1</p> <p>process 14:11 24:25 25:2 26:24 35:17 37:3,5,</p>
--	--	---	---

<p>9,11,14,15 42:19 46:18 54:3,9 59:9, 10 69:3,20 95:18 108:4 119:12 134:5 153:22 165:22 169:17 171:21 172:23 174:1 175:9,13 176:7,9,12,15 179:9,16 180:4 181:9 185:19,25 186:5,9,16,22 188:3,11 189:10,15,25</p> <p>process- oriented 37:12</p> <p>produce 118:4</p> <p>produced 15:23 45:9 52:14 70:16 72:24 74:5 80:18 83:17, 18 87:10 99:5 103:21 108:2, 3 112:14 116:12 118:15,24 119:1 121:17 129:12 159:13 162:7 164:3</p> <p>product 184:22</p> <p>professional 94:9</p> <p>progressed</p>	<p>141:19</p> <p>progression 134:12</p> <p>Project 65:7 155:3 187:15</p> <p>promise 72:18 109:14</p> <p>pronounce 111:15</p> <p>pronouncing 45:15</p> <p>proposal 31:1 122:2 147:25 149:2</p> <p>proposals 14:20 15:4 16:12 19:6,9, 21 22:4 105:14 111:22 112:4</p> <p>propose 90:24 91:16</p> <p>proposed 25:1 36:11 122:15 137:14 149:21 183:16 190:3</p> <p>Propublica 20:19 39:8,21 67:14</p> <p>Propublica's 40:5</p> <p>protect 93:3</p> <p>protected 41:13,15 50:8</p> <p>protection</p>	<p>25:14 100:19 124:15 127:23 131:16</p> <p>provide 41:24 46:17 52:12 59:8 82:24 101:20 168:1 176:17, 19,21 181:24 182:1 185:13</p> <p>provided 14:9 35:16 53:11 69:18, 19 71:24 72:4 80:24 83:5 94:21 100:17 101:24 102:17 117:12,25 118:13 119:11 120:10,11 121:8 150:21 162:9 163:11, 18 164:11,12 165:3,4 182:13</p> <p>providing 53:24 101:25 163:2 164:5</p> <p>provision 123:23 124:9 127:21</p> <p>public 12:21 14:7 15:8,17 30:7 40:4 41:1,3,8 44:14 48:12 49:18 51:2 72:7 77:2 83:19 92:25 98:14 108:1,3 112:13 113:2,</p>	<p>22 114:4 121:21 162:7, 13 183:12</p> <p>public's 79:2,4</p> <p>publicly 14:8 35:11 49:9 54:8 57:10,11 59:7 87:11 92:4,5, 12 141:22</p> <p>published 20:20 21:18 22:7,11 31:6 33:9 142:11 156:19</p> <p>pull 7:8 45:4</p> <p>pulled 119:12</p> <p>pulling 163:15</p> <p>pundits 19:17</p> <p>purely 26:13 68:13</p> <p>purpose 23:10 25:7 32:9 68:9 84:9 130:16 139:8 143:11</p> <p>purposes 72:12 166:19</p> <p>put 31:1 50:3,19 53:21 72:11 106:18 119:3 133:20 134:9 148:15 158:11</p>
--	---	---	--

<p>160:11 173:21 176:25</p> <p>putting 21:25</p> <hr/> <p>Q</p> <hr/> <p>qualify 124:24</p> <p>question 9:18 12:4,7 15:9 16:23 34:3 35:2,21 42:24 46:1, 10,13 48:1, 14,22 50:14 52:10 59:13, 16,17,25 60:2,16,23,25 61:7,17,20,22 62:15 63:4 65:9 66:12 69:16 71:5,8, 20 72:9 74:20 75:10,13 76:18 81:11, 21,24 88:7,14 89:22 90:4 91:10 102:16 105:4,5,7 109:20 111:24 117:24 122:5, 23 132:5,21, 22 133:25 134:3 136:17 147:12 148:6 150:7,19 151:9,14,15, 16 152:21 153:5,12 155:17 160:3</p>	<p>172:15,17,18 181:4,19 183:22 185:22</p> <p>questioned 40:25</p> <p>questions 7:4 8:15 19:1,25 38:25 41:5 55:3 71:24 92:4 102:15 144:5, 24 146:14,16, 18,19 159:21, 22 161:10 164:20 166:2, 8,9,23 168:25 172:7 188:2 189:6,16</p> <p>quick 108:20</p> <p>quickly 186:18</p> <p>quote 123:5,16 150:13 151:18,19 157:9 161:4</p> <p>quoted 124:4</p> <hr/> <p>R</p> <hr/> <p>race 115:24 117:14 118:1,2 120:18 130:15,16 153:21</p> <p>racial 120:25 121:1,</p>	<p>8</p> <p>raise 6:2 133:11</p> <p>raised 25:11 30:3</p> <p>raising 27:15</p> <p>random 163:16</p> <p>rationale 80:23 81:12</p> <p>raw 120:4</p> <p>reach 24:15 58:7 96:9 97:3 98:8,21 105:21 134:17</p> <p>reached 96:13 105:12 131:5</p> <p>reaction 79:2,4,6 87:19</p> <p>read 10:5,10 16:19,22 19:4,8 21:2,5 39:16,23 67:24 81:25 84:2 88:21,22 90:21 91:3,5, 9 95:2,6 122:13 128:18 132:17 152:23,24 156:25 159:23</p> <p>reading 12:3 21:3</p>	<p>151:18 160:15,19</p> <p>reads 123:19</p> <p>realize 61:18 114:12 129:6 135:5</p> <p>reason 25:4 88:5 100:21 114:3 121:3 129:23 130:3 150:25 158:22</p> <p>reasonable 31:4</p> <p>reasons 97:25</p> <p>recall 25:21 26:12 27:12 32:19, 20,23 33:1 38:23 43:4 44:2 52:12 82:23 88:18 93:11 102:2, 15 105:22 126:17 127:16 144:8 145:4 146:19,20 147:10 152:8</p> <p>receive 66:2,13,18 79:9,16 106:25 107:5 113:20 144:5 146:14</p> <p>received 19:17 65:11 69:23 70:4,5 74:11 88:16</p>
--	---	--	---

<p>103:24 107:10 113:21 176:4 182:16,19,23</p> <p>receiving 179:17</p> <p>recent 33:8</p> <p>recently 16:14 17:3</p> <p>receptive 27:22 80:1,7 103:6,8</p> <p>recess 55:6 103:15 137:9 167:1 190:21</p> <p>recognize 163:19</p> <p>recollection 87:21 104:23</p> <p>recommendation 50:16,18 140:19</p> <p>recommendations 50:2 53:19</p> <p>recommended 140:17</p> <p>reconfigure 153:9</p> <p>record 7:21 8:14 9:4 18:16,20 22:12 23:18 33:22 40:4 41:1,3,8 46:2 48:4,13 67:24 71:23 72:12 73:24 79:14 83:19 84:10</p>	<p>88:21 89:18 98:18 104:1 108:1,4 112:13 120:5 122:13 130:16,20 131:7 137:8 153:19 157:1 160:21 180:6 183:12 190:19</p> <p>record's 61:9</p> <p>records 49:18 71:7 72:7 108:3 112:15 162:7, 13 182:9</p> <p>recounts 104:4</p> <p>redacted 45:11 81:10</p> <p>redirect 166:10</p> <p>redistrict 64:8</p> <p>redistricting 12:8 13:15 14:4,11 18:10 21:14 28:9,13 39:4,5,14 40:7 42:19 44:11 46:23 47:4,22,25 48:19 49:3,23 50:7,8 51:9, 11,14,16 52:6 53:17,25 54:3,9 56:18 59:1 62:2,9 64:18 65:20,</p>	<p>24 66:1 69:3 76:25 77:3 83:5 93:17,24 94:10 95:18 98:2 104:3 108:6,16 115:25 121:19 124:21 128:1, 2 134:5 154:5,10,22 155:3,7,23 156:2,5,8,12 161:14 162:9 164:13,14,24 169:17 170:13,17 171:21 172:23 173:24 174:1 175:9,13 185:19,25 186:4,9,16,22 187:1,15,19 188:3,5,11 189:25 190:9</p> <p>redraw 28:1 36:2 153:8</p> <p>redrawing 157:11</p> <p>reduced 111:21</p> <p>refer 12:23 14:23 64:25 113:4 126:11 150:20</p> <p>reference 14:12 84:10, 11 86:10 123:1 125:11 133:6 160:25</p>	<p>referenced 34:24 82:9,11 95:14 129:2</p> <p>referencing 40:5</p> <p>referred 142:12</p> <p>referring 14:17 83:10 112:1 123:5</p> <p>refers 74:23</p> <p>reflect 177:14</p> <p>reflected 177:9 182:15</p> <p>reflects 177:13,18</p> <p>refresh 129:5</p> <p>refuse 92:18</p> <p>refused 102:4</p> <p>region 19:12 140:21, 22</p> <p>regions 136:23</p> <p>regular 35:3,4 36:8 37:25 38:1,3 39:4</p> <p>regularly 63:12</p> <p>related 13:15 39:5 50:7 53:25</p>
---	--	--	---

<p>75:24 154:5</p> <p>relates</p> <p>7:25 123:16</p> <p>relationship</p> <p>181:1</p> <p>relationships</p> <p>9:22</p> <p>relayed</p> <p>85:10,19</p> <p>release</p> <p>92:8</p> <p>released</p> <p>14:21 15:4</p> <p>16:14 17:4</p> <p>72:6,7 81:17</p> <p>83:20 87:11</p> <p>relevant</p> <p>111:22 112:4</p> <p>167:19 168:12</p> <p>relied</p> <p>32:14 131:3</p> <p>relying</p> <p>182:20</p> <p>remained</p> <p>92:22</p> <p>remember</p> <p>21:3 24:13</p> <p>26:17 27:7</p> <p>29:2,4,9 32:2</p> <p>37:15,19</p> <p>38:17,21,22</p> <p>43:25 44:7,25</p> <p>45:22 48:9</p> <p>49:12,13,14</p> <p>57:17 62:12</p> <p>81:7 88:2</p> <p>98:16,19</p> <p>101:25 106:3</p> <p>110:7 114:15</p>	<p>126:25 128:24</p> <p>142:22 145:25</p> <p>146:16 149:3</p> <p>remind</p> <p>104:10</p> <p>Reock</p> <p>122:19</p> <p>rep</p> <p>8:6 64:1</p> <p>157:13</p> <p>repeat</p> <p>181:4 185:21</p> <p>repetition</p> <p>178:15</p> <p>rephrase</p> <p>9:18 62:15</p> <p>63:4 75:9</p> <p>81:20</p> <p>report</p> <p>164:16 174:25</p> <p>175:1</p> <p>reported</p> <p>175:3</p> <p>reporter</p> <p>20:20</p> <p>reports</p> <p>39:12 161:20</p> <p>164:15,18</p> <p>180:7</p> <p>represent</p> <p>9:16 11:23</p> <p>16:13 73:5</p> <p>116:11 136:8</p> <p>162:6 164:2</p> <p>representation</p> <p>9:3 124:6</p> <p>representative</p> <p>6:10 7:15</p> <p>93:7,10</p>	<p>110:5,10</p> <p>157:23 167:6</p> <p>171:18 179:1</p> <p>representatives</p> <p>9:10,12 23:22</p> <p>24:5 34:8</p> <p>126:1,8 144:7</p> <p>168:7</p> <p>represented</p> <p>166:17 185:15</p> <p>reprisals</p> <p>109:25</p> <p>Republican</p> <p>21:8 51:11,14</p> <p>94:12 98:4</p> <p>105:1,12</p> <p>107:1 109:12</p> <p>154:10,23,25</p> <p>155:5,7,13,23</p> <p>156:2,9</p> <p>157:14,18</p> <p>158:2 164:9</p> <p>187:8,10,12,</p> <p>17,19,25</p> <p>Republican- dominated</p> <p>19:18</p> <p>Republicans</p> <p>20:5 63:14</p> <p>108:15 109:3</p> <p>157:2,5,9,16,</p> <p>20,25</p> <p>request</p> <p>45:18 72:8</p> <p>77:13 87:16</p> <p>90:10 111:20,</p> <p>25 112:17</p> <p>162:8</p> <p>requested</p> <p>81:25</p>	<p>requests</p> <p>26:10 32:22,</p> <p>24 112:15</p> <p>require</p> <p>109:7</p> <p>required</p> <p>89:16 90:3</p> <p>124:23</p> <p>requirement</p> <p>131:15</p> <p>requirements</p> <p>130:6</p> <p>requires</p> <p>122:18</p> <p>reread</p> <p>81:23</p> <p>respect</p> <p>122:3,21</p> <p>189:7,9</p> <p>respective</p> <p>29:22,24</p> <p>respond</p> <p>18:6,13,16</p> <p>27:14 152:22</p> <p>153:4 165:2</p> <p>responded</p> <p>12:11</p> <p>responds</p> <p>13:19</p> <p>response</p> <p>12:5 35:15</p> <p>38:12,17,20</p> <p>96:17 102:25</p> <p>112:17 144:21</p> <p>160:4 162:8,</p> <p>13</p> <p>rest</p> <p>28:6 59:13</p> <p>134:1</p>
--	--	---	---

restate 89:22	93:16	132:8	177:14,16,19, 22,25 179:2, 3,5 180:3,7, 16,23,24 181:7,10,23, 25 184:22 185:18,24 186:2,7,14, 20,24 187:4,7 188:4,7,9,14, 25 189:6,18, 23 190:2,5,8, 11
result 141:5 157:19	Rodrigues 76:24 77:8 142:9,20 144:4,6	scheduled 68:1	
retained 37:22 104:7	role 24:1 42:18 44:15,18,19, 20 46:18 48:18 52:5 53:25 54:2 59:8 66:24 95:17 169:15, 22 173:15,19	scope 175:17	
retaining 37:17		scores 122:18	
retention 89:16 90:2		scroll 70:21 120:17 152:17	
review 49:5 53:9 54:11,20 70:8 71:15 168:22 181:7 183:16 184:2 190:2,5	Ron 6:11 20:24 21:7 157:10	scrutiny 132:8 150:4,8 151:3	
reviewed 10:18 49:16 54:18 184:17	room 161:8	seats 19:19 157:6, 24	Secretary's 168:1,17 169:21,25 170:11 171:9 172:11 174:10,12,15 175:5 176:10, 11 188:21 190:12
reviewing 53:12 174:15 181:11	ruling 125:13	secondary 125:17,20 127:9,13,19 128:13,25 129:7,21 131:12,13,19 132:24 133:13 134:19 136:7, 10	Section 123:22
revised 35:10	run 53:13		seek 8:1 88:1
Rights 124:13,14	Ryan 83:23 121:18 137:23 159:6 165:14	secretary 6:11 53:1 166:13,20 167:7,10 168:5,6,18,20 169:5,15,21 170:16,18 171:18,19,20, 22 172:16,20, 22 173:4,6, 11,14,18,25 174:5,11,14, 18,21,23 175:1,24 176:17,19,21	seeking 84:25
ring 12:1 45:20	<hr/> S <hr/>		Senate 11:4 14:21 15:5 16:14 17:3 19:6,9 21:25 22:12, 13,21 23:4 24:6,25 26:1 31:8,13,21 32:6,11,13, 22,24 33:16, 19 34:7,13, 16,19,25 35:7,9,16,17
risk 178:15	Sabatini 110:5,10		
Road 141:1	sake 18:15		
roadway 32:14	Sandi 81:23		
roadways 32:14 141:9, 10	satisfied 22:3		
Robert	satisfy		

<p>36:1,15,18 37:3,21 38:16 57:3 76:25 79:21 80:11 81:17 82:3,21 84:12 86:14 87:17 88:9 90:18 94:14 114:16 126:16,18 135:14 136:3, 18,22 137:14 138:3,6,22,23 139:21,24 140:4,18 142:3,13,19, 21,23 143:3, 6,12 144:6, 20,24 145:6, 11 146:11 149:10,13,16 152:16 154:4</p> <p>Senate's 19:21 25:1 35:15 38:11 87:19</p> <p>Senator 76:24 77:7 142:9 152:21 153:1</p> <p>senators 16:15 17:4 34:3,9 77:1</p> <p>send 18:2 70:25 93:6,9 94:3 97:24 179:11, 12,14 185:4, 11</p> <p>sending 70:22 73:9,10</p>	<p>senior 51:10</p> <p>sense 6:20</p> <p>sentence 67:22 122:12 123:19</p> <p>sentences 88:23</p> <p>separate 74:20 138:2 140:4 142:16 145:15 166:14</p> <p>separately 35:19 58:6</p> <p>September 11:16 13:6,16 22:1,16,25</p> <p>series 14:9 162:7 187:4</p> <p>serve 53:24 157:14 180:22,25</p> <p>serves 180:9</p> <p>service 152:19</p> <p>serving 51:9 58:9</p> <p>session 22:19 31:9, 11,24,25 34:14,16 35:2,3,5,25 36:5,9 37:16, 25 38:1,3 39:5 69:5 106:24 114:17</p>	<p>137:15 139:11,21,25 152:17</p> <p>set 10:18 24:11, 15 46:20 51:2 55:3 87:1 99:17 100:10 104:17 128:21</p> <p>setting 86:19</p> <p>settled 134:4</p> <p>shape 133:5</p> <p>Shapefiles 53:13</p> <p>share 49:11 139:10 171:12</p> <p>shared 12:21 122:4, 7,22,25 123:8,12,15</p> <p>SHC 73:19</p> <p>sheet 120:1</p> <p>Shortly 47:9</p> <p>show 120:5 163:25 167:9 184:6</p> <p>showed 185:8</p> <p>showing 41:4</p> <p>shows</p>	<p>11:24 183:12 184:13</p> <p>side 26:23 82:14 113:13 138:24 145:18</p> <p>sides 166:22</p> <p>sign 88:11 90:24 91:16 148:2 164:23</p> <p>signals 61:10</p> <p>signed 41:23 54:17 173:8</p> <p>significant 102:23 130:8 131:6</p> <p>significantly 125:13 129:19 130:18 133:22 135:16</p> <p>similar 24:2 114:2 118:13,16 142:16 185:12</p> <p>simple 144:3 166:24</p> <p>simply 65:9 138:10 153:15 160:3</p> <p>simultaneously 51:13</p> <p>single 60:16,23 162:12</p>
---	--	---	---

sir 167:15	South 136:21	18 107:11 178:19,20	142:21
Sirois 145:20	Spakovsky 96:22	specificity 173:22	stamp 164:4
sit-down 27:1	spare 115:18	Spencer 40:10 42:15 165:13	standard 88:25 98:5 124:18 130:14,21
skim 99:11	speak 84:7,24 86:11 155:16 169:2, 13 186:11,13	split 140:23,24	standards 94:15
slanderous 103:3	Speaker's 23:24	spoke 32:13 86:16 99:17 100:22 101:3 135:14 137:13	start 22:23 39:3 47:3 57:5 95:4 105:6 109:20
slightly 24:1	speaking 99:23	spoken 98:14 155:22, 25 156:1,4	started 41:25 166:16
slow 186:19	special 22:19 31:9,10 34:14,16 35:2,25 36:4 37:16 69:5 106:23 114:17 137:15 139:11,21,25 152:17	sprawling 89:1	starter 27:13
sole 76:4	specific 17:19 22:22 29:4,9,11,12 30:11 36:13 38:20,21,23 44:19 64:14, 21 72:5 104:19 105:11 106:5 115:23 125:11 126:17 146:19 155:20	spreadsheet 111:19 119:7, 19,21 163:2, 5,12 164:5	starting 84:3 88:22
solely 89:3 178:16		spreadsheets 121:10	starts 19:5 45:13 123:3
sort 22:10,11,14 27:5 32:14 33:2 37:2,17, 22 45:18 53:23 60:1 65:22 69:18 77:2 88:10 109:25 139:12 143:17 145:8 147:11,16 149:11 160:12 163:2 165:5 180:16 183:2 185:14 189:11	specifically 23:8 25:11 32:20 50:15 52:23 75:18, 24 88:22,24 100:8 105:15,	staff 8:4 9:9,20 16:4,7 22:8 23:20,21,25 27:19 29:23 33:23 40:9 41:13 71:14 139:5 142:23 146:15 148:24 149:15,20 154:11,15 168:7 169:10 190:9	state 12:7 30:21,23 130:1,22 141:1 150:6, 15 151:4,7 153:3,13,14, 16,21,23 155:5 157:20 168:6 171:19, 22 172:23 173:6,15,18, 24 174:5,21, 23 175:9,14 176:19 186:12 187:17
sound 40:14 121:4		staffer	state's
sounds 68:4 72:15 160:7 167:22			

6:11 21:8 53:1 157:11 167:7,11 168:2,6,21 169:5,16 170:17,19 171:18,20 172:16,22 173:4 174:1, 18 177:15,16 179:2,3,5 180:7,16,23, 24 181:10,24 182:1 186:4,8 188:5,11 stated 25:8 54:8 92:5 120:23 129:23 130:3, 16,19 151:1 statement 57:13 82:23 122:24 123:14 statements 36:15 160:20 States 100:20 124:16 127:23 stating 123:10 statistical 124:3 statistics 52:13 135:24 164:7 status 18:9 STENOGRAPHER 6:2,8 7:10	Stephanie 11:10,17,18 12:11 19:15 106:2 143:4 145:24 165:12 stipulation 7:23 8:7 stretches 89:2 strict 132:8 150:4,8 151:3 strictures 48:24 strong-arming 157:4 study 108:20 stuff 32:15 165:6 style 102:1 subcommittee 79:14,18 83:8 93:11,13,18 subcontractor 53:6 subcontractors 45:24 46:3,6, 15 subdivisions 122:3,21 subject 45:17 73:3 80:22 submission 73:4,9 110:20 158:12,17,19	submit 75:11,17 submits 80:21 submitted 30:15 35:11 47:10 57:12 69:14 73:6,11 74:18 75:2 77:24 78:7 92:24 110:16 111:1 112:21 113:13 114:5, 25 134:7 158:13,22 190:13 submitting 12:15 77:8, 14,22 87:16 158:14 subpoena 165:3 subsequent 92:23 substance 85:15 159:18 substantially 28:1 115:2 substantive 7:5 50:16 substantively 30:22 subtle 114:8 suffered 130:18 sufficient 132:8	sufficiently 123:21 suggest 109:24 suggested 87:25 89:7,10 suggesting 61:12,15 suggestion 77:11 78:6 89:20 110:25 summarize 16:13 17:3 51:6 106:14 summary 16:24 17:1 111:21 Summit 156:13 Sunshine 156:13 support 17:5 82:4 88:16 93:2 105:9 106:17 109:3,13,16, 22 148:21 supported 16:16 Supreme 87:9,17 88:6, 11 89:11 90:9,23 91:14,15 124:22 125:4, 7,13 surrounds 133:6
--	---	---	--

survive 150:1,4	27:20 39:6 47:20,22 48:2,4 56:5 57:8 59:7 69:12 79:24 82:7 107:13 114:15 116:3, 4 141:6 177:1	157:7	131:6 135:18, 22 153:23 155:18 167:20,24 182:18 185:8
suspect 114:10		tens 31:3	
swear 6:3		terms 166:11	
sworn 6:13		test 122:19,20 150:9	Texas 64:19,21,23 65:1,20,24 175:12
synopsis 93:13 145:13	talking 15:10 29:22, 23 30:12 31:3,4,11 34:17 37:24 38:2 43:16 50:6 93:21 101:15 136:11,12 140:5 144:3 186:18 188:16 189:14	testified 6:14 55:10 64:21 104:6 121:20 125:3 138:10 175:15 177:8	Texas' 65:21
<hr/> T <hr/>		testify 10:9,13 96:11,14 97:4,6,10,20 98:9,23 100:13,15 101:13 102:4, 5 167:17 168:10,15 176:13 189:12	Texas's 65:7
tab 74:10		testifying 7:2 64:23	text 7:3 150:12 156:25 163:1
table 128:21	Tampa 19:12 136:20 140:21,22	testimony 6:4 36:13,16 58:25 75:25 79:18 83:5 93:21 95:10, 12,25 96:6 99:18 100:23 101:4,14,18, 21 102:7,12, 17,19 103:1, 7,9,25 104:8, 15 120:22 121:4 125:12 126:11 130:8	that'd 72:8,14 115:9
tailored 150:5 151:4 153:24	targets 19:18		THC 73:19
takes 123:9 148:10	Taryn 15:24,25 16:1 159:14		thing 11:2 37:2 105:16 112:20 114:4
taking 29:14,16 161:10	team 22:2,6 26:3 32:3 39:13 44:16 67:4 68:7 70:19 83:24 94:23 99:17 102:9 117:13,25 175:3		things 28:18 79:23 82:10 134:15 148:17 163:14
talk 12:19 20:10 22:15 42:23 55:18 58:3 63:1 71:19 75:6 78:19 84:19 85:2,6 92:23 93:7,18 96:7 109:7 112:8 118:9 149:24 154:6 179:22 181:20 183:22 188:20	teams 31:18		thinking 68:19 74:21
talked 10:24 17:9	teeny		third-party 175:8
			Thomas 40:12 41:21 170:24
			thought 36:20 88:3 107:17 133:24 144:14 147:4

<p>149:24 151:1</p> <p>thoughts</p> <p>54:9</p> <p>thousands</p> <p>31:4 163:14</p> <p>186:11</p> <p>thread</p> <p>130:12</p> <p>threshold</p> <p>124:8,13,23</p> <p>ticks</p> <p>61:11</p> <p>Tier</p> <p>134:20,25</p> <p>135:6,8,15,19</p> <p>time</p> <p>8:24 12:13</p> <p>13:16,22</p> <p>18:22 22:14</p> <p>23:21 33:11</p> <p>35:1,8 41:20</p> <p>46:21 47:16</p> <p>51:7,15 57:15</p> <p>60:25 61:7,</p> <p>15,25 62:16</p> <p>64:23 67:1</p> <p>69:6 71:23</p> <p>90:2 104:12</p> <p>115:18 121:22</p> <p>148:1 149:9</p> <p>158:11 159:2</p> <p>161:7 166:2</p> <p>173:18</p> <p>times</p> <p>48:2 49:14</p> <p>140:24</p> <p>title</p> <p>20:22,24</p> <p>23:25 43:11</p> <p>104:1 119:6,</p>	<p>7,15,18</p> <p>156:20</p> <p>titled</p> <p>16:11 40:6</p> <p>74:4</p> <p>titles</p> <p>149:7</p> <p>today</p> <p>6:24 7:2,4</p> <p>8:20 9:19</p> <p>10:9 76:2</p> <p>84:8 86:11</p> <p>108:12 135:22</p> <p>137:12,18</p> <p>151:11 154:6</p> <p>today's</p> <p>155:18</p> <p>told</p> <p>10:15 69:4</p> <p>151:17</p> <p>Tom</p> <p>52:5,12</p> <p>tom@</p> <p>bryangeodemo.</p> <p>com</p> <p>40:12</p> <p>tool</p> <p>182:7,14</p> <p>top</p> <p>67:16 71:11</p> <p>97:12 98:19</p> <p>119:8</p> <p>topic</p> <p>26:20 28:8</p> <p>128:17 142:17</p> <p>144:17</p> <p>155:17,20</p> <p>topics</p> <p>7:9 10:6,8</p>	<p>167:18,20</p> <p>168:11,15</p> <p>188:22 189:12</p> <p>Torchinsky</p> <p>40:11 42:12</p> <p>44:15 45:17</p> <p>47:23 48:8</p> <p>49:5,22 50:1,</p> <p>6,17 51:8,13,</p> <p>23 67:25</p> <p>68:18</p> <p>Torchinsky's</p> <p>44:18 48:17</p> <p>50:15</p> <p>total</p> <p>106:13</p> <p>touch</p> <p>133:10,16</p> <p>174:19</p> <p>touched</p> <p>25:20 52:9</p> <p>touching</p> <p>136:13</p> <p>track</p> <p>109:2</p> <p>tracks</p> <p>57:2</p> <p>traditional</p> <p>56:18 122:17</p> <p>traffic</p> <p>182:16 183:12</p> <p>184:5,7</p> <p>transcribed</p> <p>152:18</p> <p>transcript</p> <p>152:9,15</p> <p>trial</p> <p>72:13</p>	<p>trip</p> <p>113:19</p> <p>true</p> <p>21:13</p> <p>Trust</p> <p>51:11,14</p> <p>155:8 187:20</p> <p>truth</p> <p>6:5,6</p> <p>Tuesday</p> <p>142:9 157:13</p> <p>turn</p> <p>176:24</p> <p>tweet</p> <p>38:9</p> <p>tweeted</p> <p>37:16</p> <p>TXT</p> <p>73:20 163:1</p> <p>tying</p> <p>124:12</p> <p>type</p> <p>120:25 146:10</p> <p>typically</p> <p>69:24 70:4,8</p> <p>113:4 122:1</p> <p>170:6,8,9</p> <hr/> <p>U</p> <hr/> <p>U.S.</p> <p>19:19 131:17</p> <p>157:13 186:25</p> <p>Uh-huh</p> <p>52:22 73:16</p> <p>111:16 132:19</p> <p>ultimate</p> <p>134:8</p>
---	--	---	---

ultimately 40:9 43:21 83:4 99:23 102:12 108:16 134:4 143:14	127:23 universe 182:19 unlike 26:21 unprofessional 103:4 up-to-date 18:9 update 84:5,14,25 85:1 upset 21:13 38:18, 22 usual 37:2 Uthmeier 15:24 16:3,5, 6,7,11 18:3,8 23:17 40:10 103:22 106:2 137:23 165:13 utilized 149:11	verbal 61:11 Vern 157:13,23 version 35:10 88:16 105:10 107:2 108:11 128:22 129:13,16,19, 20 130:4,25 148:14,21 149:12 151:2 163:25 versus 122:16 veto 14:14 37:22 127:16 129:25 131:11,23 132:13 177:3, 5,7 vetoed 38:14 108:17 127:10,19 128:2 147:25 vetoing 130:4 videos 10:21 11:3 view 19:21 171:19 177:16,18,19 views 26:15 177:9, 13 violate 127:20,22 violated 36:21 130:19,	22 134:20 135:8 violates 131:16 violation 100:19 violations 25:13 visual 70:6 141:10 visually 140:24 Volume 190:22 von 96:22 vote 80:3,5,10 107:13,15,19 108:4,5,10 109:17,23 148:8,10,16, 25 149:16,19 voted 108:15 109:15,16 110:1 voters 63:22 89:3,4 145:3 147:9 164:8,9 votes 63:22 voting 52:13 118:20 120:19,24 124:13,14 130:11
unable 97:14,19 unaware 120:23 unconstitutiona l 107:3 133:8 135:24 136:5, 24 understand 6:23 8:19 9:8 32:10 61:23 123:7 128:11 133:24 148:5 154:14 167:5, 17,23 173:13 182:12 understanding 40:23 94:10, 16 98:1 130:20 136:8 166:15 understood 88:14 89:14, 25 146:23 undertook 176:12 unincorporated 35:23 unique 94:9,16 98:1, 2,6 United 100:19 124:16	v varied 107:9 variety 28:18 121:8 163:4 164:7, 9,17 vast 104:24,25 105:24 vastly 19:13		

<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>waiving 49:19</p> <p>walk 143:13 146:8</p> <p>walk-through 146:11</p> <p>walked 142:14</p> <p>wanted 107:13,15 158:10</p> <p>waste 71:22</p> <p>watch 102:22</p> <p>watched 10:21 11:3 102:23</p> <p>ways 30:10 92:3 130:23 133:21 157:15</p> <p>website 112:16 161:14,17 164:14,17</p> <p>week 24:10 31:10 67:21,25 68:4</p> <p>west 19:12 89:2</p> <p>western 30:23</p> <p>whatnot 6:22</p>	<p>whatsoever 65:20</p> <p>white 108:13</p> <p>wholly 141:2</p> <p>Wienckowski 45:1,14,16, 21,22 46:17 171:5</p> <p>Willie 11:10,20,24</p> <p>willingness 148:2 149:18</p> <p>win 157:7</p> <p>winter 22:20</p> <p>Wisconsin 62:3,10,12 63:14,21 64:6,14</p> <p>word 9:11 52:19 60:4 69:17</p> <p>words 126:10 143:12 147:7 178:12</p> <p>work 6:21 9:22 27:3 44:10 47:25 69:8 92:6 95:5 111:7 164:24 175:21 179:9 181:15 184:22 185:18,24</p> <p>worked 23:24 57:13,</p>	<p>14 65:25 67:1,5 159:7, 8 178:8 188:15</p> <p>working 8:2,25 41:12, 25 45:24 46:3,7 63:7, 14 64:17 66:21 69:6,7 94:11 98:3 155:13 175:13</p> <p>Works 166:25</p> <p>worksheet 119:8</p> <p>worse 135:24</p> <p>writes 77:8 111:20 131:12</p> <p>writing 159:22</p> <p>written 102:8,18</p> <p>wrong 125:8 166:16</p> <p>wrote 12:6 131:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> <hr/> <p>XLSX 73:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year 21:8 22:25</p>	<p>yellow 108:12</p> <p>yesterday 6:20,21 10:15,24 12:18,25 17:9 32:13 44:24 52:10 70:19 102:21 114:15 137:12,17 141:6 161:13 166:7</p> <p>yesterday's 10:16 58:25</p> <p>you-all 85:12</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <hr/> <p>Zoom 68:1</p> <p>zoomed-in 114:1</p>
--	--	---	---

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc.

vs.

Cord Byrd, et al.

Deposition of:

James Kelly

June 08, 2023

Vol 2



IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE
SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY
BUILDING INSTITUTE, INC.,
et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 2022 CA 000666

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State, et al.,

Defendants.

_____ /

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
TALLAHASSEE DIVISION

COMMON CAUSE FLORIDA, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CASE NO. 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF

CORD BYRD, in his official
capacity as Florida Secretary
of State,

Defendant.

_____ /

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
GOVERNOR RON DESANTIS AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S
OFFICE (JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY)

(Volume 2, Pages 195 - 295)

Thursday, June 8, 2023

2:50 p.m. - 5:34 p.m.

LOCATION:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY: SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, CM, CRR, CRC, CCR

Job No. 309153

APPEARANCES:

ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS BLACK VOTERS MATTER,
et al.:

ELIAS LAW GROUP, LLP
10 G Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
202.968.4490
BY: JOSEPH POSIMATO, ESQUIRE
jposimato@elias.law
BY: CHRISTINA FORD ESQUIRE
cford@elias.law

ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS COMMON CAUSE, et al.:

PATTERSON BELKNAP WEBB & TAYLOR
1133 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036
212.336.2817
BY: CATHERINE J. DJANG, ESQUIRE
cdjang@pbwt.com

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT SECRETARY OF STATE:

HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY & JOSEFIAK
119 South Monroe Street, #500
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.508.7775
BY: MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com
BY: ROBERT MICHAEL BEATO, ESQUIRE
mbeato@holtzmanvogel.com

APPEARANCES: (Continued.)

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA SENATE:

SHUTTS AND BOWEN
215 S. Monroe Street, #800
Tallahassee, FL 32301
850.241.1717
BY: DANIEL E. NORDBY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
dnordby@shutts.com

THE FLORIDA SENATE
302 The Capitol, #404S
Tallahassee, FL 32399
850.487.5237
BY: KYLE EDWIN GRAY, ESQUIRE (Via Zoom.)
gray.kyle@flsenate.gov

ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANT FLORIDA HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES:

GRAY|ROBINSON
301 S. Bronough Street, #600
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
850.577.9090
BY: ASHLEY H. LUKIS, ESQUIRE
ashley.lukis@gray-robinson.com

ALSO PRESENT:

Nicholas Meros, Office of the Governor
Michael Halper, Common Cause Florida
Taylor Meehan (Via Zoom.)
David Rosenthal (Via Zoom.)

I N D E X

WITNESS	PAGE
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR RON DESANTIS AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE (JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY)	
Direct Examination by Ms. Djang	199
CERTIFICATE OF OATH	292
CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER	293
READ AND SIGN LETTER	294
ERRATA SHEET	295

INDEX OF EXHIBITS

NO.	DESCRIPTION	ID
63	4/20/2011 Redistricting Meeting Packet	229
64	4-13-22 Submission Form with Signature of Alex Kelly	255
65	Script for April 19, 2022 presentations	263

1 The following continued from Volume 1 at 2:50 p.m.:

2 DIRECT EXAMINATION

3 BY MS. DJANG:

4 Q Part two of this deposition. My name is
5 Catherine Djang. I'm an attorney with the law firm
6 Patterson Belknap Webb & Tyler. You understand that
7 we represent plaintiffs in the federal action,
8 Common Cause, Fair Districts Now, Florida NAACP.

9 Do you understand that?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Okay. And I know yesterday you went
12 through and today a couple times the materials that
13 you reviewed in preparation for the depositions
14 today.

15 In addition to the items that you've
16 already listed, I just want to confirm you've also
17 reviewed the questions that we submitted in advance
18 pertaining to the federal case as well; is that
19 right?

20 A Yes. And can I -- there was something I
21 left out of an answer earlier, too. Can I bring
22 that back up on the record?

23 When you asked earlier how I prepared to
24 represent the Secretary's question, I completely
25 forgot to mention that I reviewed the

1 interrogatories and responses to those. I just --
2 in my mind they were all one, but after walking out
3 of the room, it occurred to me that those were
4 multiple other documents, four other documents that
5 had interrogatory responses. So apologies for
6 leaving that out earlier.

7 MR. POSAMATO: Thank you for clarifying.

8 BY MS. DJANG:

9 Q Thank you for jumping in.

10 And you've also reviewed the complaint in
11 our federal action as well?

12 A The complaint itself? Can you show me the
13 document?

14 Q I don't have a copy of the document, but
15 that's fine. We can move on.

16 In terms of logistics, I just want to put
17 on the record that counsel has agreed that the
18 testimony that you provided earlier today and
19 yesterday will be applicable in the federal matter
20 as well, just for sake of efficiency, and so that we
21 don't have to duplicate all the questions that were
22 already asked and answered.

23 I will do my best not to repeat, but if
24 you've already provided an answer, please let me
25 know.

1 For the sake of clarity, I will also refer
2 to some of the same exhibit numbers and just keep
3 those sequentially if that's all right with you?

4 A Sure.

5 Q Can you please state your full name and
6 address for the record?

7 A Sure. James Alexander Kelly, my address
8 is 2025 Florida Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32303.

9 Q Thank you.

10 And just for the sake of clarity, when I
11 refer to federal plaintiffs today, you know I am
12 referring to Common Cause, Fair Districts Now, and
13 the rest of the plaintiffs in the action?

14 A Uh-huh, sure.

15 Q Okay. Also, just -- I think Christina
16 mentioned this, but answers need to be audible when
17 you shake your head.

18 A Yes.

19 Q State that verbally so that it's reported
20 by our court reporter.

21 Again, please remember that these answers
22 are under oath and you are legally obligated to
23 answer every question truthfully and completely as
24 if you were testifying in court.

25 Is there any reason why you wouldn't be

1 **able to give true and complete answers to my**
2 **questions today?**

3 A No.

4 Q Okay. So we reviewed some of your prior
5 testimony in the 2012 litigation. So you've
6 obviously been deposed before; you've provided
7 testimony at trial.

8 Have you been deposed in connection with
9 any other matter?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Can you tell us what -- under what
12 circumstances?

13 A I've been deposed a few times, generally
14 related to pieces of legislation, some agency
15 contractual disputes, a couple agency human resource
16 matters, complaints -- I'm not sure how that's how
17 you refer to that, but agency HR issues,
18 disciplinary matters.

19 Q Okay. And you've never been a party to
20 any of those lawsuits or disputes?

21 A Personally, no. My agency that I worked
22 for, yes. But me personally, no.

23 Q And have you ever been accused of perjury
24 or making a false statement or any other conduct
25 calling truthfulness into question?

1 A No.

2 Q Please just wait for me to finish my
3 question before you answer.

4 A My apologies.

5 Q In addition to reviewing the questions
6 that the federal plaintiffs submitted in advance of
7 today's deposition, did you also review the Beretta
8 (sic) report which was attached as an exhibit to
9 those questions?

10 A No.

11 Q Okay. So going back to the previous
12 redistricting cycle, so 2010-2012, time period, you
13 testified yesterday that your role during that
14 redistricting cycle was as the staff director for
15 the House Redistricting Committee, correct?

16 A Correct.

17 Q And in that cycle, you helped draw various
18 redistricting proposals for that committee, correct?

19 A Correct.

20 Q How -- focusing your attention on
21 Congressional District 5, you know which district I
22 am referring to?

23 A The Congressional District 5 in which
24 plan?

25 Q In the 2012 plan. Let's look at

1 **Exhibit 6.**

2 **So District 5 is the purple district?**

3 A Yes.

4 Q **For the record, you are pointing to the**
5 **purple district?**

6 A Got it.

7 Q **So at one point during this redistricting**
8 **cycle, you considered drawing a potential district**
9 **that would span from Duval County to Gadsden County,**
10 **correct?**

11 A During the committee's work, after public
12 comment, before putting out our own proposed maps,
13 there was public comment at one of the public
14 meetings on that, and we showed examples of many
15 different forms of public comment, and that was one
16 of them. And we showed that to probably the
17 Congressional redistricting subcommittees, is
18 probably who we showed it to.

19 Q **What was the purpose of those examples?**

20 A We showed the committees many different
21 examples of what the public submitted. That
22 particular example, it was a ludicrous proposal that
23 we showed, a drawing of the district from
24 Jacksonville to Gadsden County, and we showed that
25 to the committee.

1 But nonetheless, we were being faithful to
2 the process of providing the committee with a large
3 variety of the public feedback that came up in the
4 meetings.

5 **Q You described this plan as ludicrous. Can**
6 **you elaborate on that?**

7 A Yes. I remember because it was so unique.
8 A gentleman walked into one of the public meetings
9 in I want to say either Broward County or Palm Beach
10 County and provided a crayon-drawn district from
11 Jacksonville to Gadsden County.

12 And the gentleman's presentation of it, he
13 spoke in front of the -- we had traveling committee
14 meetings around the state, 26 of them, I think, and
15 he spoke and presented it. And it was just a
16 sprawling district stringing together disconnected
17 communities.

18 **Q Can you explain what you mean by**
19 **"disconnected communities"? Which communities are**
20 **you referring to?**

21 A Jacksonville to Gadsden County.

22 **Q So different counties?**

23 A And communities in those counties.

24 **Q Which communities?**

25 A Do you have -- Jacksonville to Gadsden

1 County. Duval County to Gadsden County. It went
2 along the border -- the northern border of the
3 state.

4 Q Okay. So continue. I'm sorry. I
5 interrupted you.

6 A No, I'm fine.

7 Q Is that the rest of your answer?

8 A I'm done.

9 Q Okay. Great.

10 And that's the only kind of east-west
11 configuration you can recall from that redistricting
12 cycle? You don't recall you yourself personally
13 proposing any type of configuration for that
14 district?

15 A I did not personally propose any type of
16 configuration like that for that district.

17 Q Okay. Do you recall providing an opinion
18 on -- here today you've described it as ludicrous.
19 Do you recall at the time providing opinion on the
20 propriety or validity of such a submission?

21 A The propriety or validity? I'm sorry, I'm
22 not sure I understand what you're asking me.

23 Q Sure. So you described the plan we have
24 been discussing as ludicrous, and I take it that is
25 in relation to what you might consider to be the

1 **proper redistricting criteria. Would you agree with**
2 **me?**

3 A I'm not understanding the way you're
4 asking the question.

5 Q **Okay. I'll rephrase.**

6 **Did you ever offer an opinion regarding**
7 **that east-west district that we've been discussing?**

8 MR. JAZIL: During the 2012 cycle?

9 BY MS. DJANG:

10 Q **During the 2012 cycle?**

11 A Yes.

12 Q **What was your opinion?**

13 A It's probably on the record in the
14 committee process, but I -- generally speaking, the
15 proposed district from Duval County to Gadsden
16 County abandoned most any redistricting standards
17 and it had a significant impact on the compactness
18 of other districts that touched that district.

19 Q **Okay.**

20 A And that did have an impact on their
21 compactness.

22 Q **And the compactness of that district**
23 **itself, did you have an opinion on that?**

24 A It was very not compact.

25 Q **In what way?**

1 A Visually, it was very not compact. Any of
2 the different statistical measures that you would
3 use to define compactness, it was not compact.

4 It, in addition, within the district had
5 indentations into counties that broke up counties,
6 counties that potentially could in alternatives be
7 kept whole, but in this case was breaking up those
8 counties purely for race-based reasons, to grab
9 Black voters in some parts of the state and exclude
10 non-Black voters in those parts of the state.

11 **Q And that was the stated reason given by**
12 **the person who submitted this plan?**

13 A As I recall -- I don't recall the exact
14 statements of the person, but as I recall, the
15 statements were vague and confusing.

16 **Q Okay. I don't need you to -- I'm not**
17 **asking you to justify what someone else submitted.**
18 **But in its most basic terms, would you agree with me**
19 **that it was a rectangular shape if we had to**
20 **classify it in geometric terms?**

21 A Not remotely.

22 **Q Okay. Why would you say that?**

23 A Because it wasn't a rectangle.

24 **Q Okay. Is there another geometric shape**
25 **that would be a closer and more accurate way to**

1 describe it?

2 A No.

3 Q So you cannot under any conception of a
4 regular geometric shape describe that district to me
5 today?

6 A Correct, I cannot.

7 Q Okay. So let's look at Exhibit 7. I'm
8 going to direct your attention to page 931.

9 A So page 931?

10 Q Correct.

11 A Thank you.

12 Q Actually 932. So starting at line 17,
13 could you please begin reading that question and
14 continuing on. I'll let you know when to stop.

15 A Page 932, line 17?

16 Q Correct.

17 A Question: Now, had done some -- I'm
18 sorry. Start over.

19 "Question: Now, you had done some maps, a
20 couple maps early on in the process where you had
21 looked at a different approach for District 5";
22 isn't that correct, sir?

23 Answer: Yes, sir.

24 Question: That was actually back around
25 October 5, 2011; isn't that correct?

1 Answer: That sounds right, yes, sir.

2 Question: And you looked at a potential
3 district from Duval to Gadsden County?

4 Answer: Yes, sir.

5 Mr. King: Let's pull up 876.

6 By Mr. King. Question: And is that
7 the -- now you did not draw a complete map to try to
8 fill in the district -- I mean fill in all the
9 districts on this configuration; is that correct?

10 Answer: Not a complete map, that's
11 correct.

12 Question: When you did that, you --

13 Mr. King: Let's pull up the stats page.

14 By Mr. King. Question: That indicates
15 that the Black voting age population in that
16 district which you are calling District 2 was
17 44.95932; isn't that correct, sir?

18 Answer: Yes, sir."

19 **Q Okay. You can stop there.**

20 **A Thank you.**

21 **Q So does that refresh your recollection**
22 **regarding configurations that were drawn east-west**
23 **in that northern part of the region of Florida that**
24 **we've been discussing? Do you recall drawing**
25 **districts that looked -- that spanned from one --**

1 Duval County to Gadsden County? Do you recall what
2 this testimony is referring to?

3 A Can I read a little further in the
4 testimony?

5 Q Sure.

6 A To myself?

7 Q Uh-huh.

8 A (Examining document.)

9 Q And just so you know, my questions only
10 pertain to the content that goes up to page 936.

11 A Oh, thank you.

12 Okay. Thank you. I read through 936.

13 Q Does that refresh your recollection as to
14 the drawing of this district?

15 A That really didn't help in any way.

16 Q You don't recall this district that you're
17 referring to in that testimony?

18 A No. In other words, I've already
19 described -- in terms of a district that went east
20 to west, I've already described it in what I told
21 you before.

22 This -- this appears to be -- and I don't
23 know if you happen to have the committee packet, but
24 this appears to be referencing one of the committee
25 meetings during a time when we were showing public

1 input to the committees. It references an
2 October -- an October 5, 2011, meeting that we were
3 not showing the legislature at that time, the maps
4 that we were proposing. We were showing them public
5 input.

6 Q So the map that is being described here is
7 something that you are discussing for what purpose?

8 A The one that I just said, we were
9 presenting to the committees public input that was
10 received during the again, I believe, 26-city tour
11 the legislature did to receive public input. So
12 that was a period of time when we were presenting
13 legislators and the different subcommittees examples
14 of public input.

15 Q Do you recall approximately how long that
16 district was from east to west?

17 A No.

18 Q Do you, sitting here today, have a rough
19 approximation, I mean, looking at any of these maps
20 in front of you?

21 A That district that was drawn that we
22 received from the public input?

23 Q That district, sure.

24 A No.

25 Q You couldn't tell me whether it was

1 50 miles in length, more or less?

2 A This was a piece of paper a member of the
3 public drew on crayon in 2011, in the summer of
4 2011, and handed us. And you're asking me do I
5 remember how long the district was? No, I don't.

**6 Q The length of the district, the number of
7 miles that that district would have spanned from
8 east to west in the state of Florida, I think you
9 know what I am talking about. Do you know what I'm
10 referring to?**

11 A You've asked me about the piece of public
12 input that's referenced in these pages 933 to 936,
13 that district?

**14 Q Okay. Mr. Kelly, let's look at
15 Exhibit 42.**

16 A Forgive me, it's in this pile, if I can
17 find it.

18 (Discussion off record.)

19 BY MS. DJANG:

**20 Q So it is a February 1, 2022, letter from
21 the Executive Office of the Governor to the Florida
22 Supreme Court, signed by Governor DeSantis.**

**23 So looking at the map at the bottom of
24 this first page, would you say that the sample that
25 we are discussing, aptly called the crayon sample,**

1 **would you say that the crayon sample plan spanned**
2 **further -- a further distance in terms of the**
3 **east-west length than this map shown here or was it**
4 **shorter?**

5 A Do you have a copy of it?

6 Q I do not, no. I'm asking you what you
7 **recall.**

8 A What I recall is that, to the best of my
9 recollection, it was at least a Duval County to
10 Gadsden County district.

11 Q Okay. And do you see here in this first
12 paragraph where -- the sentence that begins: "The
13 district stretches over 200 miles from east to west
14 across eight counties without conforming to usual
15 political or geographic boundaries"? Do you see
16 that?

17 A Yes, I see that.

18 Q Would you agree that that description
19 would apply to the crayon sample?

20 A I don't know the mileage, so -- I hate to
21 nitpick, but I really don't have it in front of me.

22 Q I'm not asking you to testify to the
23 specific mileage.

24 A Beg to differ, you just did, four or five
25 times.

1 This statement in general, the general
2 spirit of this statement is very similar to what was
3 submitted 11, 12 years ago, albeit I don't have it
4 in front of me, and the benchmark District 5 -- or
5 the District 5, I should say, referenced in this
6 February 1 letter.

7 **Q Thank you. And I do appreciate we're**
8 **talking about over a decade ago, so thank you for**
9 **indulging me.**

10 **So returning to your testimony in**
11 **Exhibit 7, you testified -- and I'll just read this**
12 **into the record.**

13 A It's okay if can just get the exhibit?

14 **Q Sure. You have it to your right.**

15 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, would you mind giving
16 us a page number?

17 MS. DJANG: Sure.

18 MR. JAZIL: Thank you.

19 MS. DJANG: We were on page 933. That's
20 where we left off.

21 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

22 BY MS. DJANG:

23 **Q So starting on page 934, line 3, I will**
24 **ask you to start reading there.**

25 A Sure. Page 934, line 3.

1 "Question: Now, did you do a functional
2 analysis on these two districts?

3 Answer: Yes, sir.

4 Question: And the Exhibit 874 with the
5 Black voting age population of 43.88775, did you
6 consider that that was an ability-to-elect district
7 for the African American candidate of choice?

8 Answer: I never looked at it with the
9 question of whether there was an ability to elect
10 district. We looked at it whether or not we were
11 maintaining the benchmark minority voting strength.

12 Question: What did you conclude?

13 Answer: I concluded that the east-west
14 configuration requires something around, I believe,
15 45 percent to maintain a similar minority voting
16 strength as existed in the benchmark of the north
17 and south district.

18 The African American community in the east
19 and west configuration represents a greater
20 proportion of your voting strength in the elections
21 for whatever reason. Just the residents who
22 happened to live in those counties as opposed to the
23 north-south configuration.

24 Question: Does there appear to be a
25 higher turnout there in the voting?

1 Answer: I know -- I don't know the entire
2 district. I know Leon County is typically your
3 strongest voting turnout county in the state, and I
4 know the east-west configuration includes several
5 prisons. And that would include a number of
6 individuals who obviously couldn't vote, but would
7 count in the census.

8 **Q Okay. So that -- you can stop there.**
9 **Thank you.**

10 **What was the basis for your conclusion**
11 **regarding these districts, the requirement to**
12 **maintain similar minority voting strength as the**
13 **benchmark of the north-south district?**

14 A I don't know that this many years later, I
15 could give a specific answer like that.

16 **Q That's fair. Did you personally conduct**
17 **the functional analysis of that east-west**
18 **configuration?**

19 A As I noted yesterday, I have come to learn
20 over the years that our phrase "functional analysis"
21 there is not accurate, that I realized the level of
22 analysis we did, while a cursory review, is not the
23 detailed type of functional analysis that a
24 political scientist would do.

25 So I think my use of the phrase

1 "functional analysis" -- no one corrected it at the
2 time -- but I don't think I fully appreciated at
3 that time what a true functional analysis was.

4 **Q What factors would you -- do you believe**
5 **you omitted in your functional analysis at the time**
6 **that this -- you gave this testimony in reference to**
7 **the October 2011 plans?**

8 A I think a true functional analysis, which
9 for the final maps that we, the legislature, or the
10 legislature adopted back in that redistricting
11 cycle, a true functional analysis -- once you answer
12 a certain set of initial questions about the
13 compactness of the minority voting -- minority
14 communities in the district, their voting strength
15 overall, that last key layer of a functional
16 analysis, getting down to sort of the cohesiveness
17 of the minority voting blocs in the districts,
18 requires an examination of multiple levels of
19 elections, overlapping geography of elections,
20 typically done by a paid political scientist,
21 someone who's an expert in that kind of data work.

22 We as staff were doing, as we note as a
23 note here in the testimony, a cursory review, but
24 we, through that redistricting process, testified
25 that we had experts come over and -- or not come

1 over -- look over our work and do a deeper level of
2 true functional analysis.

3 **Q And at this time, you did look at the**
4 **BVAP percentages, correct?**

5 A We're still referring to the districts
6 that -- the districts referenced here on these
7 pages?

8 **Q Correct.**

9 A And one thing that I am not certain of, as
10 you're asking about, the district that was shown to
11 the committee on October 5, I'm not -- I'm not
12 100 percent certain -- and maybe it's if I read
13 more, I would be -- but I am not 100 percent certain
14 what it was comparing it to.

15 **Q Okay. You're not sure what the benchmark**
16 **they're referring to there is?**

17 A Just if I can have more time. You're
18 asking a level of question where I'm going to have
19 to really read this pretty thoroughly to fully
20 appreciate before and after the full discussion. So
21 if that's okay, I'd be happy to do it. I just want
22 to be clear.

23 **Q I can rephrase the question.**

24 **Does this testimony reflect Black voting**
25 **age population percentages?**

1 A Yes.

2 Q And does it also reference voter turnout
3 information?

4 A Yes, in regards to Leon County on
5 page 935.

6 Q And it references voter turnout
7 information with respect to racial breakdowns,
8 correct?

9 A Can you give me the line you're looking
10 at?

11 Q That requires some -- some inference.
12 That's fair.

13 Okay. And I want to ask you about the
14 prisons located in this east-west configuration.
15 What prisons were you referring to?

16 A I'd have to go back and look at a detailed
17 level about the map.

18 Q Just sitting here today, can you recall
19 any prisons in that area?

20 A The name of the prison? No. I am
21 generally familiar with several North Florida
22 communities where a large concentration of the
23 state's prisons are clustered in a variety of
24 North Florida communities.

25 So to name them, I really need to spend

1 some time looking at the map at a detail level.

2 Q That's fair.

3 Do you have a sense -- and I am not asking
4 for specifics -- but a sense of the population of
5 those prisons?

6 A I know simply that it's significant in
7 several of those North Florida counties.

8 Q What does significant mean to you?

9 A A prison compound, work camp, can be
10 300 people. A full compound can get to 1500,
11 2000 individuals. If you have a clustering of
12 prisons in a district, it can -- I don't know an
13 exact number.

14 You're right. I don't know how to define
15 the word "significant." But a district like this as
16 it was considered in the example here would have a
17 clustering of a number of the state prisons in the
18 same district.

19 Q Understood. Just to clarify, a cluster,
20 can you just -- is that 5, 10?

21 A I really need to spend time at a detailed
22 level.

23 Q But in your mind right now as we're
24 talking, when you refer to a cluster, are you
25 referring to two, or are you referring to a dozen?

1 A I'd really need to spend --

2 Q I'm not holding you to specifics. I mean,
3 it was your words. So I just want to know what you
4 meant when you said it.

5 A Right. Right. A cluster. Cluster,
6 multiple locations of something, of multiple
7 groupings of something in one location. I'm not
8 going to put a number to it.

9 Q Okay. More than one, but not less -- you
10 can't give a number to that?

11 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, let's try not to talk
12 over one another. Make Sandi's life a little
13 easier. So let's just be mindful of that.

14 BY MS. DJANG:

15 Q So "cluster" means more than one?

16 A Sure.

17 Q Okay. All right.

18 I think we can put Exhibit 7 away.

19 In this role as staff director for the
20 House Redistricting Committee, you testified that
21 you -- you -- your role as a manager of the staff
22 team, that was your role, the manager of a staff
23 team, correct?

24 A That's one role of a staff director.

25 Q What other roles did you hold?

1 A I described some of this yesterday in
2 my -- in the questions that was asked.

3 Q Okay. I won't make you repeat it.

4 Did your responsibilities include helping
5 to prepare proposed maps?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And did they also include helping to
8 prepare summary analysis documents that accompanied
9 those maps?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Okay. So those -- are you familiar with
12 the staff analysis files that accompanied those
13 proposals?

14 A Yes. But been a long time since I've
15 looked at them, but yes.

16 Q So you would be the author of those
17 analyses?

18 A I would not be the sole author of those
19 analyses. I probably have to see what specific
20 analysis you're talking about. There's committee
21 bill analysis that would go with each map. There
22 were statistical reports that would go with each
23 map. I think it'd be -- I wouldn't -- I think it'd
24 be wrong to call myself the author of those.

25 Q But you were -- you contributed to them?

1 A Yes.

2 **Q Fair to say that you contributed to those**
3 **analyses for each plan?**

4 A For each plan that was -- you mean each
5 plan that was considered by the committees?

6 **Q Considered by the committee.**

7 A Yes.

8 **Q Okay. And you would have reviewed the**
9 **content of all of those analyses?**

10 A Yes.

11 **Q How much time approximately would you say**
12 **you devoted to each of those proposals?**

13 A To each proposal the committees
14 considered, how much time did I devote to each?

15 **Q Yes.**

16 A Let me ask, because I'm just trying to
17 understand.

18 Are you asking in the beginning of the
19 process to end of the process a map was created?
20 Are you talking about just the analysis of not --
21 what stage of the process are you talking about?

22 **Q Sure. Whichever time period comes most**
23 **readily to you. I know this is a long time ago.**

24 A I need you to be more specific.

25 **Q Okay. So from beginning to -- from**

1 inception to submission.

2 A From inception to submission?

3 Q Uh-huh.

4 A To submission?

5 Q From conception.

6 A Drawing of the map?

7 Q From drawing the map.

8 A I typically estimate that the drawing of
9 a -- I assume we're talking Congressional?

10 Q Congressional districts, correct.

11 A I typically would assign -- a drawing of a
12 congressional map is a 40- to 60-hour project from
13 scratch.

14 Q And then the analysis that accompanied
15 that, the drawing?

16 A The statistical analyses that accompanied
17 any map, we would run a report automatically, so
18 when we had a map, we had a method -- I'm not the
19 technical person in the way of explaining this, so
20 apologies.

21 But if we had a map, we could run a report
22 on it, and it would auto generate the statistical
23 reports. And so that was literally the job of one
24 of our staff is to auto-run those reports.

25 The bill analysis, the formal bill

1 analysis that every bill in the legislature, most
2 every bill anyway, tends to have, the bill analysis
3 for those -- we had a template that we used one for
4 State House maps, one for State Senate maps, one for
5 Congressional maps. So they, of course, varied.

6 Some of the information would vary in
7 them. Those templates were created once, and then
8 for -- generally speaking, template -- and then for
9 each plan, some of the information therein would
10 pertain to that.

11 Those bill analyses, once the templates
12 were created, were, relatively speaking -- because
13 they were template, they were, relatively speaking,
14 simple to create, wouldn't take a lot of time.

15 **Q Okay. But you would review all of the**
16 **content, and you would agree with me that that --**
17 **you stand behind the content of those analyses?**

18 **A Yes.**

19 **Q Okay. Did you help also prepare for all**
20 **of the committee meetings?**

21 **A Yes.**

22 **Q In what way?**

23 **A Typically, I would draft proposed talking**
24 **points for the committee chairs or chairs of the**
25 **meeting. Sometimes members of the committee would**

1 ask me for help with suggested talking points. So I
2 would help them as well.

3 I typically helped with the preparing of
4 the visuals that we would use. The presenting of
5 the maps was aided by creating some visuals that
6 were easier to show in the form of things like a
7 PowerPoint.

8 So helping to create PowerPoints for the
9 members so they could easily see different parts of
10 the map and review it in committee.

11 **Q And if the committee invited other**
12 **participants, you would -- would you be responsible**
13 **for being kind of the liaison, or would that be**
14 **someone else?**

15 A If the committee invited other
16 participants. I'm trying to think back to -- I'm
17 trying to think back to an example in my head. I'm
18 drawing a blank on an example of someone who we
19 invited to a committee.

20 **Q Would there be any reason that you**
21 **wouldn't attend a committee meeting?**

22 A The only reason that I wouldn't attend
23 would be if we were running -- so we had a full
24 redistricting committee. We had a Congressional
25 Subcommittee, a Senate Subcommittee and House

1 Subcommittee.

2 If two or three of those meetings were
3 running concurrently, then I would have to pick
4 which meeting I was going to be in.

5 **Q Understood. But sitting here today, you**
6 **don't recall not attending any meeting where it was**
7 **not a scheduling conflict?**

8 A Correct.

9 **Q Were you also responsible for the**
10 **recordkeeping? So did you have custodial**
11 **responsibility for the materials that were used at**
12 **these committee meetings?**

13 A Yes. Staff director, ultimately it was my
14 responsibility. It was a group effort.

15 **Q So you would have had possession of all**
16 **the materials used at these meetings?**

17 A Not always. If there, for example, was,
18 let's say, public feedback, citizen feedback, one of
19 our staff ultimately had the responsibility. Every
20 committee has a staff person who is responsible for
21 physically providing them the actual materials that
22 are collected at the meeting from the public, and if
23 one of the members of the committee provided
24 something that wasn't part of the originating
25 committee packet.

1 So one of the staff ultimately is
2 responsible for actually providing that to the House
3 overall.

4 I can't speak to whether it's still done
5 this way, but at the time it was. So there's a high
6 likelihood that there was information provided here
7 and there at a meeting that I wouldn't necessarily
8 have ever taken ownership of.

9 **Q Understood. So I'm going to show you what**
10 **we'll mark as -- I have no idea what we're up to.**

11 THE STENOGRAPHER: 63 would be next.

12 (Exhibit 63 was marked for
13 identification.)

14 BY MS. DJANG:

15 **Q So this is -- I believe it is a meeting**
16 **packet from one of the redistricting committee,**
17 **Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee meetings.**
18 **It's dated April 20, 2011. I downloaded this from**
19 **the House website.**

20 **Does this packet look familiar to you?**

21 A It certainly looks as you described it.
22 I've not seen this in 12 years.

23 **Q Do you recall this April 20, 2011,**
24 **meeting?**

25 A Not the specific meeting itself. I recall

1 the meet teams we were having around April. So I
2 don't have specific recollection about this exact
3 meeting.

4 **Q And I didn't actually include the entirety**
5 **of the packet. There were -- in the table of**
6 **contents, you'll see that there are several tabs.**
7 **We've only included in this exhibit Tab E,**
8 **presentation of Florida demographic census 2010.**

9 So let's see. Turning to that tab, do you
10 recall seeing this presentation on Florida
11 demographics?

12 A Can I review it for a little bit?

13 **Q Of course.**

14 A (Examining document.)

15 Thank you for the chance to review it.

16 **Q Does that refresh your recollection**
17 **regarding the April 20, 2011, House meeting, House**
18 **Redistricting Subcommittee meeting?**

19 A No more than what I recalled about our
20 meetings around that time before reading the
21 presentation.

22 **Q So you have no memory of seeing this**
23 **presentation?**

24 A I have seen a lot of presentations like
25 this over the years, so I have seen a lot of

1 presentations that are this style and format. But I
2 don't -- I don't have a -- I don't recall this exact
3 presentation.

4 **Q How many presentations have you seen**
5 **regarding Florida demographics?**

6 MR. JAZIL: In what time frame, Counsel?

7 MS. DJANG: From 2010 to today.

8 A Probably 10 to 15 a year.

9 BY MS. DJANG:

10 **Q And on this first slide, it says:**
11 **"Florida Demographics House Redistricting Committee,**
12 **Congressional Redistricting Subcommittee, House**
13 **Redistricting Subcommittee, and Senate Redistricting**
14 **Subcommittee."**

15 **So fair to say this information was**
16 **presented to all four of those committees and**
17 **subcommittees?**

18 A Yeah. This is the kind of information we
19 were presenting to the committees at that time.

20 **Q Okay. Great.**

21 **If you could turn to the slide that is**
22 **titled "Diversity Is Increasing."**

23 **Are you with me?**

24 A I believe it's this slide right here.

25 **Q Correct. So in the top right-hand corner,**

1 **you see it says: "Data Source Census"?**

2 A Yes.

3 Q Okay. Were you aware at the time, so in
4 2011, of this trend, that of diversity increasing
5 within the state?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And to be more specific, the charts on
8 this slide show the percentage of the white
9 population in the state decreasing, correct?

10 A Yes. From 2000 it was 78 percent, and in
11 2010 it was 75 percent according to this comparison.

12 Q Then it also shows the percentages of the
13 Black population and the population of two or more
14 races increasing, correct?

15 A The Black population, or is it
16 characterized Black or African American alone, looks
17 like went from 14.6 percent in 2000 to 16 percent in
18 2010. And you said two more races?

19 Q Two or more races, some other race alone,
20 both of those categories appear to increase,
21 correct?

22 A Yes. They appear to -- both those
23 categories appear to increase. Yes.

24 Q Do you know one way or another whether
25 this trend continued past 2010?

1 A Past 2010? Past 2010? I think probably
2 presenting it this way past 2010 would be misleading
3 the way that this is done because the population
4 growth is much more significant in the Hispanic
5 community.

6 And the way this is done is it's
7 clustering -- it's clustering Hispanic Floridians in
8 amongst white. I want to say that the percentage of
9 Black or African American population between 2010
10 and 2020 is either flat or maybe even gone backwards
11 a little bit.

12 So I think if I was going to present
13 something like this again, I would present -- I
14 would separate out Hispanic Floridians into their
15 own slice of the pie.

16 **Q Okay. To be clear, we're talking about**
17 **the 2010 to present time period?**

18 A Yes, ma'am.

19 **Q Okay. So I'd like to unpack that a little**
20 **bit. It's your understanding that this census data**
21 **includes the Hispanic population within the white**
22 **alone category?**

23 A Likely. Likely does. Otherwise, it's odd
24 that it's not -- otherwise, it's odd that there's
25 not some other -- some other pie chart or something

1 that shows additional information.

2 **Q I see. And so your point is, it would be**
3 **misleading because the Hispanic population is**
4 **increasing within the state from the period of 2010**
5 **to 2023, to the present day?**

6 A Yes. Yes.

7 **Q That wouldn't be discernible from a pie**
8 **chart like this?**

9 A Correct.

10 **Q Okay. What is the source of your**
11 **information that the Hispanic population increases**
12 **over that period of time in the state?**

13 A Sure. I commonly look at the data from
14 the source that's referenced here, the Economic and
15 Demographic Research Office of the legislature. I
16 often look at that through an educational lens.

17 Their reports provide this kind of data at
18 a more granular level, even as it relates
19 specifically to school-age children, too. So often,
20 that's -- the last several years of my life,
21 education has been a big part of the policy work
22 that I've done.

23 So oftentimes I've looked at that kind of
24 data through that lens. I looked at the overall
25 data, too, because children come from a family, and

1 so I looked at it from that lens as well.

2 Yeah. The Office of Economic and
3 Demographic Research, which is -- that office is the
4 office that, if you will, unpacks the census data
5 when that data is reported every decade in America
6 community survey data, and so forth. That's their
7 logo on these slides where it says "EDR."

8 **Q I see. And so we talked about this**
9 **Hispanic community.**

10 **For the Black community, you would agree**
11 **that, similarly, that trend increased over the**
12 **period of time between 2010 and present day within**
13 **the state of Florida, correct?**

14 A No. I just said the opposite.

15 **Q Oh, I'm sorry. I misheard you.**

16 A No. I believe the proportion of the
17 population that classifies as Black or
18 African American remains relatively flat or maybe
19 even gone backwards a little bit.

20 **Q Thank you.**

21 **Let's turn to the slide titled "Population**
22 **By Race By County." The next slide, so --**

23 A There's two of them. Is it the one on the
24 top?

25 **Q Let's look at the first one on top.**

1 A Okay. Thank you.

2 Q So this appears to be drawn from similar
3 data sources, census, EDR; is that right?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Okay. And can you describe to me what
6 these two maps are depicting?

7 And, yes. Please take your time to
8 review.

9 A Sure. Thank you. (Examining document.)
10 I have been able to review it. These
11 two visuals, the one on the left, which is white
12 alone 2000, and on the right is white alone 2010,
13 they show by a color code the percentage of the
14 population that is white alone in those counties,
15 the red being the highest.

16 I'm not sure what that color for the
17 35.9 percent, the 59.3 percent, I'm not sure what
18 that grayish-maybe color is. I am not sure what
19 that color is.

20 And then the table has the overall state
21 percentages, 78 percent, 2000, 75 percent in 2010,
22 and then the table has -- the county has specific
23 percentages for Citrus and Gadsden Counties -- I'm
24 sorry -- Citrus being the county with the greatest
25 percentage of white alone population and Gadsden

1 being the county with the least percentage of white
2 alone population.

3 Q Thank you.

4 And do you know one way or the other how
5 this map would look -- how these maps would look if
6 we were looking at a 2020 map?

7 A No.

8 Q Okay. And you would have no basis for
9 saying -- for knowing whether a county had a higher
10 percentage white population or not, higher or lower
11 percentage population within that county, you would
12 have no basis to draw that conclusion?

13 A I don't know the county breakdown for the
14 current -- this -- basically this table, I don't
15 know the county breakdown for this kind of data
16 today.

17 Q Do you have any reason to believe that
18 there would be significant population shifts from
19 2010 to 2020?

20 A Yes.

21 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

22 But you can answer.

23 A Yes.

24 BY MS. DJANG:

25 Q What is the basis for that, if you know?

1 A Florida has had nearly 5 million people
2 move to the state from 2010 to 2020.

3 Q Do you have any understanding of where
4 within the state those individuals have moved?

5 A No.

6 Q Sitting here today, you can't tell me
7 whether they generally moved to cities or rural
8 areas?

9 A No.

10 Q In your work as -- hopefully I can get
11 this right -- as -- I'm sorry, I don't have the
12 title in your Education and Economic Development
13 work -- you never tracked movement of populations
14 within the state in terms of migration into cities
15 or into rural areas, that was never something that
16 you looked at?

17 A I looked at it from the point of view of
18 school-age children who've enrolled in public
19 schools, so K-12 public schools.

20 So I can tell you that this past school
21 year, for example, Miami-Dade County, Lee County,
22 Sarasota County had higher growth amongst K-12
23 public school-age children than the rest of the
24 state.

25 Q Okay. Is there any correlation between

1 the number of public school-age children and the
2 general population growth within a particular area?

3 A I imagine more children means more
4 families, but I know that in the case of those
5 three counties, in many cases, those counties were
6 reporting that many of those kids were without
7 parents.

8 Q So did you also track income levels across
9 these different areas of the state as part of your
10 education and economic development work?

11 A Income levels?

12 Q Uh-huh.

13 A No.

14 Q Was your tracking of educational --

15 A I should clarify. For teacher salaries,
16 yes, for teacher salaries I have some familiarity
17 specifically with that profession.

18 Q I see.

19 Can you tell me a little bit about more
20 what your economic development work entailed?

21 A Sure. I -- right now today? Economic
22 development work?

23 Q And any other period of time between now
24 and 2010.

25 A Sure. The only economic development work

1 that I have been involved in from 2010 till now is
2 in the current job that I have.

3 So April 2021 till now, I oversee a group
4 of economic development agencies for our office; in
5 other words, when I say that, I mean they report to
6 me, the Department of Economic Opportunity,
7 Enterprise Florida, Visit Florida, Florida Housing
8 Finance Corporation, Florida Development Finance
9 Corporation, Space Florida, CareerSource. I hope I
10 am not forgetting anybody.

11 **Q Thank you.**

12 **What is Economic Opportunity Florida?**

13 **What is their mission?**

14 A The Department of Economic Opportunity?

15 **Q Yes. I'm sorry. I think that was the**
16 **first agency you mentioned.**

17 A Department of Economic Opportunity. Yes.
18 The department oversees a number of economic
19 development-related functions, including the State's
20 reemployment system. The department is the finance
21 agent of several of the economic growth incentive
22 programs that some of the other agencies I
23 mentioned -- CareerSource, Enterprise Florida, Space
24 Florida -- that they promote, the Department of
25 Economic Opportunities is essentially the financier,

1 the check-and-balance accountability arm of those
2 programs.

3 In addition, the Department of Economic
4 Opportunity oversees numerous grant programs for
5 economic development type of infrastructure grants,
6 workforce training grants, rural infrastructure,
7 rural community grants for small cities, small
8 counties -- I guess rural counties and small
9 counties is the same thing.

10 I know I am probably leaving out stuff,
11 but that's the general purview of the Department.

12 **Q Thank you.**

13 **And in overseeing that department and that**
14 **department's work, what types of information**
15 **regarding income levels of Floridians did the**
16 **department consider?**

17 **A** What kind of income level data?

18 **Q Uh-huh.**

19 **A** The department has two ways that it would
20 typically look at income data. That income data in
21 some cases would be based on eligibility for
22 programs. So, for example, housing programs -- just
23 to give a real crystal clear example, housing
24 programs, there are different income thresholds that
25 would allow someone to become eligible for different

1 types of housing assistance, so lower to moderate
2 income.

3 The inverse of that is the department will
4 look at income from the point of view of many of the
5 State's grants and incentive programs. The
6 applicant has to essentially propose that the
7 purpose of their project will create some number of
8 jobs at a certain income level that would be a
9 high-demand improvement in income.

10 Q So fair to say that demand was not equal
11 across all areas of the state?

12 A Demand for what?

13 Q Well, you referenced high demand for --
14 MS. DJANG: Actually, if you can repeat
15 maybe his last two sentences.

16 (The requested portion was read.)

17 BY MS. DJANG:

18 Q Okay. So scratch that.

19 Would it be fair to say that the
20 Department of Economic Opportunities grant
21 activities and other housing programs were not
22 equally distributed across every single county in
23 the state?

24 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, could you clarify the
25 time period again?

1 MS. DJANG: During the time that you've
2 been working and overseeing that agency.

3 A Equally by population or equally by --

4 BY MS. DJANG:

5 Q Equally by geographic area. So if you
6 were --

7 A Sure. They're not distributed equally
8 geographically across the state.

9 Q Okay. And could you provide a high-level
10 description of where those resources are
11 concentrated?

12 A I would have to spend -- I would have to
13 understand probably fully more what you are asking.
14 I'd have to spend a lot of time to study that issue.

15 Q So you've been working in this position
16 from April 2021 to now. That's over two years,
17 correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Okay. And you have been overseeing the
20 Department of Economic Opportunity for over
21 two years; is that right?

22 A Yes.

23 Q And sitting here today -- and I'm trying
24 to rephrase this question -- could you describe to
25 me one area of the state where the department's

1 **resources are concentrated? Could you identify one?**

2 A Sure. Miami-Dade County.

3 Q Okay. Could you identify an area in the
4 **northern half of the state?**

5 A Jackson County.

6 Q Okay. Thank you.

7 All right. So we can move on from that.

8 **I appreciate this trip down memory lane. Thank you**
9 **for bearing with me.**

10 So let's talk about this within this
11 **decade.**

12 MS. DJANG: And maybe this is a good time
13 to take a quick break. We've been going for a
14 while. But I can promise you we're leaving the
15 past behind for the moment.

16 THE WITNESS: Sure.

17 MS. DJANG: Okay. Thanks.

18 (A recess took place from 3:57 p.m. to
19 4:03 p.m.)

20 BY MS. DJANG:

21 Q So I would love to return very briefly to
22 **Exhibit 63, which was the House committee packet, to**
23 **look at the population by race by county slide. And**
24 **I know there was a page with two of them, and just**
25 **to return to the second slide. We looked at the**

1 first one previously.

2 So the second one is also titled
3 "Population race by county" but instead of the white
4 percentages shown on the map, it shows the Black or
5 African American alone percentages by county,
6 correct?

7 A Yes.

8 Q All right. And do you recall seeing this
9 slide or reviewing this data?

10 A Like I said before, I don't recall the
11 specific presentation. These were the kinds of
12 presentations that we looked at. I've seen
13 presentations like this before. I don't recall
14 literally this exact presentation.

15 Q Fair enough.

16 But you did look at population by race by
17 county when drawing the maps that the committee you
18 worked for proposed in the 2012 cycle, correct?

19 A Population by race by county when drawing
20 the maps?

21 Q I can rephrase. You looked -- you
22 considered population by race by county as one data
23 point when drawing proposed maps; not any particular
24 map, but just in general, in this process of drawing
25 proposed maps during the 2012 redistricting cycle,

1 **correct?**

2 A I wouldn't say it that way. Where
3 necessary or where we believed potentially
4 necessary, we would look at Black voting age
5 population, Hispanic voting age population, in
6 districts that we were drawing where we believed
7 there was some reason, some necessity to do so.

8 Q **Okay. Thank you for clarifying.**

9 **Okay. Great.**

10 And just to have on the record what is
11 depicted here, could you please describe for me
12 which area of both of these maps shows the highest
13 percentage by county of Black or African American
14 alone population in both these maps?

15 A Sure. It identifies Gadsden County,
16 Florida, in both 2000 and 2010 as having the
17 greatest percentage of Black or African American
18 alone population.

19 Q **Okay. And then in addition, in the visual**
20 **depiction, the counties with the highest percentage**
21 **of the population that is Black or African American**
22 **alone in those counties is depicted as red, correct?**

23 A Yes.

24 Q **Okay. And in the 2010 map, that refers to**
25 **five counties, right?**

1 A The 2010 map, it refers to Gadsden, Leon,
2 Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton counties.

3 Q Okay. Thank you. Okay. That is all I
4 wanted to get through there.

5 Please pull up for me Exhibit 42. This is
6 Governor DeSantis' advisory opinion request of the
7 Florida Supreme Court.

8 A Got it.

9 Q So we've already talked about this a
10 little bit, but I would just like to understand, in
11 this first paragraph on this first page, the phrase
12 "solely to connect a minority population sector in
13 Jacksonville with a separate and distinct minority
14 population center in Leon and Gadsden Counties."

15 Just focusing on that phrase, could you
16 explain to me what a "separate and distinct minority
17 population" is?

18 A Separate being people who live in separate
19 communities.

20 Q How would you define that?

21 A They don't live in the same community.

22 Q What would you consider to be the
23 boundaries of a community?

24 A Counties, cities.

25 Q Counties and cities?

1 A Could define a community with major
2 roadways, railways, waterways.

3 **Q Anything else?**

4 A No.

5 **Q Okay. And at the end of this paragraph,**
6 **it states: "These counties are in two completely**
7 **different regions of the state." And that's in**
8 **reference to Duval to the east and Leon to the west.**

9 **Which regions of the state is that**
10 **referring to?**

11 A Forgive me. What part of the paragraph
12 are you on?

13 **Q This is the final two sentences of this**
14 **paragraph.**

15 A Okay. Where it begins "as of"?

16 **Q Uh-huh.**

17 A Okay. And you're asking me what two
18 regions the people in this district are in?

19 **Q Yes, what are the two regions referenced**
20 **in that sentence?**

21 A The constituency in Duval County, Baker
22 County, typically one would consider that to be
23 northeast Florida.

24 The constituencies in Gadsden, Leon
25 County, you would consider that to be the Big Bend

1 of the state.

2 I'm not sure if someone would also define
3 the constituents in Jefferson County the same way.
4 The counties kind of in between that -- again, I'm
5 not sure where you would classify Jefferson. But
6 counties in between that over to Baker County,
7 typically considered to be North Florida, kind of
8 middle-central North Florida.

9 **Q And did you take these regions into**
10 **account when drawing maps in this most recent**
11 **redistricting cycle?**

12 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
13 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
14 extent you can.

15 A Did I take the regions into account?

16 BY MS. DJANG:

17 **Q Uh-huh.**

18 A Yes.

19 **Q And where in the -- in terms of political**
20 **and geographic boundaries, help me understand how**
21 **you would prioritize regions amongst other different**
22 **factors?**

23 A Sure.

24 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
25 Marsh instruction, but you can answer if you

1 can.

2 A The region of the state becomes an issue
3 of compactness, really. The region of the state is
4 if you have a district that has a large number of
5 regions in it, it could bring up a question of
6 compactness. That -- you couldn't weigh it on that
7 alone.

8 You'd have to factor in are you talking a
9 very urban area, a rural area with either large or
10 small populations. Obviously a district that has
11 perhaps exclusively rural communities is going to
12 have a large geography regardless, because there's
13 no other choice.

14 But -- so it's going to become an issue of
15 compactness, but having different regions unto
16 itself, you'd want to look at the district more than
17 just saying that to determine compactness.

18 BY MS. DJANG:

19 **Q Understood.**

20 **And if I wanted to figure out what the**
21 **different regions were, is there a map that I could**
22 **reference? Is this -- where can I find a list of**
23 **the different regions of Florida?**

24 A I suppose you could research that.

25 **Q I am asking you. You're my source right**

1 **now.**

2 A Okay. Where could you find a list of
3 regions? You can research that on the internet.

4 **Q Where would you look for a list of the**
5 **regions of Florida?**

6 A You could look for a list, a variety of
7 places about the state.

8 **Q Mr. Kelly, can you identify any that lists**
9 **or depicts the regions of Florida as we're**
10 **discussing them today?**

11 A If I could have an opportunity to do that,
12 I'd be happy to.

13 **Q So the answer is no?**

14 A I have no document in front of me that's a
15 list of regions of the state.

16 **Q And you can't describe one to me right**
17 **now?**

18 A Wikipedia.

19 **Q Thank you.**

20 **Considering the north-east region and Big**
21 **Bend region, those are the two regions implicated by**
22 **this map here, correct?**

23 A I'd say that area between -- depending on
24 where you would divide that line of Jefferson and
25 Leon over to Baker, I'd probably call that Northern

1 Central Florida.

2 Q Northern Central. Okay. Thank you. So
3 Northeast, Northern Central, Big Bend, you would
4 consider these all three separate regions?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. And would you or would you not
7 agree that the Black population in this area shares
8 certain characteristics, and I can go through a
9 couple, but one I might identify is income level?

10 A I don't know.

11 Q Okay. Do you know about -- and we can put
12 aside race for a moment -- that population's access
13 to government services?

14 A Throughout this entire district?

15 Q Correct.

16 A No.

17 Q Do you know about the access to government
18 services within the counties in this district?

19 A No. I know all our counties have
20 government services. I'm not sure if that's what
21 you're getting at.

22 Q So we talked earlier about your work with
23 the Department of Economic Opportunity and you
24 identified for me certain areas where resources were
25 concentrated.

1 **Would you agree with me that that's one**
2 **way of discerning where government services are**
3 **offered?**

4 A We didn't talk earlier about where
5 resources are concentrated.

6 Q I apologize. I don't want to
7 mischaracterize your testimony. Just give me a
8 moment here, I want to make sure I get this right.

9 Do you understand access to government
10 services to be equal across this District 5 depicted
11 here on this map?

12 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

13 You can answer if you understand.

14 A Can you tell me how you're using the word
15 "equal"? Equal in what way?

16 BY MS. DJANG:

17 Q Are there any differences in the level of
18 access to government services?

19 A I'm sure there are.

20 Q Would you disagree with me that this
21 District 5 contains a high proportion of Black
22 voters?

23 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

24 But you can answer if you understand.

25 A This District 5 as drawn here?

1 BY MS. DJANG:

2 Q Uh-huh.

3 A I know that its Black voting age
4 population, which has been quoted in some of these
5 documents, is in the low to mid 40s-something
6 percent range.

7 Q Would you agree with me that these Black
8 voters that we're talking about in this CD-5 share a
9 general level of poverty relative to the level of
10 poverty across statewide?

11 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

12 A I don't know.

13 BY MS. DJANG:

14 Q Would you agree that the access to health
15 care -- the ability to access adequate health
16 care -- I'll rephrase.

17 Would you agree that the Black voters in
18 this CD-5's ability to access adequate health care
19 is less than the general access throughout the
20 state?

21 A I don't know.

22 Q All right. Do you know one way or the
23 other whether the residents of -- the Black
24 residents of this district tend to be older,
25 younger, or average age when compared to the rest of

1 **the state?**

2 A I don't know.

3 Q **Okay. I'm going to show you what we'll**
4 **mark as Exhibit 64.**

5 (Exhibit 64 was marked for
6 identification.)

7 BY MS. DJANG:

8 Q **Do you recognize this document?**

9 A Yes.

10 Q **And what is it?**

11 A Similar to the forms that we looked at
12 earlier, this is a submission form for a map to the
13 legislature, just, unlike the forms earlier that had
14 Ryan Newman's name on it, this has my name on it.

15 Q **What date is your signature dated?**

16 A 4-13-2022.

17 Q **And that's your signature, right?**

18 A Yes.

19 Q **Do you remember signing this document?**

20 A Yes.

21 Q **Okay. I see that you have left blank the**
22 **box under "List the name of every persons, groups,**
23 **or organizations you collaborated with on your**
24 **comments, suggestion, or submitted map below"; is**
25 **that right?**

1 A Yes.

2 **Q Is it accurate that you did not**
3 **collaborate with any person, group, or organization**
4 **on this submitted map with which you provided this**
5 **form?**

6 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
7 Marsh instruction. To the extent you
8 collaborated with anyone outside of EOG --

9 A Correct, I filled this out properly.
10 There was no name or organization to include in that
11 box. There was no outside participant help. I drew
12 the map myself.

13 And I stated earlier in the prior
14 questions to similar end that the Executive Office
15 of the Governor is our office and that's -- there's
16 no need -- as stated earlier on some of the other
17 forms for the prior maps, they're -- we're in an
18 office, but I had no one help me with this map.

19 BY MS. DJANG:

20 **Q In the 2012 redistricting cycle, was this**
21 **submission form required for anyone -- everyone who**
22 **submitted proposed maps?**

23 A No, not this form.

24 **Q Why not?**

25 A Why not?

1 **Q Do you know why this form was added as a**
2 **requirement for submitting maps in this most recent**
3 **cycle?**

4 A No, you would have to ask -- direct that
5 question to the House or Senate or both of them.

6 **Q Do you have any awareness of the reason**
7 **for this form?**

8 A The only reason that's been presented to
9 me earlier today by counsel was a memorandum from
10 Chair Rodrigues which I read for the first time
11 here. So I know what anybody else who's read that
12 form knows, but that's it.

13 **Q Thank you. Just a moment.**

14 **Speaking of Senator Rodrigues, do you**
15 **recall what his position was regarding a**
16 **Black-opportunity district in Northern Florida in**
17 **the 2012 redistricting cycle?**

18 A Senator Rodrigues' position in 2012?

19 **Q Uh-huh.**

20 A I have no idea.

21 **Q You have no idea?**

22 A None.

23 **Q You do not recall as staff director of the**
24 **House Redistricting Committee a senator's position**
25 **on a Black-opportunity district in Northern Florida,**

1 **you don't recall?**

2 A No.

3 Q Okay. I can represent to you that he
4 publicly stated that the Senate's responsibility in
5 creating these maps is to ensure there is no
6 retrogression and, therefore, the legislature was
7 required to preserve a Black-access district in
8 North Florida.

9 My question for you is: Did Senator
10 Rodrigues approve a map that did not have a
11 Black-access district in North Florida?

12 MR. JAZIL: Can you ask when?

13 A You really got me confused.

14 BY MS. DJANG:

15 Q Yes. Okay. Yes.

16 A You were talking about his position on the
17 maps in 2012. You've read a quote that I don't have
18 that he said last year --

19 MR. JAZIL: Let her rephrase the question.

20 MS. DJANG: Oh, yes. Okay.

21 BY MS. DJANG:

22 Q I am sorry. I misspoke. Okay. I truly
23 apologize. I was confused.

24 A No worries.

25 Q So the statement that I just made, I

1 represented to you that Senator Rodrigues made
2 regarding the requirement to preserve a Black-access
3 district in North Florida was made during this
4 recent 2022 redistricting cycle.

5 Were you aware of that statement or
6 something along that, in sum and substance to that
7 statement?

8 A No.

9 Q Were you aware of his position that the
10 legislature was required to preserve a Black-access
11 district in North Florida generally?

12 A Could I have the benefit of seeing what
13 you're reading?

14 Q I don't actually have a particular
15 document, but the question is whether you are aware
16 that at one point in time during the 2022
17 redistricting cycle, Senator Rodrigues believed the
18 legislature was required to preserve a Black-access
19 district in North Florida?

20 A Sorry, I'm being asked a question about an
21 exact quote and I can't even read the quote.

22 Q What I'm saying to you right now is not a
23 quote. This is a question about a district that was
24 the center -- would you agree District 5 was the
25 centerpiece --

1 A Okay. So now I'm being asked a question
2 about her interpretation of his opinion and I don't
3 have --

4 MR. JAZIL: Let's take a five-minute break
5 if that works for everyone. Is that okay?

6 MS. DJANG: Sure.

7 (A recess took place from 4:28 p.m. to
8 4:36 p.m.)

9 BY MS. DJANG:

10 Q So Mr. Kelly, in the spring of 2022, prior
11 to the legislature's special session, do you recall
12 one way or the other whether Senate Chair Rodrigues
13 had an opinion about the preservation of a Black
14 minority access district in Northern Florida?

15 A No, I don't recall his opinion.

16 Q Going into the meeting you had with him
17 and several others prior to the special session of
18 the legislature, did you have an understanding of
19 his position regarding a Black-opportunity district
20 in Northern Florida?

21 A No.

22 Q You do not know one way or the other
23 whether he was -- he thought it was required, not
24 required, constitutional, not constitutional?

25 A Correct.

1 **Q And during the course of that meeting, you**
2 **did not receive any feedback from him on your**
3 **presentation; is that right?**

4 A Basically, yeah. I noted earlier when we
5 talked about this that during that meeting, Chair
6 Rodrigues, generally speaking, listened to --
7 listened to me as I explained the map.

8 **Q So you said generally. What did he do**
9 **other than listen?**

10 A Let me say it a different way. Most of
11 the time, he listened. I took particular notice of
12 the fact that he was a very attentive listener, he
13 was a very active listener in the meeting.

14 **Q And he did not make any statements during**
15 **that meeting regarding your presentation?**

16 A I'm sure he said a few words, just none
17 that come to mind. In remembering the meeting, I
18 have a particular memory of how much he listened in
19 the meeting.

20 **Q Okay. Who requested that meeting?**

21 A I recall that we, our office, offered to
22 do a briefing for the chairman.

23 **Q And did you plan to present the proposed**
24 **plan that ultimately became the Enacted Plan during**
25 **the special session?**

1 A Yes, the idea was to prep, brief, walk the
2 chairman through the proposed map that, as you said,
3 ultimately became the Enacted Map.

4 **Q What, if anything, was different between**
5 **the content you presented at that meeting before the**
6 **special session and the content you presented during**
7 **the special session?**

8 A Oh, the question came up earlier that
9 content that I presented at that meeting, the map,
10 is the exact same map as the Enacted Map.

11 **Q And the substance of the conversation**
12 **during that meeting covered the same ground as the**
13 **special session or did it go in a different**
14 **direction?**

15 A It covered the same ground. It was not as
16 lengthy as my presentation in front of the full
17 committee.

18 **Q I hope not.**

19 A It was, give or take, a 45-minute to an
20 hour abridged version of that presentation.

21 **Q Whose idea was it for you to provide**
22 **testimony to the -- at the special session?**

23 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
24 Marsh instruction, but to the extent you can
25 answer, answer.

1 A I'd have to discuss conversations internal
2 to our office to answer the question, so I am going
3 to take counsel's guidance.

4 MR. JAZIL: Counsel, perhaps you could ask
5 him whether anyone in the legislature
6 invited --

7 BY MS. DJANG:

8 **Q Did the legislature invite you to testify**
9 **during the special session, did anyone in the**
10 **legislature?**

11 A I recall -- I recall the House suggesting
12 that I be the one to present. I don't recall who
13 specifically. I just -- I do have a recollection
14 that the House made a suggestion to us that I be the
15 one.

16 **Q Did they suggest that anyone else present**
17 **during the special session?**

18 A Not that I recall.

19 **Q Okay. I am showing you what we will mark**
20 **as Exhibit 65.**

21 (Exhibit 65 was marked for
22 identification.)

23 BY MS. DJANG

24 **Q Do you recognize this document?**

25 A Yes.

1 **Q What is it?**

2 A This is my script for the presentation to
3 the House and Senate committees on April 19, 2022.

4 **Q So to be clear, you used this same**
5 **document for both presentations?**

6 A I did.

7 **Q Can you just read for me what the**
8 **handwritten text on this first page in the upper**
9 **right-hand corner says?**

10 A It says: "CD-20." That's above the red
11 ink. Below it: "Bodies of water." Below that it
12 says: "Race neutral."

13 **Q Thank you.**

14 **What is your understanding of race neutral**
15 **in this context?**

16 A Sure. Drawing a district without
17 consideration for race.

18 **Q And what would consideration of a race**
19 **look like?**

20 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

21 You can answer to the extent you
22 understand.

23 A Without factor -- without factoring in the
24 racial composition of the residents of the district.

25

1 BY MS. DJANG:

2 Q Okay. But does that mean -- does race
3 neutral mean that one does not have access to racial
4 data whatsoever?

5 A It does not mean that.

6 Q When you provided this testimony before
7 the legislature, we previously discussed, or you
8 discussed with Ms. Ford that you weren't sworn in,
9 correct?

10 A Correct.

11 Q And I think what was discussed is you --
12 there was another form in which there was reference
13 to testimony given under the penalty of perjury.
14 Please correct me if I'm misstating what you stated.
15 And so your understanding was that you were
16 providing testimony under the penalty of perjury; is
17 that right?

18 A Yeah, basically, the legislature, as I can
19 recall, their forms that they have when you sign in
20 and present or give public comment or, as I was
21 doing, presenting something in the committee, I
22 believe their forms, at least they used to, cite the
23 perjury statute, so if you were to knowingly provide
24 false information, then the legislature could take
25 action against you.

1 Q Thank you.

2 Okay. So we can assume that your
3 testimony would be exactly the same had you been
4 sworn in and can rely on it as such?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay. On page 2 of these notes, you
7 write: "I alone authored the changes in the plan
8 before you today, Plan 0109, with respect to how
9 this new plan compares to the legislature's primary
10 Plan 8019." It's the fourth bullet.

11 A Yes.

12 Q Do you see that?

13 A I see it.

14 Q Can you please describe to me what you
15 meant when you said "I alone authored the changes in
16 the plan"?

17 A Sure. It's synonymous with I was the
18 map-drawer of the changes in a plan before the
19 committees that day.

20 Q Okay. So no one else had any input in the
21 decisions you made?

22 A I was the map-drawer. You used the word
23 input as in, like, that could be feedback, that
24 could be someone saying good job. But I was the
25 map-drawer.

1 **Q** Okay. So if someone said, you know, this
2 line, this district boundary doesn't look clean to
3 me, or I think we should keep this county intact,
4 and you ultimately drew the district that way, would
5 you consider that to be impacting that statement? I
6 just want to understand exactly what this means when
7 you say you alone authored the plan.

8 **A** Sure. Sure. I didn't get any feedback
9 like that.

10 **Q** Thank you.

11 **A** I mean, I guess the -- feedback in the
12 sense that when I -- I mentioned earlier, when we
13 met with the House and Senate, they were
14 complimentary of the proposed plan.

15 **Q** Got it. All right. Turning to the next
16 page, on page 3, you have in this first bullet,
17 could you read that for me?

18 **A** First bullet, page 3?

19 **Q** Uh-huh.

20 **A** "The only time I referenced political data
21 was early in the process to determine if it was
22 possible to draw a compact African American
23 performing district in Northeast Florida that
24 complies with both the U.S. Constitution and the
25 Florida Constitution as interpreted by the Florida

1 Supreme Court and implemented by the legislature."

2 **Q What were you referring to when you**
3 **referenced political data?**

4 A Sure. I was referring to 2020, in that
5 Duval County area, that sort of Duval County urban
6 core, 2020, political data regarding 2020 voter
7 registration, voter turnout, and the results of the
8 presidential election.

9 **Q And did that data contain any other data**
10 **points, any other -- you mentioned voter**
11 **registration, voter turnout. Any other data that**
12 **I'm missing?**

13 A And the 2020 data specifically and the
14 results of the presidential election.

15 **Q So was this county data? I need more**
16 **specifics. I am still not --**

17 A Oh, sure. I said it earlier, that
18 downtown kind of core of Duval County.

19 **Q Okay. And did that include a racial**
20 **breakdown of these numbers?**

21 A I looked at it by demographics, yes.
22 Racial, yes. Demographics include -- sorry,
23 demographics including race.

24 **Q Okay. What other demographics were**
25 **included?**

1 A I was looking at -- I mean, I was -- I
2 don't know what else fully comes up when you do
3 that, but I was looking at race. I was looking at
4 race in that downtown core of Duval County.

5 **Q Okay. And what was the source of your**
6 **data there that you were pulling from?**

7 A The application the legislature -- the
8 redistricting application the legislature provided.

9 **Q Was that the only area where you**
10 **considered such demographic information?**

11 A In terms of demographic race?

12 **Q Uh-huh.**

13 A I mentioned during my testimony as well
14 that the legislature had a debate back and forth
15 about Orlando, Central Florida, District 10, and so
16 I looked at the racial and ethnic data, the Black
17 voting-age population, Hispanic voting-age
18 population for that district.

19 And coming back up to the specific
20 district mentioned here on this first bullet on
21 page 3, to complete my analysis, if you will, I
22 looked at the Black voting-age population, data for
23 places like Palatka, Daytona Beach, Gainesville, to
24 essentially complete the analysis I'm describing
25 here. I'm trying to see if there was an ability to

1 draw a compact African American district in that
2 region.

3 Q So those locations that you just
4 mentioned, where in the -- which districts in the
5 Enacted Plan are those located?

6 And, yes, we can reference --

7 A I'm trying to find it.

8 Q We can reference Exhibit 13.

9 A Okay. I apologize, these are probably a
10 little out of order at this point. I got it.

11 Okay. So the cities that I just
12 mentioned, of what districts did those -- are you
13 asking, basically, what cities -- or what districts
14 did those cities end up in?

15 Q Correct.

16 A Sure. Palatka is in Putnam County, which
17 is in District 6, the, relatively speaking, northern
18 part of District 6.

19 Daytona Beach, I can't recall whether
20 Daytona Beach ends up in District 6 or 7. I need a
21 closer-up map. It's either -- Daytona Beach, the
22 municipal boundaries are right around the border of
23 6 or 7. I just don't recall which it's in, 6 or 7.

24 Gainesville is in Alachua County, which is
25 in District, I think that's 3. I can't find the

1 number here and I apologize. It was District 3.

2 Q Okay. And those are the only locations
3 where you --

4 A Well, and I am sorry. I described at the
5 beginning of my previous answer, District 10.

6 Q Right. And District 10?

7 A District 10, which is in Orange County.

8 Q And I'm -- just to be clear, that is a
9 complete list of where you considered racial
10 demographic data in drawing the Enacted Plan?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Okay.

13 A Oh, in drawing it, yes. I did make a
14 distinction in my presentation about Hispanic
15 voting-age population in District 26. After drawing
16 the district, I did check my work because that is a
17 district that's typically somewhere in the
18 70-something percent range of Hispanic voting-age
19 population and -- and implicates Section 2 of the
20 Voting Rights Act. And so I went back just to make
21 sure as I -- I had to redraw that district slightly
22 in this map, and just to make sure that I didn't do
23 anything to diminish the Hispanic voting-age
24 population in District 26. And I had not. Sorry.
25 I had not done anything to diminish it, but I

1 checked my work nonetheless.

2 **Q Were there any other districts that were,**
3 **in your view, were implicated by Section 2 of the**
4 **Voting Rights Act?**

5 A Oh, for the whole map?

6 **Q Uh-huh.**

7 A Districts 26, 27, 28, 20, I believe those
8 would be the only four. Now, three of those
9 districts, 20, 27 and 28, the legislature drew
10 those, but nonetheless, those four districts would
11 all have -- would -- you would be concerned -- I'm
12 not sure of the proper way to say it, but, you know,
13 would have Section 2 Voting Rights Act implications.
14 I'm sure there's a better way to say that.

15 **Q On page 5, regarding the proposed plan --**

16 A Page 5 of? I'm sorry.

17 **Q Of Exhibit 65.**

18 A Okay, got it.

19 **Q 65. Under the bullet "Regarding the**
20 **proposed plan," the plan, and the first bullet**
21 **states: "Maintains the same number of performing**
22 **majority-minority seats."**

23 **Which districts are you referring to**
24 **there?**

25 A Sure. Actually, the four that I just

1 mentioned, 20, 26, 27, and 28.

2 Q Got it.

3 And you just mentioned that you did
4 consult data after the fact for District 26. Your
5 conclusion that the Enacted Plan maintains
6 Districts 20, 27 and 28 as a performing
7 majority-minority district is based on the
8 legislature's conclusion?

9 A Yes, we accepted their analysis.

10 Q Okay. In drawing the Enacted Plan, was
11 compactness the most important factor you considered
12 when creating the districts?

13 MR. JAZIL: I give you the Marsh
14 instruction, but you can answer to the extent
15 you can.

16 A I wouldn't say that. I think, as I
17 testified, redistricting includes a variety of
18 factors that are spelled out in law. And I wouldn't
19 say that compactness is the most important factor.

20 What I did say yesterday is that
21 compactness and county boundaries, which comes up
22 from a boundary-analysis perspective and keeping
23 political and geographical boundary lines whole; I
24 would say that county boundaries are often
25 considered a proxy for compactness, and so, you

1 know, probably the best way to say it is that
2 compactness is probably a more frequently discussed
3 point or a more frequently relevant point because
4 when you keep a county whole, again, that is a proxy
5 for compactness.

6 Does that make sense?

7 BY MS. DJANG:

8 Q Yes, thank you.

9 And there were 10 districts in this
10 Enacted Plan that you explained were unchanged from
11 the legislative -- the plan approved by the
12 legislature, correct?

13 A Yes, there were 10 districts unchanged
14 from the legislature's map that the legislature
15 approved and the Governor vetoed.

16 Q And for those districts that you yourself
17 did not personally draw, why did you leave those
18 unchanged?

19 MR. JAZIL: I'm going to give you the
20 Marsh instruction, but you can answer to the
21 extent you can.

22 A The districts in -- Districts 1 and 2, in
23 terms of drawing compact districts that follow
24 well-recognized county and -- county lines, city
25 lines and other major boundaryways, there's really

1 nothing to improve upon in Districts 1 and 2 in --
2 that the legislature had drawn. And I believe it
3 was their -- I forget if it was the primary or
4 secondary, but they had drawn those two districts
5 that way.

6 They're well-drawn. There's nothing --
7 it's the Panhandle. It's very hard to draw those
8 districts differently.

9 And in terms of the other districts, four
10 of those districts do involve a Section 2 Voting
11 Rights Act analysis. And considering whether or not
12 to include those in what we generally meant as a
13 compromise product, I was generally trying to draw a
14 map that was a compromised product, the legislature
15 made a good case that they had done a thoughtful and
16 thorough job of their Voting Rights Act obligations
17 for those four districts.

18 There is a fifth district in that area. I
19 believe it's 24, I believe it is, that's -- I
20 believe it's -- well, it's just under that threshold
21 of the Voting Rights Act, or section of the Voting
22 Rights Act. It is a very compact, respective of
23 political and geographical boundary lines,
24 performing minority seat. It's a district that even
25 if race were not a factor at all, it's just a very

1 well-drawn, compact district.

2 And then adding to the element that that
3 seat has historically performed for African American
4 candidates and is very well compactly drawn, it
5 would implicate the Florida Constitution's analysis
6 regarding diminishment, so there was no reason to
7 change that.

8 Overall, too, in that region of the state,
9 looking at Districts 20 through 25, 27 -- and really
10 even District 26, as District 26 is eastern
11 property, which the only changes that I made were on
12 the western parts of District 26, but the eastern
13 parts of District 26, the legislature very clearly,
14 when you look at the maps that our office submitted
15 throughout the process, every time our office
16 submitted a map, the legislature came back through
17 their map, maps they were looking at, and they very
18 clearly were cleaning up county splits, city splits,
19 compactness.

20 So there was something of a reaction from
21 the legislature that was clear, from my perspective
22 anyway, you could see it in the statistics that they
23 would provide, the county splits, city splints,
24 compactness, that the legislature was constantly
25 responding to our proposals, improving the map.

1 And so the total of what I just said, the
2 legislature's analysis of legal obligations in
3 Southeast Florida was a very good reasonable
4 analysis. And the improvements that they made
5 throughout the process were good improvements.

6 So when looking at drawing a compromised
7 map, in many respects, the legislature had already
8 improved Southeast Florida in response to our
9 office's proposals. There wasn't really much else
10 to do with Southeast Florida.

11 BY MS. DJANG:

12 **Q Would you agree with me then that the way**
13 **that the legislature drew CD-24, CD-26, was not race**
14 **neutral?**

15 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

16 A The way they drew CD-24 and CD-26?

17 BY MS. DJANG:

18 **Q As you just described it to me.**

19 A I would agree with you, it was not race
20 neutral.

21 **Q Okay.**

22 A Although I don't know if I'm being picky,
23 but 26, that district performs for Hispanic
24 Floridians, so an issue of ethnicity, not race.

25 **Q Thank you. I believe you just testified**

1 **that CD-24 was a performing minority seat that has**
2 **historically performed for Black candidates; is that**
3 **right?**

4 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

5 But to the extent --

6 A Yes.

7 BY MS. DJANG:

8 Q **I just want to make sure that I'm not**
9 **wrong --**

10 A The answer is yes.

11 Q **-- what I hear.**

12 **So in your evaluation of the legislature's**
13 **CD-24, you would agree that the way you considered**
14 **CD-24 was also not race neutral?**

15 MR. JAZIL: Object to form. But you can
16 answer if you understand.

17 A The way I considered CD-24? The way I
18 considered CD -- or Congressional District 24 does
19 include race. I didn't draw it. But I -- the way I
20 considered it and the analysis that I just gave
21 includes a variety of things: compactness, use of
22 city and county lines, and race.

23 It is -- it's a very well done district
24 based on several very commonly used constitutionally
25 supported redistricting criteria.

1 BY MS. DJANG:

2 Q When you say "constitutionally," you mean
3 federal, the Federal Constitution, or do you mean
4 the Florida Constitution?

5 A Florida.

6 Q Okay.

7 MS. DJANG: If we could take a 5-minute
8 break, I think I can organize my thoughts and
9 then wrap up.

10 (A recess took place from 5:07 p.m. to
11 5:16 p.m.)

12 BY MS. DJANG:

13 Q Mr. Kelly, one of the political and
14 geographical factors that has come up today or
15 yesterday is municipal boundaries, correct?

16 A Yes.

17 Q And you considered those in preparing the
18 Enacted Plan, correct?

19 A Yes.

20 Q How many cities are there in Florida?

21 A Maybe 411, 412 incorporated cities, give
22 or take.

23 Q Do you know how many cities are divided by
24 the Enacted Plan?

25 A The Enacted Plan splits 16 cities.

1 Q **Amongst them is St. Petersburg, correct?**

2 A Correct.

3 Q **And amongst them is Jacksonville, correct?**

4 A Correct.

5 Q **In those cases, keeping the municipality**
6 **intact was subordinate to other factors which led**
7 **you to draw the line splitting the cities apart?**

8 A The city --

9 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

10 You can answer.

11 A The city of Jacksonville was larger than a
12 district, so it's impossible to not split it.

13 In the case of St. Petersburg, I gave a
14 pretty lengthy explanation yesterday as to how I
15 arrived at the decision of whether to keep St. Pete
16 whole, whether to split it, and was trying to draw a
17 district wholly located -- and I did successfully
18 draw a district wholly located in Pinellas County,
19 which is a little larger, maybe a couple hundred --
20 give or take, a couple hundred thousand people
21 larger than the size of a district.

22 So I drew a district wholly located in
23 Pinellas County. I had to make a decision as to
24 whether I would draw north to south or south to
25 north. I walked through the details on how I

1 arrived at that decision yesterday.

2 BY MS. DJANG:

3 Q And in terms of the other 14 cities that
4 were split and that are split in the Enacted Plan,
5 any other tough calls that required a lot of
6 deliberation on your part?

7 MR. JAZIL: Object to the form.

8 And I'll give you the Marsh instruction.

9 You can answer to the extent you can.

10 A If you want to walk through them, I can
11 walk through them. There's a couple that I can
12 remember off the top of my head that I'm happy to
13 talk through some of them.

14 Longboat Key we discussed yesterday.
15 That's a unique city in that Longboat Key is a city
16 that's actually split by Manatee and Sarasota
17 counties. And in the map, if you want to keep both
18 Manatee and Sarasota County whole, it puts you in a
19 position as a map-drawer where splitting the city is
20 the result of keeping the counties whole.

21 And so it wasn't an isolated decision unto
22 itself. I was considering decisions up from Citrus
23 County up to Lee County and even over to Polk County
24 when I was thinking that through. The result there
25 that was splitting Longboat Key.

1 Lakeland, I discussed yesterday as well.

2 My approach, it was a long lengthy answer I gave
3 yesterday talking about that region along the
4 Gulf Coast; Citrus down to Lee County inland to
5 Polk, how those districts all work together.

6 And what I did was I used as a boundary
7 between 11 and 18 in Polk County largely
8 Interstate 4, which was very well recognized and
9 allowed me to draw using a major geographical
10 boundary -- allowed me to draw a very nicely shaped
11 southern end to District 11, allowed me to square up
12 the district.

13 What's unique about Interstate 4 and the
14 cities there is that several cities -- Auburndale
15 was one that I mentioned. I think Polk City might
16 be another. Lakeland is one where the cities cross
17 over the interstate.

18 In the case of most of those cities that
19 cross over the interstate, most of those cities -- I
20 was able to keep most of those cities whole, like
21 Auburndale and Polk City, because the crossover of
22 interstate is very minor.

23 So you'll see -- if you really zoom in on
24 the interstate, you'll see sometimes either
25 District 11 one way or 18 the other way grab that

1 little portion of the state to keep it whole.

2 In the case of Lakeland, a significant
3 portion of Lakeland is on the northern side of
4 Interstate 4. And so I had a decision to make as to
5 how am I going to draw all the districts in that
6 area compactly, attempt to, where I could keep
7 counties and cities whole, and draw meaningful
8 compact borders for those districts that used
9 well-recognized political and geographical
10 boundaries.

11 So as I was making that decision, that
12 decision of St. Pete, Lakeland, Longboat Key, those
13 are all decision points that I specifically had to
14 address in the final map that became Enacted Map.

15 I made that, in part, by keeping
16 three cities whole that the legislature had split.
17 So I made a three-for-three trade in that regard.

18 Orlando is a -- obviously, very large
19 city. It is very bizarrely shaped. It would be
20 geographically a nightmare to attempt to keep --
21 Orlando has that -- sometimes you hear in the
22 district that bug-splatter effect the way that the
23 geographical boundaries of Orlando are spread out.

24 So to try to keep Orlando whole would be
25 to draw an incredibly noncompact district that

1 wouldn't be worth the endeavor. Moreover, the
2 borders of Orlando touch up amongst so many other
3 city borders, so the approach that I took around
4 Orlando was just draw a compact district that cores
5 the Orlando area, and in doing so, keep all the
6 cities around Orlando whole.

7 Because most -- most of those cities
8 around Orlando are physically smaller into varying
9 degrees. More compact. There are some cities that
10 are split in Southeast Florida. I can't speak as
11 detailed about some of those because I didn't draw
12 those portions of the map.

13 However, I can sympathize with the
14 map-drawer in those portions because -- I'll give
15 you an example: Fort Lauderdale has interlocking
16 borders, so almost -- so that if you kind of look,
17 Fort Lauderdale has, like, interlocking borders with
18 other cities in that area. There is a city down
19 there -- might be Hollywood. One of the major
20 cities down -- it might not be Hollywood.

21 One of the major cities down there
22 actually kind of goes south to north and then east
23 to west. There are some -- Broward County municipal
24 borders are very difficult to contend with. So I
25 can sympathize with the map-drawer of the Broward

1 County Districts. It's just very, very difficult.

2 As is, the final map does a very good job
3 in those southeastern counties doing, I think, a
4 best-case scenario job of keeping cities whole.

5 I'm sure there's one or two others that
6 aren't coming to mind.

7 BY MS. DJANG:

8 **Q Yesterday you testified that you're**
9 **generally familiar that St. Petersburg has a**
10 **substantial minority population; is that right?**

11 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

12 But you can answer.

13 A I think the testimony yesterday was
14 different. I was being asked about St. Petersburg
15 10 years ago, and then I was being asked about
16 St. Petersburg today. And in one of the exhibits
17 yesterday we read through my testimony from 10 years
18 ago where I was more familiar with the racial makeup
19 of St. Petersburg.

20 And when I was asked a question about
21 today's racial makeup of St. Petersburg, I said that
22 I wasn't.

23 BY MS. DJANG:

24 **Q You have zero familiarity with the racial**
25 **makeup of St. Petersburg today; is that your**

1 **testimony?**

2 A I know that St. Petersburg is a diverse
3 city. What does that mean, I have zero knowledge?

4 Q I am attempting to understand the extent
5 of your knowledge of the racial composition of
6 St. Petersburg.

7 Do you -- is it your understanding that
8 there is a -- how should I phrase this?

9 You are aware that there is a
10 concentration of Black voters within St. Petersburg,
11 correct?

12 A Can you define "a concentration"?

13 Q Let me think about this, how to say this.

14 Do you have any reason to believe that the
15 racial composition of St. Petersburg changed
16 significantly from 2012 to 2020?

17 A Sure. I know that the state's -- state's
18 population changed by, give or take, 5 million
19 people. And so it would be unreasonable of me to
20 just assume that communities throughout the state
21 would have the same racial, ethnic, otherwise,
22 composition they had 10 years ago.

23 Q Do you have any reason to believe that
24 there was an influx of white voters moving into
25 St. Petersburg during the past 10 years?

1 A It very much could have happened.
2 Pinellas County --

3 **Q The question was whether you have any**
4 **reason to believe that that occurred?**

5 A I just said, it very much could have
6 happened. Pinellas County at the 2010 census was
7 one of two counties in the state, Monroe being the
8 other, that had a decrease in population from 2000
9 to 2010. The state since then has grown by
10 5 million people.

11 I'm not aware -- I could be wrong -- I'm
12 not aware of any county that's had a decrease in
13 population from 2010 to 2020. So if you're talking
14 about a county that had a decrease in population in
15 one decade, and I'm pretty sure an increase in
16 population in the next decade, it would be foolish
17 of me to even guess or assume or fathom that the
18 population in Pinellas County is like it is in 2010.
19 I don't know what it is. I said this several times.

20 **Q Thank you.**

21 A And I've given a more detailed explanation
22 of the census.

23 **Q Okay. I appreciate that. Thank you,**
24 **Mr. Kelly.**

25 **Okay. In terms of the documents that you**

1 **were asked to preserve and turn over in connection**
2 **with this litigation, I understand that you**
3 **communicated with Adam Foltz via e-mail and phone;**
4 **is that right?**

5 A Are you talking about the document
6 collection process for, like, what we're doing here
7 today -- trial, deposition?

8 Q **For purposes of this litigation or for**
9 **purposes of a general litigation preservation hold**
10 **that either the legislature or the Executive Office**
11 **of the Governor instituted in anticipation of**
12 **litigation regarding redistricting.**

13 MR. JAZIL: I am sorry. Is there a
14 question pending?

15 BY MS. DJANG:

16 Q **Okay. The question was, during the**
17 **past -- during the period in which you were drawing**
18 **the Enacted Plan --**

19 A Uh-huh.

20 Q **During the period in which you were**
21 **drawing maps for the Executive Office of the**
22 **Governor in this past redistricting cycle, you**
23 **communicated with Adam Foltz via e-mail and phone,**
24 **correct?**

25 A Yes.

1 **Q And you also texted him, correct?**

2 A And also texted him? Yes, just
3 transitory-type texts, can you call me, can you talk
4 at such and such an hour.

5 **Q And you also testified that you may have**
6 **deleted certain of those text messages?**

7 A If they were transitory texts, I don't
8 keep transitory text messages.

9 **Q So your testimony today is that you**
10 **regularly delete transitory text messages?**

11 A Correct.

12 MR. JAZIL: Object to form.

13 BY MS. DJANG:

14 **Q Is it correct that you regularly delete**
15 **transitory text messages?**

16 MR. JAZIL: Object to form. You can
17 answer.

18 A Correct, there is no legal requirement for
19 me to keep transitory text messages. I don't keep
20 them.

21 BY MS. DJANG:

22 **Q Do you regularly delete transitory text**
23 **messages between all people you text with or some**
24 **people?**

25 MR. JAZIL: Object to form, but you can

1 answer.

2 A Oh, pretty much all.

3 BY MS. DJANG:

4 Q So on a regular basis, you delete
5 transitory text messages with everyone with whom you
6 text?

7 A Except my mother, yes.

8 Q Okay. And how frequently do you delete
9 these messages? To me, I am thinking of it as a
10 purge.

11 A Oh, sure.

12 Q So how often do you go through and kind of
13 purge your transitory text messages from your phone?

14 A Daily.

15 Q Okay. I'd like to confirm that you
16 understood the questions I asked you today, with the
17 exception of the questions where you said you didn't
18 understand. But other than those questions, can you
19 confirm you understood the questions I asked you?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And you answered all questions truthfully
22 today?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Would you change any answers now that
25 you've given earlier today?

1 A No.

2 MS. DJANG: Thank you.

3 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

4 MS. DJANG: That's all I have.

5 MR. JAZIL: I have no questions. We'll
6 read.

7 (Proceedings concluded at 5:34 p.m.)

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

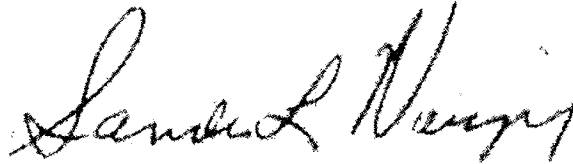
CERTIFICATE OF OATH

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, the undersigned authority, certify that
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
STATE'S OFFICE personally appeared before me on June
8, 2023, and was duly sworn.

SIGNED AND SEALED on June 12, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
snargiz@comcast.net
Commission #HH239213
EXPIRES: APRIL 18TH, 2026

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

STATE OF FLORIDA)
COUNTY OF LEON)

I, SANDRA L. NARGIZ, Registered
Professional Reporter, certify that I was authorized
to and did stenographically report the deposition of
JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
STATE'S OFFICE; that a review of the transcript was
requested, and that the foregoing transcript, pages
195 through 295, is a true record of my stenographic
notes.

I further certify that I am not a
relative, employee, attorney or counsel of any of
the parties, nor am I a relative or employee of any
of the parties' attorney or counsel connected with
the action, nor am I financially interested in the
action.

DATED on June 12, 2023.



SANDRA L. NARGIZ
RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Notary Public in Florida
snargiz@comcast.net

1 June 12, 2023

2 MOHAMMAD O. JAZIL, ESQUIRE
mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com

3

4 RE: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs. Cord Byrd, et
al. and Common Cause vs. Cord Byrd
5 Case No. 2022 CA 000666 AND 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
Deposition of JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as
6 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE
7 on June 8, 2023

8 Dear Counsel:

9 The transcript of the above proceeding is now
available and requires signature by the witness.
10 Please e-mail fl.production@lexitaslegal.com for
access to a read-only PDF transcript and
11 PDF-fillable errata sheet via computer or use the
errata sheet that is located at the back of the
12 transcript. Once completed, please print, sign, and
return to the email address listed below for
13 distribution to all parties. If you are in need of
assistance, please contact Lexitas at 888-811-3408.

14

If the witness does not read and sign the transcript
15 within a reasonable amount of time (or 30 days if
Federal), the original transcript may be
16 filed with the Clerk of the court. If the witness
wishes to waive his/her signature now, please have
17 the witness sign in the blank at the bottom of this
letter and return to the email address listed below.

18

Very truly yours,

19

20 Sandra L. Nargiz, RPR, RMR, CRR, CRC, CCR-GA
Lexitas
21 1551 Forum Place, Suite 200-E
West Palm Beach, Florida 33401
22 fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
I do hereby waive my signature.

23

24 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF
25 STATE'S OFFICE
Job No. 309153

1 ERRATA SHEET - VOLUME 2

2 DO NOT WRITE ON TRANSCRIPT - ENTER CHANGES HERE

3 In Re: Black Voters Matter, et al. vs. Cord Byrd, et
4 al. and Common Cause vs. Cord Byrd
5 Case Nos.: 2022 CA 000666 and
6 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF
7 JAMES ALEXANDER KELLY, as
8 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE
9 GOVERNOR and SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE
10 June 8, 2023

11	PAGE	LINE	CHANGE	REASON
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				

20 Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have
21 read the foregoing transcript of the above
22 proceeding and I hereby swear that my testimony
23 therein was true at the time it was given and is now
24 true and correct, including any corrections and/or
25 amendments listed above.

26 Signature of Witness: _____
27 Dated this ____ day of _____, 2023.
28 email to: fl.production@lexitaslegal.com
29 Job No. 309153

<hr/> Exhibits <hr/> Exhibit 063 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 198:0 229:12 244:22 Exhibit 064 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 198:0 255:4, 5 Exhibit 065 Gov ernor's Rep. Kelly 198:0 263:20, 21 272:17 <hr/> 0 <hr/> 0109 266:8 <hr/> 1 <hr/> 1 199:1 213:20 215:6 274:22 275:1 10 221:20 231:8 269:15 271:5, 6, 7 274:9, 13 285:15, 17 286:22, 25 100 219:12, 13 11 215:3 282:7, 11, 25	12 215:3 229:22 13 270:8 14 281:3 14.6 232:17 15 231:8 1500 221:10 16 232:17 279:25 17 209:12, 15 18 282:7, 25 19 264:3 <hr/> 2 <hr/> 2 210:16 266:6 271:19 272:3, 13 274:22 275:1, 10 20 229:18, 23 230:17 272:7, 9 273:1, 6 276:9 200 214:13 2000 221:11 232:10, 17 236:12, 21	246:16 287:8 2010 230:8 231:7 232:11, 18, 25 233:1, 2, 9, 17 234:4 235:12 236:12, 21 237:19 238:2 239:24 240:1 246:16, 24 247:1 287:6, 9, 13, 18 2010-2012 203:12 2011 209:25 212:2 213:3, 4 218:7 229:18, 23 230:17 232:4 2012 202:5 203:25 207:8, 10 245:18, 25 256:20 257:17, 18 258:17 286:16 2020 233:10 237:6, 19 238:2 268:4, 6, 13 286:16 287:13 2021 240:3 243:16 2022 213:20 259:4, 16 260:10 264:3 2023 234:5	2025 201:8 24 275:19 278:18 25 276:9 26 205:14 271:15, 24 272:7 273:1, 4 276:10, 12, 13 277:23 26-city 212:10 27 272:7, 9 273:1, 6 276:9 28 272:7, 9 273:1, 6 2:50 199:1 <hr/> 3 <hr/> 3 215:23, 25 267:16, 18 269:21 270:25 271:1 300 221:10 32303 201:8 35.9 236:17 3:57 244:18
--	---	--	--

<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <hr/> <p>4</p> <p>282:8,13</p> <p>283:4</p> <p>4-13-2022</p> <p>255:16</p> <p>40-</p> <p>225:12</p> <p>40s-something</p> <p>254:5</p> <p>411</p> <p>279:21</p> <p>412</p> <p>279:21</p> <p>42</p> <p>213:15 247:5</p> <p>43.88775</p> <p>216:5</p> <p>44.95932</p> <p>210:17</p> <p>45</p> <p>216:15</p> <p>45-minute</p> <p>262:19</p> <p>4:03</p> <p>244:19</p> <p>4:28</p> <p>260:7</p> <p>4:36</p> <p>260:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <hr/> <p>5</p> <p>203:21,23</p> <p>204:2 209:21,</p> <p>25 212:2</p>	<p>215:4,5</p> <p>219:11 221:20</p> <p>238:1 253:10,</p> <p>21,25 259:24</p> <p>272:15,16</p> <p>286:18 287:10</p> <p>5-minute</p> <p>279:7</p> <p>50</p> <p>213:1</p> <p>59.3</p> <p>236:17</p> <p>5:07</p> <p>279:10</p> <p>5:16</p> <p>279:11</p> <p>5:34</p> <p>291:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <hr/> <p>6</p> <p>204:1 270:17,</p> <p>18,20,23</p> <p>60-hour</p> <p>225:12</p> <p>63</p> <p>229:11,12</p> <p>244:22</p> <p>64</p> <p>255:4,5</p> <p>65</p> <p>263:20,21</p> <p>272:17,19</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <hr/> <p>7</p> <p>209:7 215:11</p> <p>222:18</p>	<p>270:20,23</p> <p>70-something</p> <p>271:18</p> <p>75</p> <p>232:11 236:21</p> <p>78</p> <p>232:10 236:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <hr/> <p>8019</p> <p>266:10</p> <p>874</p> <p>216:4</p> <p>876</p> <p>210:5</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">9</p> <hr/> <p>931</p> <p>209:8,9</p> <p>932</p> <p>209:12,15</p> <p>933</p> <p>213:12 215:19</p> <p>934</p> <p>215:23,25</p> <p>935</p> <p>220:5</p> <p>936</p> <p>211:10,12</p> <p>213:12</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <hr/> <p>abandoned</p> <p>207:16</p> <p>ability</p> <p>216:9 254:15,</p> <p>18 269:25</p>	<p>ability-to-elect</p> <p>216:6</p> <p>abridged</p> <p>262:20</p> <p>accepted</p> <p>273:9</p> <p>access</p> <p>252:12,17</p> <p>253:9,18</p> <p>254:14,15,18,</p> <p>19 260:14</p> <p>265:3</p> <p>accompanied</p> <p>223:8,12</p> <p>225:14,16</p> <p>account</p> <p>249:10,15</p> <p>accountability</p> <p>241:1</p> <p>accurate</p> <p>208:25 217:21</p> <p>256:2</p> <p>accused</p> <p>202:23</p> <p>Act</p> <p>271:20 272:4,</p> <p>13 275:11,16,</p> <p>21,22</p> <p>action</p> <p>199:7 200:11</p> <p>201:13 265:25</p> <p>active</p> <p>261:13</p> <p>activities</p> <p>242:21</p> <p>actual</p> <p>228:21</p>
---	---	--	--

Adam 288:3,23	243:2	analysis 216:2 217:17, 20,22,23 218:1,3,5,8, 11,16 219:2 223:8,12,20, 21 224:20 225:14,25 226:1,2 269:21,24 273:9 275:11 276:5 277:2,4 278:20	284:3
added 257:1	agent 240:21		approve 258:10
adding 276:2	agree 207:1 208:18 214:18 226:16 235:10 252:7 253:1 254:7, 14,17 259:24 277:12,19 278:13		approved 274:11,15
addition 199:15 203:5 208:4 241:3 246:19			approximately 212:15 224:11
additional 234:1	agreed 200:17	answers 201:16,21 202:1 290:24	approximation 212:19
address 201:6,7 283:14	aided 227:5	anticipation 288:11	April 229:18,23 230:1,17 240:3 243:16 264:3
adequate 254:15,18	Alachua 270:24	apologies 200:5 203:4 225:20	aptly 213:25
adopted 218:10	albeit 215:3	apologize 253:6 258:23 270:9 271:1	area 220:19 239:2 243:5,25 244:3 246:12 250:9 251:23 252:7 268:5 269:9 275:18 283:6 284:5, 18
advance 199:17 203:6	Alexander 201:7	appears 211:22,24 236:2	areas 238:8,15 239:9 242:11 252:24
advisory 247:6	allowed 282:9,10,11	applicable 200:19	arm 241:1
African 216:7,18 232:16 233:9 235:18 245:5 246:13,17,21 267:22 270:1 276:3	alternatives 208:6	applicant 242:6	arrived 280:15 281:1
age 210:15 216:5 219:25 246:4, 5 254:3,25	America 235:5	application 269:7,8	assign 225:11
agencies 240:4,22	American 216:7,18 232:16 233:9 235:18 245:5 246:13,17,21 267:22 270:1 276:3	apply 214:19	assistance 242:1
agency 202:14,15,17, 21 240:16	analyses 223:17,19 224:3,9 225:16 226:11,17	appreciated 218:2	assume 225:9 266:2
		approach 209:21 282:2	

286:20 287:17 attached 203:8 attempt 283:6,20 attempting 286:4 attend 227:21,22 attending 228:6 attention 203:20 209:8 attentive 261:12 attorney 199:5 Auburndale 282:14,21 audible 201:16 author 223:16,18,24 authored 266:7,15 267:7 auto 225:22 auto-run 225:24 automatically 225:17 Avenue 201:8 average 254:25 aware	232:3 259:5, 9,15 286:9 287:11,12 awareness 257:6 <hr/> B <hr/> back 199:22 203:11 209:24 218:10 220:16 227:16,17 269:14,19 271:20 276:16 backwards 233:10 235:19 Baker 248:21 249:6 251:25 based 241:21 273:7 278:24 basic 208:18 basically 237:14 261:4 265:18 270:13 basis 217:10 237:8, 12,25 290:4 Beach 205:9 269:23 270:19,20,21 bearing 244:9 Beg 214:24 begin	209:13 beginning 224:18,25 271:5 begins 214:12 248:15 believed 246:3,6 259:17 Belknap 199:6 benchmark 215:4 216:11, 16 217:13 219:15 Bend 248:25 251:21 252:3 benefit 259:12 Beretta 203:7 best-case 285:4 big 234:21 248:25 251:20 252:3 bill 223:21 225:25 226:1,2,11 bit 230:12 233:11,20 235:19 239:19 247:10 bizarrely 283:19 Black	208:9 210:15 216:5 219:24 232:13,15,16 233:9 235:10, 17 245:4 246:4,13,17, 21 252:7 253:21 254:3, 7,17,23 260:13 269:16,22 278:2 286:10 Black-access 258:7,11 259:2,10,18 Black- opportunity 257:16,25 260:19 blank 227:18 255:21 blocs 218:17 Bodies 264:11 border 206:2 270:22 borders 283:8 284:2, 3,16,17,24 bottom 213:23 boundaries 214:15 247:23 249:20 270:22 273:21,24 279:15 283:10,23 boundary
---	--	---	--

<p>267:2 273:23 275:23 282:6, 10</p> <p>boundary- analysis 273:22</p> <p>boundaryways 274:25</p> <p>box 255:22 256:11</p> <p>break 244:13 260:4 279:8</p> <p>breakdown 237:13,15 268:20</p> <p>breakdowns 220:7</p> <p>breaking 208:7</p> <p>briefing 261:22</p> <p>briefly 244:21</p> <p>bring 199:21 250:5</p> <p>broke 208:5</p> <p>Broward 205:9 284:23, 25</p> <p>bug-splatter 283:22</p> <p>bullet 266:10 267:16,18 269:20 272:19,20</p>	<p>BVAP 219:4</p> <hr/> <p>C</p> <hr/> <p>call 223:24 251:25 289:3</p> <p>called 213:25</p> <p>calling 202:25 210:16</p> <p>calls 281:5</p> <p>camp 221:9</p> <p>candidate 216:7</p> <p>candidates 276:4 278:2</p> <p>care 254:15,16,18</p> <p>Careersource 240:9,23</p> <p>case 199:18 208:7 239:4 275:15 280:13 282:18 283:2</p> <p>cases 239:5 241:21 280:5</p> <p>categories 232:20,23</p> <p>category 233:22</p> <p>Catherine 199:5</p>	<p>CD 278:18</p> <p>CD-20 264:10</p> <p>CD-24 277:13,16 278:1,13,14, 17</p> <p>CD-26 277:13,16</p> <p>CD-5 254:8</p> <p>CD-5's 254:18</p> <p>census 217:7 230:8 232:1 233:20 235:4 236:3 287:6,22</p> <p>center 247:14 259:24</p> <p>centerpiece 259:25</p> <p>Central 252:1,2,3 269:15</p> <p>Chair 257:10 260:12 261:5</p> <p>chairman 261:22 262:2</p> <p>chairs 226:24</p> <p>chance 230:15</p> <p>change 276:7 290:24</p> <p>changed</p>	<p>286:15,18</p> <p>characteristics 252:8</p> <p>characterized 232:16</p> <p>chart 233:25 234:8</p> <p>charts 232:7</p> <p>check 271:16</p> <p>check-and- balance 241:1</p> <p>checked 272:1</p> <p>children 234:19,25 238:18,23 239:1,3</p> <p>choice 216:7 250:13</p> <p>Christina 201:15</p> <p>circumstances 202:12</p> <p>cite 265:22</p> <p>cities 238:7,14 241:7 247:24, 25 270:11,13, 14 279:20,21, 23,25 280:7 281:3 282:14, 16,18,19,20 283:7,16 284:6,7,9,18, 20,21 285:4</p>
--	--	---	---

citizen 228:18	clustered 220:23	231:11 244:22 245:17 257:24 262:17 265:21	273:11,19,21, 25 274:2,5 276:19,24 278:21
Citrus 236:23,24 281:22 282:4	clustering 221:11,17 233:7	committee's 204:11	compared 254:25
city 274:24 276:18,23 278:22 280:8, 11 281:15,19 282:15,21 283:19 284:3, 18 286:3	Coast 282:4	committees 204:20 212:1, 9 224:5,13 231:16,19 264:3 266:19	compares 266:9
clarify 221:19 239:15 242:24	code 236:13	Common 199:8 201:12	comparing 219:14
clarifying 200:7 246:8	cohesiveness 218:16	commonly 234:13 278:24	comparison 232:11
clarity 201:1,10	collaborate 256:3	communicated 288:3,23	complaint 200:10,12
classifies 235:17	collaborated 255:23 256:8	communities 205:17,19,23, 24 218:14 220:22,24 247:19 250:11 286:20	complaints 202:16
classify 208:20 249:5	collected 228:22	community 216:18 233:5 235:6,9,10 241:7 247:21, 23 248:1	complete 202:1 210:7, 10 269:21,24 271:9
clean 267:2	collection 288:6	compact 207:24 208:1, 3 267:22 270:1 274:23 275:22 276:1 283:8 284:4,9	completely 199:24 201:23 248:6
cleaning 276:18	color 236:13,16,18, 19	compactly 276:4 283:6	complies 267:24
clear 219:22 233:16 241:23 264:4 271:8 276:21	comment 204:12,13,15 265:20	compactness 207:17,21,22 208:3 218:13 250:3,6,15,17	complimentary 267:14
closer 208:25	comments 255:24		composition 264:24 286:5, 15,22
closer-up 270:21	committee 203:15,18 204:25 205:2, 13 207:14 211:23,24 219:11 222:20 223:20 224:6 226:20,24,25 227:10,11,15, 19,21,24 228:12,20,23, 25 229:16		compound 221:9,10
cluster 221:19,24 222:5,15			compromise 275:13
			compromised 275:14 277:6
			concentrated 243:11 244:1

<p>252:25 253:5</p> <p>concentration</p> <p>220:22</p> <p>286:10,12</p> <p>conception</p> <p>209:3 225:5</p> <p>concerned</p> <p>272:11</p> <p>conclude</p> <p>216:12</p> <p>concluded</p> <p>216:13 291:7</p> <p>conclusion</p> <p>217:10 237:12</p> <p>273:5,8</p> <p>concurrently</p> <p>228:3</p> <p>conduct</p> <p>202:24 217:16</p> <p>configuration</p> <p>206:11,13,16</p> <p>210:9 216:14,</p> <p>19,23 217:4,</p> <p>18 220:14</p> <p>configurations</p> <p>210:22</p> <p>confirm</p> <p>199:16</p> <p>290:15,19</p> <p>conflict</p> <p>228:7</p> <p>conforming</p> <p>214:14</p> <p>confused</p> <p>258:13,23</p> <p>confusing</p> <p>208:15</p>	<p>congressional</p> <p>203:21,23</p> <p>204:17 225:9,</p> <p>10,12 226:5</p> <p>227:24 229:17</p> <p>231:12 278:18</p> <p>connect</p> <p>247:12</p> <p>connection</p> <p>202:8 288:1</p> <p>consideration</p> <p>264:17,18</p> <p>considered</p> <p>204:8 221:16</p> <p>224:5,6,14</p> <p>245:22 249:7</p> <p>269:10 271:9</p> <p>273:11,25</p> <p>278:13,17,18,</p> <p>20 279:17</p> <p>constantly</p> <p>276:24</p> <p>constituencies</p> <p>248:24</p> <p>constituency</p> <p>248:21</p> <p>constituents</p> <p>249:3</p> <p>Constitution</p> <p>267:24,25</p> <p>279:3,4</p> <p>Constitution's</p> <p>276:5</p> <p>constitutional</p> <p>260:24</p> <p>constitutionall</p> <p>y</p> <p>278:24 279:2</p>	<p>consult</p> <p>273:4</p> <p>contend</p> <p>284:24</p> <p>content</p> <p>211:10 224:9</p> <p>226:16,17</p> <p>262:5,6,9</p> <p>contents</p> <p>230:6</p> <p>context</p> <p>264:15</p> <p>continue</p> <p>206:4</p> <p>continued</p> <p>199:1 232:25</p> <p>continuing</p> <p>209:14</p> <p>contractual</p> <p>202:15</p> <p>contributed</p> <p>223:25 224:2</p> <p>conversation</p> <p>262:11</p> <p>conversations</p> <p>263:1</p> <p>copy</p> <p>200:14 214:5</p> <p>core</p> <p>268:6,18</p> <p>269:4</p> <p>cores</p> <p>284:4</p> <p>corner</p> <p>231:25 264:9</p> <p>Corporation</p> <p>240:8,9</p>	<p>correct</p> <p>203:15,16,18,</p> <p>19 204:10</p> <p>209:6,10,16,</p> <p>22,25 210:9,</p> <p>11,17 219:4,8</p> <p>220:8 222:23</p> <p>225:10 228:8</p> <p>231:25 232:9,</p> <p>14,21 234:9</p> <p>235:13 243:17</p> <p>245:6,18</p> <p>246:1,22</p> <p>251:22 252:15</p> <p>256:9 260:25</p> <p>265:9,10,14</p> <p>270:15 274:12</p> <p>279:15,18</p> <p>280:1,2,3,4</p> <p>286:11 288:24</p> <p>289:1,11,14,</p> <p>18</p> <p>corrected</p> <p>218:1</p> <p>correlation</p> <p>238:25</p> <p>counsel</p> <p>200:17 215:15</p> <p>222:11 231:6</p> <p>242:24 257:9</p> <p>263:4</p> <p>counsel's</p> <p>263:3</p> <p>count</p> <p>217:7</p> <p>counties</p> <p>205:22,23</p> <p>208:5,6,8</p> <p>214:14 216:22</p> <p>221:7 236:14,</p>
--	--	---	---

<p>23 239:5 241:8,9 246:20,22,25 247:2,14,24, 25 248:6 249:4,6 252:18,19 281:17,20 283:7 285:3 287:7</p> <p>county</p> <p>204:9,24 205:9,10,11, 21 206:1 207:15,16 210:3 211:1 214:9,10 217:2,3 220:4 235:22 236:22,24 237:1,9,11, 13,15 238:21, 22 242:22 244:2,5,23 245:3,5,17, 19,22 246:13, 15 248:21,22, 25 249:3,6 267:3 268:5, 15,18 269:4 270:16,24 271:7 273:21, 24 274:4,24 276:18,23 278:22 280:18,23 281:18,23 282:4,7 284:23 285:1 287:2,6,12, 14,18</p>	<p>couple</p> <p>199:12 202:15 209:20 252:9 280:19,20 281:11</p> <p>court</p> <p>201:20,24 213:22 247:7 268:1</p> <p>covered</p> <p>262:12,15</p> <p>crayon</p> <p>213:3,25 214:1,19</p> <p>crayon-drawn</p> <p>205:10</p> <p>create</p> <p>226:14 227:8 242:7</p> <p>created</p> <p>224:19 226:7, 12</p> <p>creating</p> <p>227:5 258:5 273:12</p> <p>criteria</p> <p>207:1 278:25</p> <p>cross</p> <p>282:16,19</p> <p>crossover</p> <p>282:21</p> <p>crystal</p> <p>241:23</p> <p>current</p> <p>237:14 240:2</p> <p>cursory</p> <p>217:22 218:23</p> <p>custodial</p>	<p>228:10</p> <p>cycle</p> <p>203:12,14,17 204:8 206:12 207:8,10 218:11 245:18,25 249:11 256:20 257:3,17 259:4,17 288:22</p> <hr/> <p>D</p> <hr/> <p>Daily</p> <p>290:14</p> <p>data</p> <p>218:21 232:1 233:20 234:13,17,24, 25 235:4,5,6 236:3 237:15 241:17,20 245:9,22 265:4 267:20 268:3,6,9,11, 13,15 269:6, 16,22 271:10 273:4</p> <p>date</p> <p>255:15</p> <p>dated</p> <p>229:18 255:15</p> <p>day</p> <p>234:5 235:12 266:19</p> <p>Daytona</p> <p>269:23 270:19,20,21</p> <p>debate</p>	<p>269:14</p> <p>decade</p> <p>215:8 235:5 244:11 287:15,16</p> <p>decision</p> <p>280:15,23 281:1,21 283:4,11,12, 13</p> <p>decisions</p> <p>266:21 281:22</p> <p>decrease</p> <p>287:8,12,14</p> <p>decreasing</p> <p>232:9</p> <p>deeper</p> <p>219:1</p> <p>define</p> <p>208:3 221:14 247:20 248:1 249:2 286:12</p> <p>degrees</p> <p>284:9</p> <p>delete</p> <p>289:10,14,22 290:4,8</p> <p>deleted</p> <p>289:6</p> <p>deliberation</p> <p>281:6</p> <p>demand</p> <p>242:10,12,13</p> <p>demographic</p> <p>230:8 234:15 235:3 269:10, 11 271:10</p> <p>demographics</p>
--	--	--	--

230:11 231:5, 11 268:21,22, 23,24	describing 269:24	direct 199:2 209:8 257:4	271:14
department 240:6,14,17, 18,20,24 241:3,11,13, 16,19 242:3, 20 243:20 252:23	description 214:18 243:10	direction 262:14	distributed 242:22 243:7
department's 241:14 243:25	detail 221:1	director 203:14 222:19,24 228:13 257:23	district 203:21,23 204:2,5,8,23 205:10,16 206:14,16 207:7,15,18, 22 208:4 209:4,21 210:3,8,16 211:14,16,19 212:16,21,23 213:5,6,7,13 214:10,13 215:4,5 216:6,10,17 217:2,13 218:14 219:10 221:12,15,18 248:18 250:4, 10,16 252:14, 18 253:10,21, 25 254:24 257:16,25 258:7,11 259:3,11,19, 23,24 260:14, 19 264:16,24 267:2,4,23 269:15,18,20 270:1,17,18, 20,25 271:1, 5,6,7,15,16, 17,21,24 273:4,7 275:18,24 276:1,10,12, 13 277:23 278:18,23
depending 251:23	detailed 217:23 220:16 221:21 284:11 287:21	disagree 253:20	
depicted 246:11,22 253:10	details 280:25	discernible 234:7	
depicting 236:6	determine 250:17 267:21	discerning 253:2	
depiction 246:20	development 238:12 239:10,20,22, 25 240:4,8 241:5	disciplinary 202:18	
depicts 251:9	development- related 240:19	disconnected 205:16,19	
deposed 202:6,8,13	devote 224:14	discuss 263:1	
deposition 199:4 203:7 288:7	devoted 224:12	discussed 265:7,8,11 274:2 281:14 282:1	
depositions 199:13	differ 214:24	discussing 206:24 207:7 210:24 212:7 213:25 251:10	
Desantis 213:22	differences 253:17	discussion 213:18 219:20	
Desantis' 247:6	differently 275:8	disputes 202:15,20	
describe 209:1,4 236:5 243:24 246:11 251:16 266:14	difficult 284:24 285:1	distance 214:2	
	diminish 271:23,25	distinct 247:13,16	
	diminishment 276:6	distinction	

<p>280:12,17,18, 21,22 282:11, 12,25 283:22, 25 284:4</p> <p>districts</p> <p>199:8 201:12 207:18 210:9, 25 216:2 217:11 218:17 219:5,6 225:10 246:6 270:4,12,13 272:2,7,9,10, 23 273:6,12 274:9,13,16, 22,23 275:1, 4,8,9,10,17 276:9 282:5 283:5,8 285:1</p> <p>diverse</p> <p>286:2</p> <p>diversity</p> <p>231:22 232:4</p> <p>divide</p> <p>251:24</p> <p>divided</p> <p>279:23</p> <p>Djang</p> <p>199:3,5 200:8 207:9 213:19 215:17,19,22 222:14 229:14 231:7,9 237:24 242:14,17 243:1,4 244:12,17,20 249:16 250:18 253:16 254:1, 13 255:7</p>	<p>256:19 258:14,20,21 260:6,9 263:7,23 265:1 274:7 277:11,17 278:7 279:1, 7,12 281:2 285:7,23 288:15 289:13,21 290:3 291:2,4</p> <p>document</p> <p>200:13,14 211:8 230:14 236:9 251:14 255:8,19 259:15 263:24 264:5 288:5</p> <p>documents</p> <p>200:4 223:8 254:5 287:25</p> <p>downloaded</p> <p>229:18</p> <p>downtown</p> <p>268:18 269:4</p> <p>dozen</p> <p>221:25</p> <p>draft</p> <p>226:23</p> <p>draw</p> <p>203:17 210:7 237:12 267:22 270:1 274:17 275:7,13 278:19 280:7, 16,18,24 282:9,10 283:5,7,25 284:4,11</p>	<p>drawing</p> <p>204:8,23 210:24 211:14 225:6,7,8,11, 15 227:18 245:17,19,23, 24 246:6 249:10 264:16 271:10,13,15 273:10 274:23 277:6 288:17, 21</p> <p>drawn</p> <p>210:22 212:21 236:2 253:25 275:2,4 276:4</p> <p>drew</p> <p>213:3 256:11 267:4 272:9 277:13,16 280:22</p> <p>duplicate</p> <p>200:21</p> <p>Duval</p> <p>204:9 206:1 207:15 210:3 211:1 214:9 248:8,21 268:5,18 269:4</p> <hr/> <p>E</p> <hr/> <p>e-mail</p> <p>288:3,23</p> <p>earlier</p> <p>199:21,23 200:6,18 252:22 253:4 255:12,13 256:13,16</p>	<p>257:9 261:4 262:8 267:12 268:17 290:25</p> <p>early</p> <p>209:20 267:21</p> <p>easier</p> <p>222:13 227:6</p> <p>easily</p> <p>227:9</p> <p>east</p> <p>211:19 212:16 213:8 214:13 216:18 248:8 284:22</p> <p>east-west</p> <p>206:10 207:7 210:22 214:3 216:13 217:4, 17 220:14</p> <p>eastern</p> <p>276:10,12</p> <p>economic</p> <p>234:14 235:2 238:12 239:10,20,21, 25 240:4,6, 12,14,17,18, 21,25 241:3,5 242:20 243:20 252:23</p> <p>EDR</p> <p>235:7 236:3</p> <p>education</p> <p>234:21 238:12 239:10</p> <p>educational</p> <p>234:16 239:14</p> <p>effect</p> <p>283:22</p>
---	---	--	---

efficiency 200:20	entailed 239:20	204:14,19,21 212:13	extent 249:14 256:7 262:24 264:21 273:14 274:21 278:5 281:9 286:4
effort 228:14	Enterprise 240:7,23	exception 290:17	
elaborate 205:6	entire 217:1 252:14	exclude 208:9	
elect 216:9	entirety 230:4	exclusively 250:11	<hr/> F <hr/>
election 268:8,14	EOG 256:8	Executive 213:21 256:14 288:10,21	fact 261:12 273:4
elections 216:20 218:19	equal 242:10 253:10,15	exhibit 201:2 203:8 204:1 209:7 213:15 215:11,13 216:4 222:18 229:12 230:7 244:22 247:5 255:4,5 263:20,21 270:8 272:17	factor 250:8 264:23 273:11,19 275:25
element 276:2	equally 242:22 243:3, 5,7		factoring 264:23
eligibility 241:21	essentially 240:25 242:6 269:24		factors 218:4 249:22 273:18 279:14 280:6
eligible 241:25	estimate 225:8		fair 199:8 201:12 217:16 220:12 221:2 224:2 231:15 242:10,19 245:15
Enacted 261:24 262:3, 10 270:5 271:10 273:5, 10 274:10 279:18,24,25 281:4 283:14 288:18	ethnic 269:16 286:21	exhibits 285:16	faithful 205:1
end 224:19 248:5 256:14 270:14 282:11	ethnicity 277:24	existed 216:16	false 202:24 265:24
endeavor 284:1	evaluation 278:12	expert 218:21	familiar 220:21 223:11 229:20 285:9, 18
ends 270:20	exact 208:13 221:13 230:2 231:2 245:14 259:21 262:10	experts 218:25	familiarity 239:16 285:24
enrolled 238:18	examination 199:2 218:18	explain 205:18 247:16	families 239:4
ensure 258:5	examining 211:8 230:14 236:9	explained 261:7 274:10	
	examples	explaining 225:19	
		explanation 280:14 287:21	

family 234:25 fathom 287:17 February 213:20 215:6 federal 199:7,18 200:11,19 201:11 203:6 279:3 feedback 205:3 228:18 261:2 266:23 267:8,11 figure 250:20 files 223:12 fill 210:8 filled 256:9 final 218:9 248:13 283:14 285:2 finance 240:8,20 financier 240:25 find 213:17 250:22 251:2 270:7, 25 fine 200:15 206:6 finish 203:2	firm 199:5 five-minute 260:4 flat 233:10 235:18 Florida 199:8 201:8 210:23 213:8, 21 220:21,24 221:7 230:8, 10 231:5,11 235:13 238:1 240:7,8,9,12, 23,24 246:16 247:7 248:23 249:7,8 250:23 251:5, 9 252:1 257:16,25 258:8,11 259:3,11,19 260:14,20 267:23,25 269:15 276:5 277:3,8,10 279:4,5,20 284:10 Floridians 233:7,14 241:15 277:24 focusing 203:20 247:15 follow 274:23 Foltz 288:3,23 foolish 287:16	Ford 265:8 forget 275:3 forgetting 240:10 Forgive 213:16 248:11 forgot 199:25 form 227:6 237:21 253:12,23 254:11 255:12 256:5,21,23 257:1,7,12 264:20 265:12 277:15 278:4, 15 280:9 281:7 285:11 289:12,16,25 formal 225:25 format 231:1 forms 204:15 255:11,13 256:17 265:19,22 Fort 284:15,17 fourth 266:10 frame 231:6 frequently 274:2,3 290:8	front 205:13 212:20 214:21 215:4 251:14 262:16 full 201:5 219:20 221:10 227:23 262:16 fully 218:2 219:19 243:13 269:2 functional 216:1 217:17, 20,23 218:1, 3,5,8,11,15 219:2 functions 240:19 <hr/> G <hr/> Gadsden 204:9,24 205:11,21,25 206:1 207:15 210:3 211:1 214:10 236:23,25 246:15 247:1, 14 248:24 Gainesville 269:23 270:24 gave 218:6 278:20 280:13 282:2 general 215:1 239:2 241:11 245:24 254:9,19 288:9
--	---	--	---

generally 202:13 207:14 220:21 226:8 238:7 259:11 261:6,8 275:12,13 285:9	215:15	groups 255:22	281:12
generate 225:22	good 244:12 266:24 275:15 277:3, 5 285:2	grown 287:9	health 254:14,15,18
gentleman 205:8	government 252:13,17,20 253:2,9,18	growth 233:4 238:22 239:2 240:21	hear 278:11 283:21
gentleman's 205:12	Governor 213:21,22 247:6 256:15 274:15 288:11,22	guess 241:8 267:11 287:17	helped 203:17 227:3
geographic 214:15 243:5 249:20	grab 208:8 282:25	guidance 263:3	helping 223:4,7 227:8
geographical 273:23 275:23 279:14 282:9 283:9,23	grant 241:4 242:20	Gulf 282:4	high 229:5 242:13 253:21
geographically 243:8 283:20	grants 241:5,6,7 242:5	<hr/> H <hr/>	high-demand 242:9
geography 218:19 250:12	granular 234:18	half 244:4	high-level 243:9
geometric 208:20,24 209:4	grayish-maybe 236:18	Hamilton 247:2	higher 216:25 237:9, 10 238:22
give 202:1 217:15 220:9 222:10 241:23 249:12,24 253:7 256:6 262:19,23 265:20 273:13 274:19 279:21 280:20 281:8 284:14 286:18	Great 206:9 231:20 246:9	handed 213:4	highest 236:15 246:12,20
giving	greater 216:19	handwritten 264:8	Hispanic 233:4,7,14,21 234:3,11 235:9 246:5 269:17 271:14,18,23 277:23
	greatest 236:24 246:17	happened 216:22 287:1, 6	historically 276:3 278:2
	ground 262:12,15	happy 219:21 251:12 281:12	hold 222:25 288:9
	group 228:14 240:3 256:3	hard 275:7	holding 222:2
	groupings 222:7	hate 214:20	Hollywood 284:19,20
		head 201:17 227:17	hope

<p>240:9 262:18</p> <p>hour</p> <p>262:20 289:4</p> <p>House</p> <p>203:15 222:20</p> <p>226:4 227:25</p> <p>229:2,19</p> <p>230:17</p> <p>231:11,12</p> <p>244:22 257:5,</p> <p>24 263:11,14</p> <p>264:3 267:13</p> <p>housing</p> <p>240:7 241:22,</p> <p>23 242:1,21</p> <p>HR</p> <p>202:17</p> <p>human</p> <p>202:15</p> <p>hundred</p> <p>280:19,20</p> <hr/> <p>I</p> <hr/> <p>idea</p> <p>229:10</p> <p>257:20,21</p> <p>262:1,21</p> <p>identification</p> <p>229:13 255:6</p> <p>263:22</p> <p>identified</p> <p>252:24</p> <p>identifies</p> <p>246:15</p> <p>identify</p> <p>244:1,3 251:8</p> <p>252:9</p> <p>imagine</p>	<p>239:3</p> <p>impact</p> <p>207:17,20</p> <p>impacting</p> <p>267:5</p> <p>implemented</p> <p>268:1</p> <p>implicate</p> <p>276:5</p> <p>implicated</p> <p>251:21 272:3</p> <p>implicates</p> <p>271:19</p> <p>implications</p> <p>272:13</p> <p>important</p> <p>273:11,19</p> <p>impossible</p> <p>280:12</p> <p>improve</p> <p>275:1</p> <p>improved</p> <p>277:8</p> <p>improvement</p> <p>242:9</p> <p>improvements</p> <p>277:4,5</p> <p>improving</p> <p>276:25</p> <p>incentive</p> <p>240:21 242:5</p> <p>inception</p> <p>225:1,2</p> <p>include</p> <p>217:5 223:4,7</p> <p>230:4 256:10</p> <p>268:19,22</p> <p>275:12 278:19</p>	<p>included</p> <p>230:7 268:25</p> <p>includes</p> <p>217:4 233:21</p> <p>273:17 278:21</p> <p>including</p> <p>240:19 268:23</p> <p>income</p> <p>239:8,11</p> <p>241:15,17,20,</p> <p>24 242:2,4,8,</p> <p>9 252:9</p> <p>incorporated</p> <p>279:21</p> <p>increase</p> <p>232:20,23</p> <p>287:15</p> <p>increased</p> <p>235:11</p> <p>increases</p> <p>234:11</p> <p>increasing</p> <p>231:22 232:4,</p> <p>14 234:4</p> <p>incredibly</p> <p>283:25</p> <p>indentations</p> <p>208:5</p> <p>individuals</p> <p>217:6 221:11</p> <p>238:4</p> <p>indulging</p> <p>215:9</p> <p>inference</p> <p>220:11</p> <p>influx</p> <p>286:24</p> <p>information</p>	<p>220:3,7</p> <p>226:6,9 229:6</p> <p>231:15,18</p> <p>234:1,11</p> <p>241:14 265:24</p> <p>269:10</p> <p>infrastructure</p> <p>241:5,6</p> <p>initial</p> <p>218:12</p> <p>ink</p> <p>264:11</p> <p>inland</p> <p>282:4</p> <p>input</p> <p>212:1,5,9,11,</p> <p>14,22 213:12</p> <p>266:20,23</p> <p>instituted</p> <p>288:11</p> <p>instruction</p> <p>249:13,25</p> <p>256:7 262:24</p> <p>273:14 274:20</p> <p>281:8</p> <p>intact</p> <p>267:3 280:6</p> <p>interlocking</p> <p>284:15,17</p> <p>internal</p> <p>263:1</p> <p>internet</p> <p>251:3</p> <p>interpretation</p> <p>260:2</p> <p>interpreted</p> <p>267:25</p> <p>interrogatories</p>
---	--	--	---

<p>200:1</p> <p>interrogatory</p> <p>200:5</p> <p>interrupted</p> <p>206:5</p> <p>interstate</p> <p>282:8,13,17, 19,22,24</p> <p>283:4</p> <p>inverse</p> <p>242:3</p> <p>invite</p> <p>263:8</p> <p>invited</p> <p>227:11,15,19</p> <p>263:6</p> <p>involve</p> <p>275:10</p> <p>involved</p> <p>240:1</p> <p>isolated</p> <p>281:21</p> <p>issue</p> <p>243:14 250:2, 14 277:24</p> <p>issues</p> <p>202:17</p> <p>items</p> <p>199:15</p> <hr/> <p>J</p> <hr/> <p>Jackson</p> <p>244:5</p> <p>Jacksonville</p> <p>204:24</p> <p>205:11,21,25</p> <p>247:13 280:3, 11</p>	<p>James</p> <p>201:7</p> <p>JAZIL</p> <p>207:8 215:15, 18 222:11</p> <p>231:6 237:21</p> <p>242:24</p> <p>249:12,24</p> <p>253:12,23</p> <p>254:11 256:6</p> <p>258:12,19</p> <p>260:4 262:23</p> <p>263:4 264:20</p> <p>273:13 274:19</p> <p>277:15 278:4, 15 280:9</p> <p>281:7 285:11</p> <p>288:13</p> <p>289:12,16,25</p> <p>291:5</p> <p>Jefferson</p> <p>247:2 249:3,5</p> <p>251:24</p> <p>job</p> <p>225:23 240:2</p> <p>266:24 275:16</p> <p>285:2,4</p> <p>jobs</p> <p>242:8</p> <p>jumping</p> <p>200:9</p> <p>justify</p> <p>208:17</p> <hr/> <p>K</p> <hr/> <p>K-12</p> <p>238:19,22</p> <p>keeping</p> <p>273:22 280:5</p>	<p>281:20 283:15</p> <p>285:4</p> <p>Kelly</p> <p>201:7 213:14</p> <p>251:8 260:10</p> <p>279:13 287:24</p> <p>key</p> <p>218:15</p> <p>281:14,15,25</p> <p>283:12</p> <p>kids</p> <p>239:6</p> <p>kind</p> <p>206:10 218:21</p> <p>227:13 231:18</p> <p>234:17,23</p> <p>237:15 241:17</p> <p>249:4,7</p> <p>268:18</p> <p>284:16,22</p> <p>290:12</p> <p>kinds</p> <p>245:11</p> <p>King</p> <p>210:5,6,13,14</p> <p>knowing</p> <p>237:9</p> <p>knowingly</p> <p>265:23</p> <p>knowledge</p> <p>286:3,5</p> <hr/> <p>L</p> <hr/> <p>Lakeland</p> <p>282:1,16</p> <p>283:2,3,12</p> <p>lane</p> <p>244:8</p>	<p>large</p> <p>205:2 220:22</p> <p>250:4,9,12</p> <p>283:18</p> <p>largely</p> <p>282:7</p> <p>larger</p> <p>280:11,19,21</p> <p>Lauderdale</p> <p>284:15,17</p> <p>law</p> <p>199:5 273:18</p> <p>lawsuits</p> <p>202:20</p> <p>layer</p> <p>218:15</p> <p>learn</p> <p>217:19</p> <p>leave</p> <p>274:17</p> <p>leaving</p> <p>200:6 241:10</p> <p>244:14</p> <p>led</p> <p>280:6</p> <p>Lee</p> <p>238:21 281:23</p> <p>282:4</p> <p>left</p> <p>199:21 215:20</p> <p>236:11 255:21</p> <p>legal</p> <p>277:2 289:18</p> <p>legally</p> <p>201:22</p> <p>legislation</p> <p>202:14</p>
--	--	--	--

<p>legislative 274:11</p> <p>legislators 212:13</p> <p>legislature 212:3,11 218:9,10 226:1 234:15 255:13 258:6 259:10,18 260:18 263:5, 8,10 265:7, 18,24 268:1 269:7,8,14 272:9 274:12, 14 275:2,14 276:13,16,21, 24 277:7,13 283:16 288:10</p> <p>legislature's 260:11 266:9 273:8 274:14 277:2 278:12</p> <p>length 213:1,6 214:3</p> <p>lengthy 262:16 280:14 282:2</p> <p>lens 234:16,24 235:1</p> <p>Leon 217:2 220:4 247:1,14 248:8,24 251:25</p> <p>letter 213:20 215:6</p> <p>level 217:21 219:1,</p>	<p>18 220:17 221:1,22 234:18 241:17 242:8 252:9 253:17 254:9</p> <p>levels 218:18 239:8, 11 241:15</p> <p>liaison 227:13</p> <p>life 222:12 234:20</p> <p>likelihood 229:6</p> <p>lines 273:23 274:24,25 275:23 278:22</p> <p>list 250:22 251:2, 4,6,15 255:22 271:9</p> <p>listed 199:16</p> <p>listen 261:9</p> <p>listened 261:6,7,11,18</p> <p>listener 261:12,13</p> <p>lists 251:8</p> <p>literally 225:23 245:14</p> <p>litigation 202:5 288:2, 8,9,12</p> <p>live</p>	<p>216:22 247:18,21</p> <p>located 220:14 270:5 280:17,18,22</p> <p>location 222:7</p> <p>locations 222:6 270:3 271:2</p> <p>logistics 200:16</p> <p>logo 235:7</p> <p>long 212:15 213:5 223:14 224:23 282:2</p> <p>Longboat 281:14,15,25 283:12</p> <p>looked 209:21 210:2, 25 216:8,10 223:15 234:23,24 235:1 238:16, 17 244:25 245:12,21 255:11 268:21 269:16,22</p> <p>lot 226:14 230:24,25 243:14 281:5</p> <p>love 244:21</p> <p>low 254:5</p>	<p>lower 237:10 242:1</p> <p>ludicrous 204:22 205:5 206:18,24</p> <hr/> <p>M</p> <hr/> <p>made 258:25 259:1, 3 263:14 266:21 275:15 276:11 277:4 283:15,17</p> <p>Madison 247:2</p> <p>maintain 216:15 217:12</p> <p>maintaining 216:11</p> <p>maintains 272:21 273:5</p> <p>major 248:1 274:25 282:9 284:19, 21</p> <p>majority- minority 272:22 273:7</p> <p>make 222:12 223:3 253:8 261:14 271:13,20,22 274:6 278:8 280:23 283:4</p> <p>makeup 285:18,21,25</p> <p>making 202:24 283:11</p>
---	---	---	--

manager 222:21,22	249:10 256:17,22 257:2 258:5, 17 276:14,17 288:21	15,24,25 230:3,17,18 260:16 261:1, 5,13,15,17, 19,20 262:5, 9,12	225:18
Manatee 281:16,18			Miami-dade 238:21 244:2
map 210:7,10 212:6 213:23 214:3 220:17 221:1 223:21, 23 224:19 225:6,7,12, 17,18,21 227:10 237:5, 6 245:4,24 246:24 247:1 250:21 251:22 253:11 255:12,24 256:4,12,18 258:10 261:7 262:2,3,9,10 270:21 271:22 272:5 274:14 275:14 276:16,17,25 277:7 281:17 283:14 284:12 285:2	mark 229:10 255:4 263:19	meetings 204:14 205:4, 8,14 211:25 226:20 228:2, 12,16 229:17 230:20	mid 254:5
	marked 229:12 255:5 263:21		middle-central 249:8
	Marsh 249:13,25 256:7 262:24 273:13 274:20 281:8	member 213:2	migration 238:14
	materials 199:12 228:11,16,21	members 226:25 227:9 228:23	mileage 214:20,23
	matter 200:19 202:9	memorandum 257:9	miles 213:1,7 214:13
	matters 202:16,18	memory 230:22 244:8 261:18	million 238:1 286:18 287:10
	meaningful 283:7	mention 199:25	mind 200:2 215:15 221:23 261:17 285:6
	means 222:15 239:3 267:6	mentioned 201:16 240:16,23 267:12 268:10 269:13,20 270:4,12 273:1,3 282:15	mindful 222:13
map-drawer 266:18,22,25 281:19 284:14,25	meant 222:4 266:15 275:12	messages 289:6,8,10, 15,19,23 290:5,9,13	minor 282:22
maps 204:12 209:19,20 212:3,19 218:9 223:5,9 226:4,5 227:5 236:6 237:5 245:17,20,23, 25 246:12,14	measures 208:2	met 267:13	minority 216:11,15 217:12 218:13,17 247:12,13,16 260:14 275:24 278:1 285:10
	meet 230:1	method	mischaracterize 253:7
	meeting 212:2 226:25 227:21 228:4, 6,22 229:7,		misheard 235:15
			misleading 233:2 234:3

<p>missing 268:12</p> <p>mission 240:13</p> <p>misspoke 258:22</p> <p>misstating 265:14</p> <p>moderate 242:1</p> <p>moment 244:15 252:12 253:8 257:13</p> <p>Monroe 287:7</p> <p>mother 290:7</p> <p>move 200:15 238:2 244:7</p> <p>moved 238:4,7</p> <p>movement 238:13</p> <p>moving 286:24</p> <p>multiple 200:4 218:18 222:6</p> <p>municipal 270:22 279:15 284:23</p> <p>municipality 280:5</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <hr/> <p>NAACP 199:8</p>	<p>necessarily 229:7</p> <p>necessity 246:7</p> <p>neutral 264:12,14 265:3 277:14, 20 278:14</p> <p>Newman's 255:14</p> <p>nicely 282:10</p> <p>nightmare 283:20</p> <p>nitpick 214:21</p> <p>non-black 208:10</p> <p>noncompact 283:25</p> <p>nonetheless 205:1 272:1, 10</p> <p>north 216:16 220:21,24 221:7 249:7,8 258:8,11 259:3,11,19 280:24,25 284:22</p> <p>north-east 251:20</p> <p>north-south 216:23 217:13</p> <p>northeast 248:23 252:3 267:23</p>	<p>northern 206:2 210:23 244:4 251:25 252:2,3 257:16,25 260:14,20 270:17 283:3</p> <p>note 218:22,23</p> <p>noted 217:19 261:4</p> <p>notes 266:6</p> <p>notice 261:11</p> <p>number 213:6 215:16 217:5 221:13, 17 222:8,10 239:1 240:18 242:7 250:4 271:1 272:21</p> <p>numbers 201:2 268:20</p> <p>numerous 241:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <hr/> <p>oath 201:22</p> <p>Object 237:21 253:12,23 254:11 264:20 277:15 278:4, 15 280:9 281:7 285:11 289:12,16,25</p>	<p>obligated 201:22</p> <p>obligations 275:16 277:2</p> <p>occurred 200:3 287:4</p> <p>October 209:25 212:2 218:7 219:11</p> <p>odd 233:23,24</p> <p>offer 207:6</p> <p>offered 253:3 261:21</p> <p>office 213:21 234:15 235:2,3,4 240:4 256:14, 15,18 261:21 263:2 276:14, 15 288:10,21</p> <p>office's 277:9</p> <p>oftentimes 234:23</p> <p>older 254:24</p> <p>omitted 218:5</p> <p>opinion 206:17,19 207:6,12,23 247:6 260:2, 13,15</p> <p>Opportunities 240:25 242:20</p> <p>opportunity</p>
--	---	--	---

<p>240:6,12,14, 17 241:4 243:20 251:11 252:23</p> <p>opposed 216:22</p> <p>opposite 235:14</p> <p>Orange 271:7</p> <p>order 270:10</p> <p>organization 256:3,10</p> <p>organizations 255:23</p> <p>organize 279:8</p> <p>originating 228:24</p> <p>Orlando 269:15 283:18,21,23, 24 284:2,4,5, 6,8</p> <p>overlapping 218:19</p> <p>oversee 240:3</p> <p>overseeing 241:13 243:2, 19</p> <p>oversees 240:18 241:4</p> <p>ownership 229:8</p>	<hr/> <p>P</p> <hr/> <p>p.m. 199:1 244:18, 19 260:7,8 279:10,11 291:7</p> <p>packet 211:23 228:25 229:16,20 230:5 244:22</p> <p>pages 213:12 219:7</p> <p>paid 218:20</p> <p>Palatka 269:23 270:16</p> <p>Palm 205:9</p> <p>Panhandle 275:7</p> <p>paper 213:2</p> <p>paragraph 214:12 247:11 248:5,11,14</p> <p>parents 239:7</p> <p>part 199:4 210:23 228:24 234:21 239:9 248:11 270:18 281:6 283:15</p> <p>participant 256:11</p> <p>participants 227:12,16</p>	<p>parts 208:9,10 227:9 276:12, 13</p> <p>party 202:19</p> <p>past 232:25 233:1, 2 238:20 244:15 286:25 288:17,22</p> <p>Patterson 199:6</p> <p>penalty 265:13,16</p> <p>pending 288:14</p> <p>people 221:10 238:1 247:18 248:18 280:20 286:19 287:10 289:23,24</p> <p>percent 216:15 219:12,13 232:10,11,17 236:17,21 254:6 271:18</p> <p>percentage 232:8 233:8 236:13,25 237:1,10,11 246:13,17,20</p> <p>percentages 219:4,25 232:12 236:21,23 245:4,5</p>	<p>performed 276:3 278:2</p> <p>performing 267:23 272:21 273:6 275:24 278:1</p> <p>performs 277:23</p> <p>period 203:12 212:12 224:22 233:17 234:4,12 235:12 239:23 242:25 288:17,20</p> <p>perjury 202:23 265:13,16,23</p> <p>person 208:12,14 225:19 228:20 256:3</p> <p>personally 202:21,22 206:12,15 217:16 274:17</p> <p>persons 255:22</p> <p>perspective 273:22 276:21</p> <p>pertain 211:10 226:10</p> <p>pertaining 199:18</p> <p>Pete 280:15 283:12</p> <p>Petersburg 280:1,13 285:9,14,16,</p>
---	--	---	---

<p>19,21,25 286:2,6,10, 15,25</p> <p>phone 288:3,23 290:13</p> <p>phrase 217:20,25 247:11,15 286:8</p> <p>physically 228:21 284:8</p> <p>pick 228:3</p> <p>picky 277:22</p> <p>pie 233:15,25 234:7</p> <p>piece 213:2,11</p> <p>pieces 202:14</p> <p>pile 213:16</p> <p>Pinellas 280:18,23 287:2,6,18</p> <p>place 244:18 260:7 279:10</p> <p>places 251:7 269:23</p> <p>plaintiffs 199:7 201:11, 13 203:6</p> <p>plan 203:24,25</p>	<p>205:5 206:23 208:12 214:1 224:3,4,5 226:9 261:23, 24 266:7,8,9, 10,16,18 267:7,14 270:5 271:10 272:15,20 273:5,10 274:10,11 279:18,24,25 281:4 288:18</p> <p>plans 218:7</p> <p>point 204:7 234:2 238:17 242:4 245:23 259:16 270:10 274:3</p> <p>pointing 204:4</p> <p>points 226:24 227:1 268:10 283:13</p> <p>policy 234:21</p> <p>political 214:15 217:24 218:20 249:19 267:20 268:3, 6 273:23 275:23 279:13 283:9</p> <p>Polk 281:23 282:5, 7,15,21</p> <p>population 210:15 216:5 219:25 221:4</p>	<p>232:9,13,15 233:3,9,21 234:3,11 235:17,21 236:14,25 237:2,10,11, 18 239:2 243:3 244:23 245:3,16,19, 22 246:5,14, 18,21 247:12, 14,17 252:7 254:4 269:17, 18,22 271:15, 19,24 285:10 286:18 287:8, 13,14,16,18</p> <p>population's 252:12</p> <p>populations 238:13 250:10</p> <p>portion 242:16 283:1, 3</p> <p>portions 284:12,14</p> <p>POSAMATO 200:7</p> <p>position 243:15 257:15,18,24 258:16 259:9 260:19 281:19</p> <p>possession 228:15</p> <p>potential 204:8 210:2</p> <p>potentially 208:6 246:3</p>	<p>poverty 254:9,10</p> <p>Powerpoint 227:7</p> <p>Powerpoints 227:8</p> <p>prep 262:1</p> <p>preparation 199:13</p> <p>prepare 223:5,8 226:19</p> <p>prepared 199:23</p> <p>preparing 227:3 279:17</p> <p>present 233:12,13,17 234:5 235:12 261:23 263:12,16 265:20</p> <p>presentation 205:12 230:8, 10,21,23 231:3 245:11, 14 261:3,15 262:16,20 264:2 271:14</p> <p>presentations 230:24 231:1, 4 245:12,13 264:5</p> <p>presented 205:15 231:16 257:8 262:5, 6,9</p>
--	--	--	---

<p>presenting 212:9,12 227:4 231:19 233:2 265:21</p> <p>preservation 260:13 288:9</p> <p>preserve 258:7 259:2, 10,18 288:1</p> <p>presidential 268:8,14</p> <p>pretty 219:19 280:14 287:15 290:2</p> <p>previous 203:11 271:5</p> <p>previously 245:1 265:7</p> <p>primary 266:9 275:3</p> <p>prior 202:4 256:13, 17 260:10,17</p> <p>prioritize 249:21</p> <p>prison 220:20 221:9</p> <p>prisons 217:5 220:14, 15,19,23 221:5,12,17</p> <p>proceedings 291:7</p> <p>process 205:2 207:14 209:20 218:24 224:19,21 245:24 267:21 276:15 277:5</p>	<p>288:6</p> <p>product 275:13,14</p> <p>profession 239:17</p> <p>programs 240:22 241:2, 4,22,24 242:5,21</p> <p>project 225:12 242:7</p> <p>promise 244:14</p> <p>promote 240:24</p> <p>proper 207:1 272:12</p> <p>properly 256:9</p> <p>property 276:11</p> <p>proportion 216:20 235:16 253:21</p> <p>proposal 204:22 224:13</p> <p>proposals 203:18 223:13 224:12 276:25 277:9</p> <p>propose 206:15 242:6</p> <p>proposed 204:12 207:15 223:5 226:23 245:18,23,25 256:22 261:23 262:2 267:14</p>	<p>272:15,20</p> <p>proposing 206:13 212:4</p> <p>propriety 206:20,21</p> <p>provide 234:17 243:9 262:21 265:23 276:23</p> <p>provided 200:18,24 202:6 205:10 228:23 229:6 256:4 265:6 269:8</p> <p>providing 205:2 206:17, 19 228:21 229:2 265:16</p> <p>proxy 273:25 274:4</p> <p>public 204:11,13,15, 21 205:3,8 211:25 212:4, 9,11,14,22 213:3,11 228:18,22 238:18,19,23 239:1 265:20</p> <p>publicly 258:4</p> <p>pull 210:5,13 247:5</p> <p>pulling 269:6</p> <p>purely 208:8</p>	<p>purge 290:10,13</p> <p>purple 204:2,5</p> <p>purpose 204:19 212:7 242:7</p> <p>purposes 288:8,9</p> <p>purview 241:11</p> <p>put 200:16 222:8, 18 252:11</p> <p>Putnam 270:16</p> <p>puts 281:18</p> <p>putting 204:12</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Q</p> <hr/> <p>question 199:24 201:23 202:25 203:3 207:4 209:13, 17,19,24 210:2,6,12,14 216:1,4,9,12, 24 219:18,23 243:24 250:5 257:5 258:9, 19 259:15,20, 23 260:1 262:8 263:2 285:20 287:3 288:14,16</p> <p>questions 199:17 200:21</p>
--	--	--	--

<p>202:2 203:5,9 211:9 218:12 223:2 256:14 290:16,17,18, 19,21 291:5</p> <p>quick 244:13</p> <p>quote 258:17 259:21,23</p> <p>quoted 254:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">R</p> <hr/> <p>race 232:19 235:22 244:23 245:3, 16,19,22 252:12 264:12,14,17, 18 265:2 268:23 269:3, 4,11 275:25 277:13,19,24 278:14,19,22</p> <p>race-based 208:8</p> <p>races 232:14,18,19</p> <p>racial 220:7 264:24 265:3 268:19, 22 269:16 271:9 285:18, 21,24 286:5, 15,21</p> <p>railways 248:2</p>	<p>range 254:6 271:18</p> <p>reaction 276:20</p> <p>read 211:3,12 215:11 219:12,19 242:16 257:10,11 258:17 259:21 264:7 267:17 285:17 291:6</p> <p>readily 224:23</p> <p>reading 209:13 215:24 230:20 259:13</p> <p>real 241:23</p> <p>realized 217:21</p> <p>reason 201:25 208:11 216:21 227:20,22 237:17 246:7 257:6,8 276:6 286:14,23 287:4</p> <p>reasonable 277:3</p> <p>reasons 208:8</p> <p>recall 206:11,12,17, 19 208:13,14 210:24 211:1, 16 212:15</p>	<p>214:7,8 220:18 228:6 229:23,25 230:10 231:2 245:8,10,13 257:15,23 258:1 260:11, 15 261:21 263:11,12,18 265:19 270:19,23</p> <p>recalled 230:19</p> <p>receive 212:11 261:2</p> <p>received 212:10,22</p> <p>recent 249:10 257:2 259:4</p> <p>recess 244:18 260:7 279:10</p> <p>recognize 255:8 263:24</p> <p>recognized 282:8</p> <p>recollection 210:21 211:13 214:9 230:2, 16 263:13</p> <p>record 199:22 200:17 201:6 204:4 207:13 213:18 215:12 246:10</p> <p>recordkeeping 228:10</p> <p>rectangle</p>	<p>208:23</p> <p>rectangular 208:19</p> <p>red 236:15 246:22 264:10</p> <p>redistricting 203:12,14,15, 18 204:7,17 206:11 207:1, 16 218:10,24 222:20 227:24 229:16,17 230:18 231:11,12,13 245:25 249:11 256:20 257:17,24 259:4,17 269:8 273:17 278:25 288:12,22</p> <p>redraw 271:21</p> <p>reemployment 240:20</p> <p>refer 201:1,11 202:17 221:24</p> <p>reference 218:6 220:2 248:8 250:22 265:12 270:6, 8</p> <p>referenced 213:12 215:5 219:6 234:14 242:13 248:19 267:20 268:3</p>
---	---	---	--

references 212:1 220:6 referencing 211:24 referring 201:12 203:22 205:20 211:2, 17 213:10 219:5,16 220:15 221:25 248:10 268:2, 4 272:23 refers 246:24 247:1 reflect 219:24 refresh 210:21 211:13 230:16 regard 283:17 region 210:23 250:2, 3 251:20,21 270:2 276:8 282:3 regions 248:7,9,18,19 249:9,15,21 250:5,15,21, 23 251:3,5,9, 15,21 252:4 registration 268:7,11 regular 209:4 290:4 regularly 289:10,14,22	related 202:14 relates 234:18 relation 206:25 relative 254:9 relevant 274:3 rely 266:4 remains 235:18 remember 201:21 205:7 213:5 255:19 281:12 remembering 261:17 remotely 208:21 repeat 200:23 223:3 242:14 rephrase 207:5 219:23 243:24 245:21 254:16 258:19 report 203:8 225:17, 21 240:5 reported 201:19 235:5 reporter 201:20 reporting 239:6	reports 223:22 225:23,24 234:17 represent 199:7,24 258:3 represented 259:1 represents 216:19 request 247:6 requested 242:16 261:20 required 256:21 258:7 259:10,18 260:23,24 281:5 requirement 217:11 257:2 259:2 289:18 requires 216:14 218:18 220:11 research 234:15 235:3 250:24 251:3 residents 216:21 254:23,24 264:24 resource 202:15 resources 243:10 244:1 252:24 253:5	respect 220:7 266:8 respective 275:22 respects 277:7 responding 276:25 response 277:8 responses 200:1,5 responsibilitie s 223:4 responsibility 228:11,14,19 258:4 responsible 227:12 228:9, 20 229:2 rest 201:13 206:7 238:23 254:25 result 281:20,24 results 268:7,14 retrogression 258:6 return 244:21,25 returning 215:10 review 203:7 217:22 218:23 226:15 227:10
---	--	---	---

<p>230:12,15 236:8,10</p> <p>reviewed</p> <p>199:13,17,25 200:10 202:4 224:8</p> <p>reviewing</p> <p>203:5 245:9</p> <p>right-hand</p> <p>231:25 264:9</p> <p>Rights</p> <p>271:20 272:4, 13 275:11,16, 21,22</p> <p>roadways</p> <p>248:2</p> <p>Rodrigues</p> <p>257:10,14 258:10 259:1, 17 260:12 261:6</p> <p>Rodrigues'</p> <p>257:18</p> <p>role</p> <p>203:13 222:19,21,22, 24</p> <p>roles</p> <p>222:25</p> <p>room</p> <p>200:3</p> <p>rough</p> <p>212:18</p> <p>run</p> <p>225:17,21</p> <p>running</p> <p>227:23 228:3</p> <p>rural</p>	<p>238:7,15 241:6,7,8 250:9,11</p> <p>Ryan</p> <p>255:14</p> <hr/> <p>S</p> <hr/> <p>sake</p> <p>200:20 201:1, 10</p> <p>salaries</p> <p>239:15,16</p> <p>sample</p> <p>213:24,25 214:1,19</p> <p>Sandi's</p> <p>222:12</p> <p>Sarasota</p> <p>238:22 281:16,18</p> <p>scenario</p> <p>285:4</p> <p>scheduling</p> <p>228:7</p> <p>school</p> <p>238:20</p> <p>school-age</p> <p>234:19 238:18,23 239:1</p> <p>schools</p> <p>238:19</p> <p>scientist</p> <p>217:24 218:20</p> <p>scratch</p> <p>225:13 242:18</p> <p>script</p> <p>264:2</p>	<p>seat</p> <p>275:24 276:3 278:1</p> <p>seats</p> <p>272:22</p> <p>secondary</p> <p>275:4</p> <p>Secretary's</p> <p>199:24</p> <p>section</p> <p>271:19 272:3, 13 275:10,21</p> <p>sector</p> <p>247:12</p> <p>Senate</p> <p>226:4 227:25 231:13 257:5 260:12 264:3 267:13</p> <p>Senate's</p> <p>258:4</p> <p>Senator</p> <p>257:14,18 258:9 259:1, 17</p> <p>senator's</p> <p>257:24</p> <p>sense</p> <p>221:3,4 267:12 274:6</p> <p>sentence</p> <p>214:12 248:20</p> <p>sentences</p> <p>242:15 248:13</p> <p>separate</p> <p>233:14 247:13,16,18 252:4</p>	<p>sequentially</p> <p>201:3</p> <p>services</p> <p>252:13,18,20 253:2,10,18</p> <p>session</p> <p>260:11,17 261:25 262:6, 7,13,22 263:9,17</p> <p>set</p> <p>218:12</p> <p>shake</p> <p>201:17</p> <p>shape</p> <p>208:19,24 209:4</p> <p>shaped</p> <p>282:10 283:19</p> <p>share</p> <p>254:8</p> <p>shares</p> <p>252:7</p> <p>shifts</p> <p>237:18</p> <p>shorter</p> <p>214:4</p> <p>show</p> <p>200:12 227:6 229:9 232:8 236:13 255:3</p> <p>showed</p> <p>204:14,16,18, 20,23,24</p> <p>showing</p> <p>211:25 212:3, 4 263:19</p> <p>shown</p>
--	--	--	---

214:3 219:10 245:4 shows 232:12 234:1 245:4 246:12 sic 203:8 side 283:3 sign 265:19 signature 255:15,17 signed 213:22 significant 207:17 221:6, 8,15 233:4 237:18 283:2 significantly 286:16 signing 255:19 similar 215:2 216:15 217:12 236:2 255:11 256:14 similarly 235:11 simple 226:14 simply 221:6 single 242:22 sir 209:22,23 210:1,4,17,18	216:3 sitting 212:18 220:18 228:5 238:6 243:23 size 280:21 slice 233:15 slide 231:10,21,24 232:8 235:21, 22 244:23,25 245:9 slides 235:7 slightly 271:21 small 241:7,8 250:10 smaller 284:8 sole 223:18 solely 247:12 sort 218:16 268:5 sounds 210:1 source 232:1 234:10, 14 250:25 269:5 sources 236:3 south	216:17 280:24 284:22 Southeast 277:3,8,10 284:10 southeastern 285:3 southern 282:11 Space 240:9,23 span 204:9 spanned 210:25 213:7 214:1 speak 229:4 284:10 speaking 207:14 226:8, 12,13 257:14 261:6 270:17 special 260:11,17 261:25 262:6, 7,13,22 263:9,17 specific 214:23 217:15 223:19 224:24 229:25 230:2 232:7 236:22 245:11 269:19 specifically 234:19 239:17 263:13 268:13 283:13 specifics 221:4 222:2	268:16 spelled 273:18 spend 220:25 221:21 222:1 243:12, 14 spirit 215:2 splints 276:23 split 280:12,16 281:4,16 283:16 284:10 splits 276:18,23 279:25 splitting 280:7 281:19, 25 spoke 205:13,15 sprawling 205:16 spread 283:23 spring 260:10 square 282:11 st 280:1,13,15 283:12 285:9, 14,16,19,21, 25 286:2,6, 10,15,25 staff
---	---	--	---

<p>203:14 218:22 222:19,21,22, 24 223:12 225:24 228:13,19,20 229:1 257:23</p> <p>stage 224:21</p> <p>stand 226:17</p> <p>standards 207:16</p> <p>start 209:18 215:24</p> <p>starting 209:12 215:23</p> <p>state 201:5,19 205:14 206:3 208:9,10 213:8 217:3 221:17 226:4 232:5,9 234:4,12 235:13 236:20 238:2,4,14,24 239:9 242:11, 23 243:8,25 244:4 248:7,9 249:1 250:2,3 251:7,15 254:20 255:1 276:8 283:1 286:20 287:7, 9</p> <p>state's 220:23 240:19 242:5 286:17</p> <p>stated 208:11</p>	<p>256:13,16 258:4 265:14</p> <p>statement 202:24 215:1, 2 258:25 259:5,7 267:5</p> <p>statements 208:14,15 261:14</p> <p>states 248:6 272:21</p> <p>statewide 254:10</p> <p>statistical 208:2 223:22 225:16,22</p> <p>statistics 276:22</p> <p>stats 210:13</p> <p>statute 265:23</p> <p>STENOGRAPHER 229:11</p> <p>stop 209:14 210:19 217:8</p> <p>strength 216:11,16,20 217:12 218:14</p> <p>stretches 214:13</p> <p>stringing 205:16</p> <p>strongest 217:3</p> <p>study 243:14</p>	<p>stuff 241:10</p> <p>style 231:1</p> <p>Subcommittee 227:25 228:1 229:17 230:18 231:12,13,14</p> <p>subcommittees 204:17 212:13 231:17</p> <p>submission 206:20 225:1, 2,4 255:12 256:21</p> <p>submitted 199:17 203:6 204:21 208:12,17 215:3 255:24 256:4,22 276:14,16</p> <p>submitting 257:2</p> <p>subordinate 280:6</p> <p>substance 259:6 262:11</p> <p>substantial 285:10</p> <p>successfully 280:17</p> <p>suggest 263:16</p> <p>suggested 227:1</p> <p>suggesting 263:11</p>	<p>suggestion 255:24 263:14</p> <p>sum 259:6</p> <p>summary 223:8</p> <p>summer 213:3</p> <p>supported 278:25</p> <p>suppose 250:24</p> <p>Supreme 213:22 247:7 268:1</p> <p>survey 235:6</p> <p>sworn 265:8 266:4</p> <p>sympathize 284:13,25</p> <p>synonymous 266:17</p> <p>system 240:20</p> <hr/> <p>T</p> <hr/> <p>tab 230:7,9</p> <p>table 230:5 236:20, 22 237:14</p> <p>tabs 230:6</p> <p>talk 222:11 244:10 253:4 281:13 289:3</p>
---	--	---	---

talked 235:8 247:9 252:22 261:5	273:17 277:25 285:8 289:5	three-for-three 283:17	220:18 228:5 231:7 237:16
talking 213:9 215:8 221:24 223:20 224:20,21 225:9 226:23 227:1 233:16 250:8 254:8 258:16 282:3 287:13 288:5	testify 214:22 263:8	threshold 275:20	238:6 239:21 243:23 251:10 257:9 266:8 279:14 285:16,25 288:7 289:9 290:16,22,25
Tallahassee 201:8	testifying 201:24	thresholds 241:24	today's 203:7 285:21
teacher 239:15,16	testimony 200:18 202:5, 7 211:2,4,17 215:10 218:6, 23 219:24 253:7 262:22 265:6,13,16 266:3 269:13 285:13,17 286:1 289:9	till 240:1,3	told 211:20
team 222:22,23	text 264:8 289:6, 8,10,15,19, 22,23 290:5, 6,13	time 203:12 206:19 211:25 212:3, 12 218:2,3,5 219:3,17 221:1,21 223:14 224:11,14,22, 23 226:14 229:5 230:20 231:6,19 232:3 233:17 234:12 235:12 236:7 239:23 242:25 243:1, 14 244:12 257:10 259:16 261:11 267:20 276:15	top 231:25 235:24,25 281:12
teams 230:1	texted 289:1,2	times 199:12 202:13 214:25 287:19	total 277:1
technical 225:19	texts 289:3,7	title 238:12	touch 284:2
template 226:3,8,13	thing 219:9 241:9	titled 231:22 235:21 245:2	touched 207:18
templates 226:7,11	things 227:6 278:21	today 199:12,14 200:18 201:11 202:2 206:18 209:5 212:18	tough 281:5
tend 254:24	thinking 281:24 290:9		tour 212:10
terms 200:16 208:18,20 211:19 214:2 238:14 249:19 269:11 274:23 275:9 281:3 287:25	thought 260:23		track 239:8
testified 203:13 215:11 218:24 222:20	thoughtful 275:15		tracked 238:13
	thoughts 279:8		tracking 239:14
	thousand 280:20		trade 283:17
			training 241:6
			transitory

289:7,8,10, 15,19,22 290:5,13 transitory-type 289:3 traveling 205:13 trend 232:4,25 235:11 trial 202:7 288:7 trip 244:8 true 202:1 218:3, 8,11 219:2 truthfully 201:23 290:21 truthfulness 202:25 turn 231:21 235:21 288:1 Turning 230:9 267:15 turnout 216:25 217:3 220:2,6 268:7,11 Tyler 199:6 type 206:13,15 217:23 241:5 types 241:14 242:1 typically	217:2 218:20 225:8,11 226:23 227:3 241:20 248:22 249:7 271:17 <hr/> U <hr/> U.S. 267:24 Uh-huh 201:14 211:7 225:3 239:12 241:18 248:16 249:17 254:2 257:19 267:19 269:12 272:6 288:19 ultimately 228:13,19 229:1 261:24 262:3 267:4 unchanged 274:10,13,18 understand 199:6,9 206:22 224:17 243:13 247:10 249:20 253:9, 13,24 264:22 267:6 278:16 286:4 288:2 290:18 understanding 207:3 233:20 238:3 260:18 264:14 265:15 286:7 understood 221:19 228:5	229:9 250:19 290:16,19 unique 205:7 281:15 282:13 unlike 255:13 unpack 233:19 unpacks 235:4 unreasonable 286:19 upper 264:8 urban 250:9 268:5 usual 214:14 <hr/> V <hr/> vague 208:15 validity 206:20,21 varied 226:5 variety 205:3 220:23 251:6 273:17 278:21 vary 226:6 varying 284:8 verbally 201:19	version 262:20 vetoed 274:15 view 238:17 242:4 272:3 Visit 240:7 visual 246:19 Visually 208:1 visuals 227:4,5 236:11 Volume 199:1 vote 217:6 voter 220:2,6 268:6,7,10,11 voters 208:9,10 253:22 254:8, 17 286:10,24 voting 210:15 216:5, 11,15,20,25 217:3,12 218:13,14,17 219:24 246:4, 5 254:3 271:20 272:4, 13 275:10,16, 21 voting-age 269:17,22
--	---	--	---

271:15,18,23	whatsoever 265:4	worries 258:24
<hr/> W <hr/>	Whichever 224:22	worth 284:1
wait 203:2	white 232:8 233:8, 21 236:11,12, 14,25 237:1, 10 245:3 286:24	wrap 279:9
walk 262:1 281:10, 11	who've 238:18	write 266:7
walked 205:8 280:25	wholly 280:17,18,22	wrong 223:24 278:9 287:11
walking 200:2	Wikipedia 251:18	<hr/> Y <hr/>
wanted 247:4 250:20	word 221:15 253:14 266:22	year 231:8 238:21 258:18
water 264:11	words 211:18 222:3 240:5 261:16	years 215:3 217:14, 20 229:22 230:25 234:20 243:16,21 285:15,17 286:22,25
waterways 248:2	work 204:11 218:21 219:1 221:9 234:21 238:10,13 239:10,20,22, 25 241:14 252:22 271:16 272:1 282:5	yesterday 199:11 200:19 203:13 217:19 223:1 273:20 279:15 280:14 281:1,14 282:1,3 285:8,13,17
ways 241:19	worked 202:21 245:18	younger 254:25
Webb 199:6	workforce 241:6	<hr/> Z <hr/>
website 229:19	working 243:2,15	zoom 282:23
weigh 250:6	works 260:5	
well-drawn 275:6 276:1		
well-recognized 274:24 283:9		
west 211:20 212:16 213:8 214:13 216:19 248:8 284:23		
western 276:12		

Black Voters Matter Capacity Building Institute, Inc.

vs.

Cord Byrd, et al.

Deposition of:

Stephen Ansolabehere

June 14, 2023

Vol 01



IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL
CIRCUIT IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

CASE NO.: 2022 CA 0666

BLACK VOTERS MATTER CAPACITY BUILDING
INSTITUTE, INC., et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

CORD BYRD, in his official capacity
as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,

Defendants.

X

REMOTE DEPOSITION OF
STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE
VOLUME 1 (Pages 1 - 141)

Wednesday, June 14, 2023
10:15 a.m. - 3:06 p.m.

WITNESS LOCATION: Remote Via Zoom
250 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20001

Stenographically Reported By:
CRAIG W. TAYLOR, STENOGRAPHER

Job No.: 314761

1 APPEARANCES: (All Appearing Via Zoom)

2 On behalf of the Plaintiffs:

3 ELIAS LAW GROUP, LLP
4 250 Massachusetts Ave., Suite 400
5 Washington, D.C. 20001
6 (202) 968-4558

7 BY: Christina A. Ford, Esq.
(cford@elias.law)

8 and
9 BY: Joseph Posimato, Esq.
10 (jposimato@elias.law)

11 On behalf of the Defendant, Florida Secretary of
12 State:

13 HOLTZMAN VOGEL BARAN TORCHINSKY
14 & JOSEFIAK, PLLC
15 119 South Monroe Street, Suite 500
16 Tallahassee, FL 32301
17 (850) 270-5938

18 BY: Mohammad O. Jazil, Esq.
19 (mjazil@holtzmanvogel.com)

20 and
21 BY: Michael Beato, Esq.
22 (mbeato@holtzmanvogel.com)

23 On behalf of the Defendant, The Florida Senate:

24 THE FLORIDA SENATE
25 302 The Capitol, Suite 404
26 Tallahassee, FL 32399
27 (850) 487-5237

28 BY: Kyle E. Gray, Esq.
29 (gray.kyle@flsenate.gov)

30 and
31 SHUTTS & BOWEN
32 215 South Monroe Street, Suite 804
33 Tallahassee, FL 32301
34 (850) 241-1717

35 BY: Daniel E. Nordby, Esq.
36 (dnordby@shutts.com)

1

2

APPEARANCES (Continued)

3

On behalf of the Defendant, Florida House of
Representatives:

4

GRAY ROBINSON, P.A.

5

301 South Bronough Street

Suite 600

6

Tallahassee, FL 32301

(850) 577-9090

7

BY: Andre V. Bardos, Esq.

(andy.bardos@gray-robinson.com)

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

I N D E X

WITNESS

PAGE

TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE

Direct Examination by Mr. Jazil	5
Cross-Examination by Ms. Ford	134
Redirect Examination by Mr. Jazil	136

Certificate of Oath	138
Certificate of Reporter	139
Read & Sign Letter	140
Errata Sheet	141

EXHIBITS

DEFENDANTS '	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1	1/27/23 Initial Expert Report	7
2	Northwest Austin v. Holder Documents	11
3	Evenwell v. Abbott Documents	22
4	Article III, Section, 20, Fla. Constitution	75
5	4/10/23 Supplemental Expert Report	125

1 Proceedings began at 10:15 a.m.:

2 THE STENOGRAPHER: Please raise your right
3 hand.

4 Do you consent to my administering the
5 oath remotely?

6 THE WITNESS: Yes.

7 THE STENOGRAPHER: Do you solemnly swear
8 to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing
9 but the truth?

10 THE WITNESS: I do.

11 Thereupon:

12 STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE
13 a witness named in the notice heretofore filed,
14 being of lawful age and having been first duly
15 sworn, testified under oath as follows:

16 DIRECT EXAMINATION

17 BY MR. JAZIL:

18 Q. Good morning, Dr. Ansolabehere. Would you
19 mind spelling your last name for the record so we
20 can get it right?

21 A. My last name is spelled
22 A-N-S-O-L-A-B-E-H-E-R-E.

23 Q. Doctor, I apologize once again for the
24 difficulties we have had getting a court reporter,
25 and I thank you for your patience. I want to make

1 that clear on the record.

2 Doctor, you have been deposed before,
3 right?

4 A. I have.

5 Q. We'll try to work this deposition such
6 that I will ask a question and you will give an
7 answer, and we'll try not to talk over each other.
8 Is that fair?

9 A. That's fair.

10 Q. Sometimes one or both of us will not abide
11 by that rule, but we'll do our best.

12 Doctor, this is not an endurance contest.
13 If at any point you would like to take a break, just
14 let me know and we'll get the question that is on
15 the table answered, and then take a break. Is that
16 fair?

17 A. That's fair. Thank you.

18 Q. It's not a memory contest. If there's
19 anything you need to refer to, please let me know.
20 If I have it, I'll give it to you. Is that fair?

21 A. Great.

22 Q. Doctor, what opinions are you going to
23 offer in this case?

24 A. The opinions expressed in my report, and I
25 will do my best to answer any questions that you

1 ask.

2 **Q. Are you going to give any opinions that**
3 **are outside the bounds of the report that you**
4 **provided in this case?**

5 A. No, unless I'm asked a question that
6 refers to something else that is not in the report.

7 MR. JAZIL: Understood.

8 We gave Dr. Ansolabehere a copy of his
9 initial report.

10 Mr. Reporter, what we'll do is we'll keep
11 a copy of the exhibits and get them to you. I
12 assume that's okay with Ms. Ford.

13 So, let's mark that as Exhibit 1.

14 (The documents referred to were marked for
15 identification as Defendants' Composite Exhibit
16 No. 1.)

17 BY MR. JAZIL:

18 **Q. Doctor, I would like to flip to your CV in**
19 **the initial report that has been marked as Exhibit**
20 **1.**

21 A. It's at the end?

22 **Q. Yes, sir.**

23 A. Okay.

24 **Q. I believe it's Exhibit C.**

25 I would like to go to Page 16 and 17 of

1 that exhibit.

2 Doctor, please take a look at the section
3 marked Expert Witness, Consultation, and Testimony
4 and let me know when you have taken a look at that.
5 Just look up at me.

6 A. Okay.

7 Q. Is this a complete copy of your expert
8 witness consultation and testimony?

9 A. I believe it is.

10 Q. I would like to walk through this, sir.

11 In 2001 it says that you provided
12 testimony on election administration to the U.S.
13 Senate Committee on Commerce. Sir, who invited you
14 to give that testimony?

15 A. The Senate Committee.

16 Q. Was there anyone in particular on the
17 Senate Committee who invited you?

18 A. It was the staff on behalf of the majority
19 -- the chair and the minority leader. So, it was
20 Bob Bennett, and Chuck Schumer was the chair, I
21 think.

22 Q. You then in 2001 gave testimony on voting
23 equipment to the U.S. House Committee on Science,
24 Space and Technology. Who invited you to give that
25 testimony?

1 A. The chair of the committee.

2 **Q. Do you recall who the chair was?**

3 A. I don't remember who the chair was at that
4 time.

5 **Q. Do you recall whether the chair was**
6 **associated with the Democratic party or the**
7 **Republican party?**

8 A. I don't recall. I think it was
9 Republican.

10 **Q. In 2001, testimony on voting equipment**
11 **before the U.S. House Committee on House**
12 **Administration, do you recall who invited you to**
13 **give that testimony?**

14 A. Again, it was the chair of the committee.

15 **Q. Do you recall who the chair was?**

16 A. House Administration. No.

17 **Q. Fair enough.**

18 In 2001 you also gave testimony on voting
19 equipment to the Congressional Black Caucus?

20 A. Yes.

21 **Q. Do you recall who from the Congressional**
22 **Black Caucus invited you to give that testimony?**

23 A. No. I don't remember who that was.

24 **Q. Understood.**

25 From 2002 to 2003 it says here that you

1 **were a consultant to the Brennan Center in McConnell**
2 **versus FEC. Sir, who hired you to be a consultant**
3 **for the Brennan Center?**

4 A. The Brennan Center reached out to me and
5 asked me if I would assist them.

6 **Q. Anyone in particularity at the Brennan**
7 **Center?**

8 A. I don't recall.

9 **Q. Can you briefly tell us what the subject**
10 **of your consultation was in that case?**

11 A. That was evaluating work that they were
12 putting forth. They actually reached out to me to
13 be an expert witness in the case. I had too many
14 other things going on at that time to do that. But
15 I was working as a consulting expert.

16 **Q. What was the case about?**

17 A. It was about campaign finance and
18 political advertising. The case was about the rules
19 regarding -- under the Bipartisan Campaign Reform
20 Act and the time window when advertising would be
21 allowed, independent advertising.

22 **Q. You were a non-testifying expert in that**
23 **case, as I understood?**

24 A. Yes.

25 **Q. Doctor, you then filed an amicus brief**

1 with Professors Nathaniel Persily and Charles
2 Stewart on behalf of neither party to the United
3 States Supreme Court in Northwest Austin Municipal
4 Utility District Number 1 versus Holder.

5 While my colleague finds that brief, do
6 you mind telling us what the amicus brief's position
7 was in that case briefly?

8 A. That was about the voting behavior of
9 minority and white voters in different locations in
10 the United States concerning Section 5 of the Voting
11 Rights Act. That's my recollection of the case.

12 **Q. Doctor, we'll mark this as Exhibit 2.**

13 (The documents referred to were marked for
14 identification as Defendants' Composite Exhibit
15 No. 2.)

16 BY MR. JAZIL:

17 **Q. Do you mind taking a look at that for me?**

18 **Is this the amicus brief that you filed?**

19 A. It is.

20 **Q. Did you review the brief before it was**
21 **filed?**

22 A. I did.

23 **Q. Did you write the brief?**

24 A. I wrote parts of it. They wrote parts of
25 it. Charles wrote parts of it.

1 **Q. Do you stand by the positions that you**
2 **took in that brief?**

3 A. I do.

4 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is**
5 **testimony on voter registration to the U.S. Senate**
6 **Committee on Rules. Who from the committee invited**
7 **you to provide that testimony?**

8 A. The chair of the committee. I don't
9 remember who that was at that time.

10 **Q. Do you recall whether the chair was a**
11 **Democrat or a Republican?**

12 A. At that time he would have been a Democrat
13 in 2008.

14 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is your**
15 **expert witness work on behalf of the Rodriguez**
16 **intervenors in Perez versus Perry. Do you see that,**
17 **sir?**

18 A. I do.

19 **Q. Who hired you to work on behalf of the**
20 **Rodriguez intervenors?**

21 A. An attorney named Renea Hicks. The first
22 name is spelled R-E-N-E-A, and the last name is
23 H-I-C-K-S.

24 **Q. Do you recall the law firm with which**
25 **Mr. Hicks was affiliated?**

1 A. Renea is an independent lawyer. He has
2 his own practice.

3 **Q. Who were the Rodriguez intervenors**
4 **opposite in that case?**

5 A. The State of Texas.

6 **Q. Doctor, do you recall whether the State of**
7 **Texas was led by a Republican governor at the time?**

8 A. I believe it was, yes.

9 **Q. Governor Perry?**

10 A. Correct.

11 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is your**
12 **work in the State of Texas versus United States**
13 **where you served as an expert witness on behalf of**
14 **the Gonzales intervenors.**

15 **Doctor, do you recall who hired you to**
16 **work on behalf of the Gonzales intervenors in that**
17 **case?**

18 A. The firm of Perkins Coie reached out to
19 me.

20 **Q. Doctor, do you recall who from the firm**
21 **reached out to you?**

22 A. I think it was John Devaney.

23 **Q. Understood.**

24 **Doctor, who was opposite the Gonzales**
25 **intervenors in that case? Whom were they suing?**

1 A. I want to get this one right. Yes. So,
2 the State of Texas was opposite again.

3 **Q. Do you recall who was leading the State of**
4 **Texas at the time at the executive level?**

5 A. Again, that would be Governor Perry.

6 **Q. Understood.**

7 **Doctor, the next item on the list is the**
8 **State of Texas versus Holder, which is approximately**
9 **the same time frame. You were an expert witness on**
10 **behalf of the United States Government; is that**
11 **right?**

12 A. Correct.

13 **Q. Who from the United States hired you to**
14 **represent the United States as an expert?**

15 A. Attorneys at the Department of Justice
16 Voting Division.

17 **Q. Doctor, at the time you were hired to**
18 **represent -- pardon me. At the time you were hired**
19 **to work on behalf of the United States, do you**
20 **recall whether the United States was led by a**
21 **Democratic administration or a Republican**
22 **administration?**

23 A. That would be a Democratic administration,
24 the Obama administration.

25 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is Guy**

1 **versus Miller. You served as an expert witness on**
2 **behalf of the Guy plaintiffs; is that correct?**

3 A. That's correct.

4 Q. Who hired you to serve as an expert
5 **witness on behalf of the Guy plaintiffs?**

6 A. Attorneys from Perkins Coie.

7 Q. Whom were the Guy plaintiffs suing in the
8 **U.S. District Court for Nevada in that case?**

9 A. I was never quite clear on that because it
10 was an impasse case because the legislature had
11 passed a map, and the governor didn't sign it. The
12 state legislature's term expired, and they were just
13 trying to figure it out. So, I was brought in to
14 testify on the question concerning voting patterns
15 in the state.

16 Q. Do you recall who the governor of Nevada
17 **was at the time?**

18 A. I think the governor was a Republican.
19 The state legislature was Democratic, or it might
20 have been the other way. But it was a divided
21 government. Divided party control was the obstacle.

22 Q. I've got it.

23 **Doctor, the next item on the list is In Re**
24 **Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative**
25 **Apportionment, Florida Supreme Court, consultant for**

1 **the Florida Democratic Party. Do you see that, sir?**

2 A. Correct.

3 **Q. Who hired you to serve as a consultant for**
4 **the Florida Democratic Party in that case?**

5 A. In that case John Devaney reached out to
6 me.

7 **Q. Mr. Devaney was with the Perkins Coie law**
8 **firm?**

9 A. Yes.

10 **Q. There are a couple of Florida-related**
11 **matters. So, let me ask for clarification, what is**
12 **your understanding of what In Re Senate Joint**
13 **Resolution of Legislative Apportionment was about?**

14 A. That was about -- if I recall the case
15 correctly, that was about what would be the analog
16 of preclearance of the maps after they were enacted.
17 The Florida Constitution set up an initial review, a
18 facial review of the maps, and they asked me to just
19 look at -- provide the statistics that would be
20 relevant to doing that evaluation for the map that
21 had been passed at that time.

22 **Q. So, this was the Florida legislative maps**
23 **as reviewed by the Florida Supreme Court on a facial**
24 **basis. Is that a fair characterization?**

25 A. Yes. I think that's a good description.

1 **Q. Doctor, the next item is your work in Romo**
2 **versus Detzner. It says that you served as an**
3 **expert witness on behalf of the Romo plaintiffs.**
4 **Doctor, do you recall who hired you for that matter?**

5 A. John Devaney.

6 **Q. Can you describe for us briefly what you**
7 **did in that case?**

8 A. In that case I analyzed voting patterns in
9 the state to assess whether or not there might be
10 concerns about racial diminishment, racial
11 representation under the Tier 1 criteria and the
12 constitution concerning race.

13 Also, I provided evidence about voting
14 behavior along partisan lines, registration rates of
15 partisans in the different districts to deal with
16 questions that might arise and provide the Court
17 with the data that they would need to make decisions
18 about the partisan effects of the maps.

19 Then I was also asked to draw a
20 demonstration map and then also to analyze
21 compactness, county splits, municipal splits and
22 other characteristics of districts.

23 **Q. For the demonstration map that you drew**
24 **and the other alternative maps that the Court had**
25 **before it?**

1 A. For an active map and the demonstration
2 map. I don't think I analyzed any of the other
3 proposed maps.

4 **Q. Understood.**

5 **Doctor, the next item on the list is your**
6 **work in 2013 and 2014 on behalf of the City of San**
7 **Antonio and the San Antonio Water District in LULAC**
8 **versus Edwards Aquifer Authority.**

9 **Sir, who hired you in that case?**

10 A. The City of San Antonio.

11 **Q. Do you recall who?**

12 A. I was approached by Renea Hicks, but I
13 don't remember who the person was in the city that
14 we were working with.

15 **Q. Who were the litigants in that case to the**
16 **best of your knowledge?**

17 A. The City of San Antonio and other
18 plaintiffs were suing the Edward Aquifer Authority,
19 which is a special district that governs water
20 fusion in Central Texas.

21 **Q. Why were they suing them, sir?**

22 A. They were suing them over the
23 representation in the Aquifer Authority, that it
24 violated -- it didn't have one person, one vote in
25 the Aquifer Authority, and the question was

1 concerning the application of one person, one vote
2 to a special district.

3 Q. Understood.

4 Doctor, the next case is Veasey versus
5 Perry where you served as a consultant and expert
6 witness on behalf of the United States Department of
7 Justice.

8 Sir, was it the Department of Justice's
9 Voting Rights Division that hired you for that case
10 or was it someone else?

11 A. Correct. It was the Voting Division of
12 the Department of Justice.

13 Q. Do you recall who they were litigating
14 against in that case?

15 A. They were litigating against the State of
16 Texas.

17 Q. It was again led by Governor Perry at the
18 time?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. Doctor, the next case on the list is
21 Harris versus McCrory where you served as a
22 consultant and expert witness on behalf of the
23 Harris plaintiffs.

24 Who hired you to serve as an expert
25 witness on behalf of the Harris plaintiffs?

1 A. Kevin Hamilton.

2 **Q. Do you know where Kevin Hamilton worked at**
3 **the time he hired you?**

4 A. Kevin was at Perkins Coie.

5 **Q. Sir, what was that case about?**

6 A. That case was about racial representation
7 in the North Carolina congressional district map
8 that had been enacted in 2012.

9 **Q. Sir, what was your expert testimony in**
10 **that case briefly, if you would?**

11 A. It concerned racial voting patterns and
12 changes in the district boundaries around North
13 Carolina in CDs 1 and 12 and whether or not there
14 had been predominantly a racial effect of who was
15 moved in and who was moved out.

16 **Q. Was it a redistricting case?**

17 A. Yes, because it concerned those districts.

18 **Q. Sir, next in 2014 you filed an amicus**
19 **brief on behalf of neither party in Alabama**
20 **Democratic Conference versus State of Alabama; is**
21 **that right?**

22 A. Yes. I was one of -- I think it was along
23 with Nathan Persily again who was leading the
24 amicus.

25 **Q. When you say leading, does that mean, as**

1 with the last amicus brief we talked about, you
2 wrote portions of it?

3 A. I wrote portions. I think in this case he
4 wrote more of it. Another one Charles and I divvied
5 it up.

6 Q. Understood.

7 You stand by the positions you-all took in
8 that brief?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Doctor, next on the list is Bethune-Hill
11 versus Virginia State Board of Elections where you
12 served as a consultant and expert on behalf of the
13 Bethune-Hill plaintiffs; is that right?

14 A. Correct.

15 Q. Who hired you to serve as an expert on
16 behalf of the Bethune-Hill plaintiffs?

17 A. In that case I think it was Kevin
18 Hamilton.

19 Q. Was Mr. Hamilton with the Perkins Coie law
20 firm at the time?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Next is an amicus brief in support of
23 appellees in Evenwell versus Abbott.

24 Sir, do you recall who the appellees were
25 in that case?

1 A. I don't remember who was appealing that
2 case.

3 **Q. Let me ask it this way. Does Abbott refer**
4 **to Governor Abbott from Texas?**

5 A. It does.

6 **Q. Was the brief in support of Governor**
7 **Abbott's position in that case?**

8 A. Good question. I don't recall. I think
9 it was not in support of Governor Abbott, if I
10 recall.

11 **Q. Doctor, let's mark this as Exhibit 3.**

12 (The documents referred to were marked for
13 identification as Defendants' Composite Exhibit
14 No. 3.)

15 BY MR. JAZIL:

16 **Q. Doctor, take a look at that. Is this the**
17 **amicus brief from Evenwell versus Abbott that you**
18 **signed on to?**

19 A. It is.

20 **Q. Doctor, looking at the case caption, would**
21 **you agree with me that the appellees in the case**
22 **were Governor Abbott and the State of Texas?**

23 A. Okay.

24 **Q. The case caption --**

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. -- take a look at it.

2 A. I don't remember which way it was going.

3 Q. But to the best of your recollection, you
4 weren't filing a brief on behalf of the governor.

5 A. It wasn't on behalf of either. I don't
6 remember which way it was going. That might be a
7 typo in my exhibit.

8 Q. Fair enough. We can move on.

9 Doctor, the next item on the list is Perez
10 versus Abbott. You provided expert testimony on
11 behalf of the Rodriguez intervenors. Do you recall,
12 sir, who hired you to provide expert testimony on
13 behalf of the Rodriguez intervenors?

14 A. Renea Hicks.

15 Q. Do you recall who the Rodriguez
16 intervenors were opposite in the case?

17 A. State of Texas.

18 Q. This would be the Republican governor,
19 Mr. Abbott?

20 A. Correct.

21 Q. The next item on the list is Fish versus
22 Kobach. You served as an expert witness on behalf
23 of the Fish plaintiffs, correct, sir?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. Who hired you to serve as an expert on

1 **behalf of the Fish plaintiffs?**

2 A. Dale Ho.

3 **Q. Do you recall where Mr. Ho works?**

4 A. He's an attorney for the ACLU.

5 **Q. Do you recall who the Fish plaintiffs were**
6 **suing?**

7 A. The Fish plaintiffs were suing the State
8 of Kansas.

9 **Q. Would that be Kris Kobach, the Secretary**
10 **of State of Kansas?**

11 A. Correct.

12 **Q. Do you recall whether Mr. Kobach was a**
13 **Republican or a Democrat?**

14 A. He was a Republican.

15 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is Voto**
16 **Latino versus Hobbs. It doesn't actually say**
17 **whether you provided expert testimony in this case.**
18 **Do you recall whether you did, sir?**

19 A. I was unclear because it was the time of
20 COVID. I think the case got settled.

21 **Q. Fair enough, Doctor.**

22 **Let me ask you this. Were you ever**
23 **deposed in that case?**

24 A. I don't think I was. Again, my COVID time
25 memory is off.

1 **Q. Fair enough.**

2 **Did you provide an expert report in the**
3 **case?**

4 A. I had done the expert analysis, and I
5 think at that point they settled the case.

6 **Q. I want to tread lightly here because, if**
7 **you were a non-testifying expert, I can't ask you**
8 **questions about it, and I don't want to intrude on**
9 **anyone's protective work product there.**

10 **Can you just tell me what that case was**
11 **about at a high level without revealing anything**
12 **that you might have told the lawyers in the case?**

13 A. That was about whether the date on which
14 absentee ballots could be accepted in the state of
15 Arizona would be the date on which they were mailed
16 or postmarked or the date on which they were
17 received, and they had to be received by election
18 day.

19 **Q. Understood.**

20 **Do you recall, sir, who hired you for that**
21 **case?**

22 A. Abha Khanna reached out to me about that
23 case.

24 **Q. Do you recall where Ms. Khanna worked at**
25 **the time she reached out to you?**

1 A. At that time I think she was at Elias Law
2 Group.

3 Q. Doctor, you have got another case from
4 2020, Wood versus Raffensperger from Georgia. Did
5 you provide any expert testimony in that case?

6 A. That was complicated because that was an
7 election dispute, and we filed a report -- I filed a
8 report, but I never got to the trial because the
9 judge -- there wasn't normal discovery. It was
10 moving too fast.

11 Q. Was this related to the Georgia recounts?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Sir, who hired you for that case?

14 A. Abha Khanna.

15 Q. Was Ms. Khanna at the Elias Law Group at
16 the time?

17 A. She is and was.

18 Q. Doctor, am I correct in saying that Ms.
19 Khanna at one time worked for Perkins Coie as well?

20 A. She did.

21 Q. Understood.

22 Doctor, the next item on the list is
23 Billie Johnson, et al. versus Wisconsin Elections
24 Commission. You served as an expert witness on
25 behalf of the Hunter intervenors.

1 **Sir, who hired you to serve as an expert**
2 **witness on behalf of the Hunter intervenors?**

3 A. Abha Khanna.

4 **Q. Was she still at the Elias Law Group at**
5 **the time?**

6 A. Yes.

7 **Q. What was that case about, sir?**

8 A. That was about the Wisconsin congressional
9 map.

10 **Q. Were the Hunter intervenors challenging**
11 **the Wisconsin congressional map?**

12 A. They were.

13 **Q. Was that map drawn by the Elections**
14 **Commission in that state?**

15 A. I believe it was. I don't remember
16 exactly who drew the map, whether it was the
17 commission or the state legislature.

18 **Q. Understood.**

19 **Do you recall whether Republicans made up**
20 **the majority of the Wisconsin Legislature at the**
21 **time?**

22 A. They did.

23 **Q. Do you recall whether Republicans made up**
24 **a majority of the Wisconsin Elections Commission at**
25 **the time?**

1 A. I don't know that.

2 **Q. Doctor, the next item on the list is your**
3 **work as a consulting expert to the Arizona**
4 **Independent Redistricting Commission. Do you see**
5 **that, sir?**

6 A. I do.

7 **Q. Who at the commission hired you to serve**
8 **as an independent party? Who at the commission**
9 **hired you to serve as an expert to the Redistricting**
10 **Commission?**

11 A. I'm trying to remember which attorney it
12 was. It was the attorneys for the commission. The
13 attorneys who were connected to the commission
14 reached out to me. So, it wasn't directly by a
15 commissioner.

16 **Q. Sir, do you recall --**

17 A. I'll think about the name.

18 **Q. Do you recall the criteria that the**
19 **commission used to select the experts that it relied**
20 **on?**

21 A. I don't know what criteria. I'm not sure
22 what you mean.

23 **Q. Were you the only expert that was retained**
24 **by the Redistricting Commission?**

25 A. No. Sean Trende was also retained.

1 **Q. Were any other experts retained by that**
2 **commission?**

3 A. They had other experts working on other
4 parts of the case. We were -- Sean and I were
5 working on the evaluation of voting behavior,
6 evaluating the map's electoral performance in terms
7 of Democrats or Republicans, informing the
8 commission about any voting rights issues that might
9 arise. For each version of the map, we would do a
10 complete workover of the electoral performance of
11 the map so that they knew kind of whether they had
12 overstepped -- whether they might have overstepped
13 the boundary and might be subject to a Section 2
14 lawsuit or something.

15 **Q. What is your understanding of why the**
16 **commission needed two experts, you and Mr. Trende,**
17 **to advise them on those issues?**

18 A. It's my understanding that there were
19 Democratic commissioners and Republican
20 commissioners and an independent commissioner. So,
21 they wanted people from different political
22 perspectives. So, they let the Democrats and
23 Republicans and the independent commissioner figure
24 out who the experts were, and then they reached out
25 to us and hired us.

1 **Q. Do you know whether you were the**
2 **preference of the independent expert or the**
3 **Democratic -- let me ask the question another way.**

4 **Do you know whether you were the**
5 **preference of the Democratic members of the**
6 **commission, the Republican members of the commission**
7 **or the independent member?**

8 A. I'm not certain, but my guess is I was a
9 preference of the Democrats, given Sean's political
10 consulting history. But we worked actually as a
11 team totally. In fact, we hired a research
12 assistant, David Sutton, and David would work for
13 Sean -- he was one of my students at Harvard. He
14 would work for Sean and me together. So, there
15 wasn't a boundary.

16 **Q. Understood.**

17 **Doctor, the final matter on the list is**
18 **Black Voters Matter versus Byrd. That's this case,**
19 **right?**

20 A. Correct.

21 **Q. Sir, who hired you to serve as an expert**
22 **witness on behalf of the Black Voters Matter**
23 **plaintiffs?**

24 A. Abha Khanna.

25 **Q. And she was at the Elias Law Group at the**

1 time?

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. Doctor, it seems I missed Harkenrider
4 versus Hochul.

5 A. Correct.

6 Q. You served as an expert witness on behalf
7 of the New York Senate majority leader.

8 Sir, do you recall who hired you to serve
9 as an expert witness on behalf of the New York
10 Senate majority leader?

11 A. The firm of Cuti, spelled C-U-T-I. I'm
12 trying to remember the other partners in that firm.
13 But it's the Cuti law firm in New York.

14 Q. Do you recall whether the New York Senate
15 majority leader was a Democrat or Republican at the
16 time?

17 A. A Democrat.

18 Q. Doctor, with your permission I would like
19 to take a brief break so that I can attend to
20 another hearing.

21 A. Understood.

22 MR. JAZIL: For those on the Zoom link,
23 Dan and Andy, we have got an 11:00 hearing with
24 Judge Wopper (phonetic). So, we are going to
25 take a recess. I think 11:30 is a fair time

1 for us to reconvene.

2 (Thereupon, a lunch recess was taken from
3 10:55 a.m. until 12:05 p.m., after which the
4 following proceedings were held:)

5 DIRECT EXAMINATION (Continued)

6 BY MR. JAZIL:

7 **Q. Doctor, we are back on the record.**

8 I would like to go back to your CV, which
9 is Page 16, where we were talking about some of the
10 cases that you worked on.

11 Is there anything you would like to
12 correct from our discussion earlier today about the
13 cases from 2020, Voto Latino and Wood versus
14 Raffensperger?

15 A. Yes. I was retained by Perkins, not the
16 Elias Law Group.

17 **Q. Was it still Abha Khanna who contacted you**
18 **about that case?**

19 A. Yes, it was.

20 **Q. Thank you, Doctor.**

21 Doctor, I have a couple of other questions
22 about your work. Have you ever been hired by a
23 Republican governor to consult on redistricting
24 issues?

25 A. No. None have asked. So, it was not

1 possible.

2 Q. Have you ever been hired by a Republican
3 majority legislature to consult on redistricting?

4 A. Again, none have asked. So, it was not
5 possible.

6 Q. I understand.

7 Republican mayors, have they ever asked
8 you to consult on redistricting issues?

9 A. I only worked for one mayor, the mayor of
10 San Antonio, and I don't know his partisan
11 affiliation or her partisan affiliation.

12 Q. Understood, Doctor.

13 The same question for city councils. Have
14 any Republican city councils hired you to consult on
15 redistricting?

16 A. Not that I know of. Again, no Republican
17 representative of a city council has approached me.

18 Q. Understood.

19 We talked about how you did work for the
20 Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission in the
21 past. Are there any other independent redistricting
22 commissions that have hired you to consult on a
23 redistricting issue?

24 A. Just that one.

25 Q. Understood.

1 I apologize for this next line of
2 questions. I'm just trying to get a clear record.

3 Are you a registered voter?

4 A. I am.

5 Q. Where, sir?

6 A. Massachusetts.

7 Q. Are you registered with any particular
8 political party?

9 A. I believe right now I'm with the
10 Democratic Party, sometimes independent.

11 Q. You said sometimes independent. How long
12 have you been registered with the Democratic Party?

13 A. Massachusetts law kicks you out of party
14 registration occasionally. So, I don't know.

15 Q. Understood.

16 Have you ever been registered with a
17 political party other than the Democratic Party?

18 A. No.

19 Q. But you have from time to time been an
20 independent?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. When I say independent, I don't mean the
23 independent party. I mean no party affiliation. Is
24 that my understanding?

25 A. Correct.

1 Q. Doctor, if you had to estimate, have you
2 predominantly been a registered Democrat or a no
3 party affiliation voter?

4 A. More often a registered Democrat than no
5 party.

6 Q. Understood, sir.

7 Doctor, getting back to this case, Black
8 Voters Matter versus Byrd, you testified earlier
9 that Abha Khanna form the Elias Law Group hired you
10 for the case, correct?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. Do you recall when?

13 A. No, I don't remember. Like what month?

14 Q. If I were to ask you, Doctor, were you
15 hired in the fall of 2022, would that seem about
16 right?

17 A. That would be about right. It was
18 certainly earlier than December.

19 Q. Understood.

20 Would it be at or about the time we had
21 the preliminary injunction hearing in that case?

22 A. I don't remember the time of that.

23 Q. Understood.

24 A. Probably around that time.

25 Q. Doctor, if you look at the date for the

1 **first expert report, which is Exhibit 1 in this**
2 **case, you submitted it on January 27th, 2023,**
3 **correct?**

4 A. Correct.

5 Q. Doctor, I would like to ask you this. How
6 often did you meet with the folks at the Elias Law
7 Group or Perkins Coie before you finalized that
8 report?

9 A. In person, not at all. We had some phone
10 calls, a couple, maybe a Zoom call. Maybe an
11 estimate, maybe a dozen times.

12 Q. A dozen times?

13 A. Phone calls and Zoom, yes.

14 Q. Those dozen times on the phone or on Zoom,
15 can you approximate for me how long those meetings
16 ran?

17 A. Half an hour.

18 Q. Understood.

19 Outside of the lawyers at the Elias Law
20 Group and Perkins Coie, did you talk to anybody else
21 about the expert report that is marked as Exhibit 1?

22 A. I have two research assistants on my team,
23 and they helped by like checking the maps to make
24 sure there weren't irregularities, like missing
25 blocks or something. So, they saw pieces of it.

1 They were scrutinizing pieces of it, checking
2 numbers in the tables to make sure there weren't
3 typos. So, it was those two RAs, nobody else.

4 Q. You said RAs. Is that research
5 assistants?

6 A. Correct.

7 Q. Would they be students of yours at
8 Harvard?

9 A. David Sutton and Chris Kenny, yes.

10 Q. They are your students?

11 A. Currently, yes.

12 Q. Graduate students?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. You briefly described what it is they did.
15 For each of them, can you give me a breakdown of
16 what they were tasked with doing for the expert
17 reports?

18 A. David worked on the electoral side of it,
19 the voting data and, you know, the census data to
20 make sure there weren't any typos there.

21 Chris worked on the integrity of the maps,
22 like were there missing blocks or something.

23 Q. We were talking specifically about Exhibit
24 1, but you have four reports total in this case,
25 right?

1 A. Correct.

2 **Q. Did your two research assistants help you**
3 **with all of those reports?**

4 A. David did. Chris did not. Chris only
5 helped on this one.

6 **Q. And they were working at your direction?**

7 A. Actually Chris helped in making digitals
8 for the supplemental report in this case.

9 **Q. Understood.**

10 A. Yes. And yes, they were working at my
11 direction.

12 **Q. Understood. Fair enough.**

13 Doctor, other than the lawyers and your
14 research assistants, did anyone else help you with
15 any of the reports that you submitted in this case?

16 A. No.

17 **Q. Doctor, let's start working through your**
18 **report, and perhaps you can help me better**
19 **understand the sequence.**

20 Let's start at Page 1, the Executive
21 Summary.

22 Doctor, in Paragraph 4 you introduce us to
23 a Demonstration Plan, a Demonstration Map that you
24 created. Doctor, did you assess your Demonstration
25 Plan to ensure that it complies with the Florida

1 Constitution?

2 A. To the best of my understanding of the
3 constitution, yes.

4 Q. Doctor, in looking at the districts in
5 your Demonstration Map, are there any districts
6 within it that are identical to the Enacted Plan?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Do you know how many?

9 A. I'm trying to remember the number. It's
10 like 19 or something like that.

11 Q. So, is it fair for me to assume that for
12 those 19 or so districts, you are not contending
13 that those 19 or so districts violate the Florida
14 Constitution, right?

15 A. Correct. But the districts that are, for
16 example, in South Florida, I don't examine those.

17 Q. Doctor, I notice that in your
18 Demonstration Plan compared to the Enacted Plan
19 there are some districts that are very similar to
20 one another, not necessarily identical. Is that a
21 fair characterization?

22 A. I'm not sure what you have in mind, but I
23 tried to keep things that the state legislature
24 enacted the same as much as possible and then
25 showing in the Demonstration Map how the

1 configuration could have been different.

2 Q. Understood.

3 Let me ask the question another way. Are
4 your expert reports focused on the concerns you
5 articulated in North Florida and the Tampa/St. Pete
6 region and in the Orlando area?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. You were not expressing any concerns about
9 other parts of the map.

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. Doctor, I would like you to go on to
12 Paragraph 17 of your initial report, Exhibit 1, on
13 Page 3.

14 Doctor, the first sentence of Paragraph 17
15 says, "The Demonstration Map maintains nearly the
16 same geographic configuration and electoral
17 performance as the Benchmark Map in the Tampa Bay
18 area." You have similar statements about the North
19 Florida region and the Orlando region elsewhere in
20 the report.

21 My question for you is this. Is it
22 important to maintain the same geographic
23 configuration as you are redrawing a map after an
24 annual census?

25 A. There is a tacit principle embraced in

1 many contexts, such as in Wisconsin where the hope
2 is to maintain a minimal change from some existing
3 map.

4 In this context the Enacted Map -- the
5 Benchmark Map was put in place in 2015. So, it's a
6 fairly recent map. So, that was kind of where I
7 started.

8 **Q. So, Doctor, would it be fair to say that**
9 **from your perspective a map drawer should follow a**
10 **minimal changes approach to redistricting?**

11 A. This is the approach I took in this report
12 because I'm not an official map drawer in this
13 context, and other people like the legislature have
14 drawn the map. So, I'm taking a specific approach
15 of maintaining something, putting forth a
16 Demonstration Map to demonstrate some principles
17 that are in line with a map that was already cleared
18 through a constitutional process.

19 **Q. So, the approach you took in the**
20 **Demonstration Plan was to follow a minimal changes**
21 **approach.**

22 A. Correct.

23 **Q. Doctor, have you been following the**
24 **population trends in the states as part of the**
25 **annual census to see which states would gain a**

1 congressional district, which would lose a
2 congressional district and which would stay
3 approximately the same?

4 A. Do you mean like do I know which states
5 gained and lost?

6 Q. Yes, sir.

7 A. Yes, roughly.

8 Q. You would agree with me that Florida
9 gained a congressional seat, correct?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. Doctor, as you are following a minimal
12 changes approach in a state that gained a
13 congressional district, how do you contend with that
14 additional seat if you are following a minimal
15 changes approach?

16 A. It depends where the population growth
17 might be and where a district, say, is greatly
18 overpopulated. So, it depends where the population
19 change happened, and it's very contextual within the
20 state.

21 Q. If the population change, taking Florida
22 as an example, happens on the I-4 corridor between
23 Tampa and Orlando and you are drawing a plan, as you
24 did with the Demonstration Plan, can you walk me
25 through how you would assess how best to carve that

1 **seat into a map?**

2 A. Well, again, it depends on where the
3 change is -- I think there was a lot in Polk County
4 in this case -- and how you would change the other
5 districts to accommodate that.

6 In my case I was starting with two maps.
7 One is the Enacted Map and not changing districts
8 that had already been drawn in the Enacted Map to
9 the extent possible. So, those districts already
10 accommodate a lot of that population -- a lot of the
11 population change in the state.

12 The other aspect was trying to conform
13 with what had been a constitutionally approved set
14 of districts and see if those could be left in place
15 and then what needed to be done to adjust the
16 boundaries.

17 **Q. Understood.**

18 **If we go to Page 6 of your report where**
19 **you cite the data sources, Doctor, first you say,**
20 **"Maps analyzed in this report come from the Florida**
21 **Redistricting website." What information**
22 **specifically did you use from the Florida**
23 **Redistricting website to do your analysis and put**
24 **together your Demonstration Plan?**

25 A. For the maps I downloaded the shape file

1 for the Benchmark Map, the Detzner Map and the
2 Enacted Map, and then data available on the Florida
3 website for redistricting purposes. They have a
4 database there.

5 **Q. Did the database by itself provide any**
6 **kind of partisan breakdown?**

7 A. I think there's like party registration
8 statistics and things like that in there.

9 **Q. Did you use any of those party statistics**
10 **as part of the functional analysis you conducted in**
11 **the report?**

12 A. For the functional analysis, there's a
13 particular problem in the alignment of the census
14 data with the election data. So, I relied in my
15 initial analysis on data from the ALARM project,
16 which is a different way of dealing with that
17 problem. This doesn't affect a huge amount of the
18 map. It's mainly large-area precincts where there's
19 a lot of population on one end of the precinct, like
20 down in the Everglades. The way that the Florida
21 data does the join between the population data and
22 the election data is to simply divide by land area
23 as opposed to population in the two parts.

24 So, the approach I used, which the
25 academic literature has vetted and had a debate, and

1 I was not part of that debate, about what the right
2 way to do it is. It gives you a more accurate, less
3 error in your joining of the data. That is to
4 join -- to do that apportionment by population on
5 each part of the precinct as opposed to do it by
6 land area.

7 So, that's the only real difference
8 between the data that I used for the functional
9 analysis and the Florida data. I reran it with the
10 Florida data and found virtually the same numbers.
11 So, I don't think this was consequential. But, you
12 know, I followed like what is the method that is
13 going to have the least error, okay, and will be
14 vetted already or we as the community is already
15 vetted. So, I just followed the methods used by the
16 researchers for the ALARM project, the functional
17 analysis.

18 **Q. Did you use the partisan data from the**
19 **Florida website for anything other than a functional**
20 **analysis?**

21 A. We aggregated up to the -- when we
22 aggregated the data up to the district level, we
23 used that data. The numbers aggregate to the same
24 number. So, it's the same thing.

25 **Q. Fair enough.**

1 **Why was it important to aggregate the data**
2 **to the district level as far as the data?**

3 A. Just to say, for example, what percent of
4 the vote in the district went to Democrats in this
5 election or Republicans in this election. It was
6 just an aggregate number for the district.

7 **Q. And that aggregate number is showing the**
8 **numbers of registered Democrats and the number of**
9 **registered Republicans in the district?**

10 A. In this case the electoral data is how
11 many votes were received by Tim Scott and how many
12 votes were received by -- so, it was that kind of
13 information.

14 **Q. Fair enough.**

15 **Doctor, was there any racial data on the**
16 **Florida Redistricting website, a breakdown of how**
17 **many black voters live in a district versus**
18 **Hispanic, et cetera?**

19 A. They do provide data on the census
20 breakdown. I can't remember which columns they
21 were. It was blacks and Hispanics and whites.

22 **Q. Did you use any of that data?**

23 A. I analyzed that data and found it
24 consistent -- it's very similar, the results, to the
25 data that we have. I think there's a comment in my

1 reply to Dr. Johnson that, if you run the data, you
2 will see that the results are just about the same.

3 **Q. Fair enough.**

4 **You started touching on this a bit. I'm**
5 **moving on to Paragraph 33 where you mention the**
6 **ALARM Census data and CVAP, et cetera.**

7 **First I would like to ask you this. There**
8 **is a sentence in Paragraph 33 that says, "CVAP data**
9 **is estimated to Census blocks proportionally from**
10 **Census block groups by race group." Can you unpack**
11 **that sentence for me and just help me understand**
12 **what it is you are saying there?**

13 A. Sure. So, the census reports data at the
14 block level. That's the smallest level from which
15 we get data. The blocks are typically about 100
16 people. Some of them have no people, like zero
17 population. The census blocks have a highway
18 running through them. So, they vary in number, but
19 they are very small. Then there's block groups,
20 which are a collection of, say, five or ten blocks
21 together.

22 To connect that to the election data,
23 which is at precincts, requires some assumptions
24 about how to join those data. The precincts are
25 drawn by the state, not by the census. They tend

1 not to split blocks. So, every once in a while
2 we'll encounter one that is split. But they do
3 split block groups. The census data are released
4 for citizens voting in populations released at the
5 block group level. So, that's where the problem
6 comes in.

7 So, what we can see from the block data is
8 what the racial populations are in the different
9 parts of the -- what the racial percentages are in
10 the different parts of the precincts. That's how we
11 do the split. We say, okay, there are this many --
12 this percent of this block group is black citizens
13 who are adults and this percent of this block group
14 are black citizens who are adults. The precinct
15 cuts across those two block groups. Let's take
16 proportionally how many people are in those block
17 groups who are black citizens for each of those
18 pieces of the precinct. So, that's what it's doing.
19 It's trying to take the data and break it down to
20 the smallest pieces that we can possibly and
21 apportion them by the population of the racial
22 group's size in those pieces as opposed to by the
23 land area, which can be completely unrelated in some
24 unique circumstances. So, that's why we are doing
25 population and group population.

1 **Q. Doctor, I apologize if I am not getting**
2 **this right. My understanding of what you just said**
3 **is that the census block data is not identical to**
4 **the precinct level data. So, the analysis that you**
5 **did is a way to distribute an appropriate proportion**
6 **of people by race or what is a Democratic indicator**
7 **across the precinct. So, in other words, what you**
8 **are trying to do is match up the blocks at the**
9 **precinct level in a fair and accurate way. Is that**
10 **fair?**

11 A. Correct. So, if I have a census area and
12 it's divided by two precincts, how do I apportion
13 the percentage of blacks and Hispanics and so forth
14 from that census area into the two precincts?
15 That's the method, apportioning by the racial group
16 population in that block area.

17 **Q. Doctor, why do you need citizens' voting**
18 **age population data at the block level versus just**
19 **voting age population at the block level to do that?**

20 A. So, this analysis, these data are used for
21 doing a functional analysis. If you are in a part
22 of the state or analyzing a group that has a high
23 non-citizen rate, such as Hispanics in some cities,
24 then using the voting age data is going to
25 overestimate the size of that group in doing your

1 functional analysis. So, you will end up with the
2 wrong data because you are going to be assuming that
3 the people who couldn't vote were actually voting in
4 the functional analysis.

5 It just so happens in the case law from
6 last time there was a voting age population that was
7 given some more value in the analysis. But we did
8 the analysis both ways. So, the reason why I wanted
9 to do it with using citizens voting age population
10 on a functional analysis, not for tabulating
11 populations but just for the functional analysis, is
12 to get an estimate that is closer to the actual size
13 of those groups or the actual electoral size of
14 those groups.

15 **Q. Doctor, you said the case law from the**
16 **last cycle. You are referring to the Florida**
17 **Supreme Court's decisions from the last cycle,**
18 **right?**

19 A. Correct.

20 **Q. And in those decisions the Florida Supreme**
21 **Court, as you just said, focused on voting age**
22 **population, right?**

23 A. Correct.

24 **Q. Doctor, in light of that case law, if the**
25 **Florida legislature were to rely on the voting age**

1 population and not the citizen voting age population
2 as it's doing its work, would you ascribe some kind
3 of ill motive to the Florida legislature?

4 A. No. They were using the voting age -- my
5 recollection and my understanding of the portions of
6 the case that I read that inform how I should do the
7 analysis is that voting age population was being
8 referred to when it came to ascertaining whether
9 this was a majority black district or a majority
10 Hispanic district or a majority minority district.
11 But in doing the functional analysis, there wasn't
12 clear instructions about what to use.

13 In most other cases, like all over Texas,
14 Arizona and every other state I have worked in,
15 citizen voting age population is used because it's
16 more proximate to the electorate of the groups. And
17 in an area where you have high non-citizen rates,
18 voting age population could be quite inaccurate.
19 So, in doing the functional analysis, I would give
20 more credence to the citizen voting age population
21 data, but I understand that the courts also want to
22 focus on voting age population data.

23 Q. Understood.

24 Doctor, am I correct in my understanding
25 that you just said you did a functional analysis

1 using both voting age population and citizens voting
2 age population?

3 A. Citizens voting age population, and there
4 were questions about whether voting age population
5 matters in Dr. Allman's report, I think. So, I ran
6 that analysis for CD-5 and found that it didn't make
7 any difference or any meaningful difference.

8 Q. Doctor, we are talking about your data
9 sources and some of what you did. I also notice
10 that you used census-designated places as part of
11 your analysis.

12 Doctor, you did use census-designated
13 places as part of your analysis, right?

14 A. Yes. There's a report on how many census-
15 designated places are divided in the different
16 plans.

17 Q. Yes, sir. I'm struggling to find it.

18 Let me ask you this. The
19 census-designated places, why is it important --
20 well, first, what are census-designated places?

21 A. So, the census tries to identify places
22 that are not necessarily incorporated municipalities
23 but are identifiable neighborhoods; for example,
24 like a large retirement community that is
25 immediately outside of Boca Raton but it's not yet

1 incorporated into the city, and it's a place. It's
2 usually got, you know, a mail delivery service. So,
3 there are different aspects of a government
4 function.

5 **Q. Doctor, as you worked through the issues**
6 **in this case, you assessed the number of splits of**
7 **census-designated places under the Enacted Plan, the**
8 **Detzner Plan and your Demonstration Plan, correct?**

9 A. Correct.

10 **Q. Why is it that you assessed the splits of**
11 **the census-designated places as part of your**
12 **analysis?**

13 A. So, frequently what arises in cases like
14 this is some question about the division of
15 neighborhoods or the division of communities or
16 communities of interest. We don't really have great
17 measures of those. The closest we have is census-
18 designated places.

19 In fact, Dr. Johnson did raise this
20 question in a response to a critique of one part of
21 my map where he said that you divided a neighborhood
22 over here, but there's no basis for that. So, the
23 CDPs, the census-designated places, give you some
24 indicator of how much the map respected these other
25 kinds of neighborhoods, if that's a concern to the

1 map or it's a concern to the experts in questioning
2 in this case.

3 **Q. Doctor, am I correct in understanding that**
4 **the CDPs don't follow municipal boundaries, right?**

5 A. They are outside of the incorporated
6 municipalities. Often they become municipalities,
7 sort of like proto-cities, or get incorporated if
8 they are right on the border. Sometimes they are
9 just kind of rural communities. They have a post
10 office. There's a recognizable little area. So,
11 it's one way of gauging are you dividing a bunch of
12 places where people are as meaningful and should you
13 be concerned about it. Maybe you aren't under the
14 constitution state, but maybe you become concerned
15 in a legal question about like what happened in this
16 part of the map.

17 **Q. Doctor, do you recall whether the Florida**
18 **Supreme Court looked at the CDPs in the last**
19 **redistricting cycle in the cases that you were**
20 **involved in?**

21 A. They did not. They looked at incorporated
22 municipalities, I believe.

23 **Q. Understood.**

24 **Before we move on, we talked about**
25 **precincts, and I think you made the comment that the**

1 state set the precincts. When you say that, were
2 you referring to everyone who might be involved in
3 election administration or were you speaking
4 specifically to the Secretary of State in Florida?

5 A. Everybody who might be involved, counties,
6 yes.

7 Q. Doctor, would you agree with me that the
8 precincts themselves do change over time as the
9 local election administrators deem it appropriate?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. So, did you look at the number of
12 precincts that would be split under the Enacted
13 Plan, the Detzner Plan and the Demonstration Plan?

14 A. When I had precinct maps, we did.
15 Otherwise, I relied on the voting tabulation
16 districts, which are the census -- the census
17 releases a report of voting tabulation districts.
18 It's a program that states join, I believe. I'm
19 sure Florida is a member of that program. The
20 agreement is that the municipalities or counties
21 will respect the CDPs to the extent possible. So,
22 dividing the CDPs in half is usually dividing the
23 precinct in half. It's almost always dividing the
24 precinct in half.

25 Q. Doctor, we talked about this at the

1 **preliminary injunction phase. I asked you whether**
2 **or not you knew whether specific counties set their**
3 **precincts based on the VTDs. Do you recall that**
4 **line of questioning?**

5 A. No.

6 Q. So, Doctor, let me ask you the same
7 question again. So, Florida has 67 counties,
8 correct? Do you know whether or not those 67
9 counties' officials set their precincts based on
10 VTDs?

11 A. Well, I know from the agreement with
12 census they are supposed to. But, you know,
13 counties do what is necessary to run the election.
14 There's that degree of flexibility.

15 Q. So, you don't know for sure whether or not
16 they do it?

17 A. Well, there is a report that gets released
18 like showing the precincts from the counties, and
19 you can see that alignment.

20 My analysis generally, looking at Florida
21 election administration data, is almost always the
22 counties are respecting the VTDs, but there are
23 places to deviate.

24 Q. Do VTDs change over time just like
25 precincts?

1 A. Not very frequently. Every census.

2 **Q. So, if precinct lines are following the**
3 **VTD lines, you would then expect the precinct lines**
4 **to change after every census, right?**

5 A. Yes. They will adjust the VTDs after
6 redistricting. The census works with the states.

7 **Q. In your report, when you are looking at**
8 **the precinct split or the VTD split, is that another**
9 **way for you to assess whether the map drawer is**
10 **following a minimal changes approach to the map that**
11 **is being put forward as the new proposal?**

12 A. For the necessity and the sufficiency,
13 which is like, if they follow the minimum changes
14 approach, it would keep to a minimum precinct splits
15 or VTD splits. If they are not following a minimum
16 change approach, they might still minimize that.

17 **Q. Let me pull out a little. When we were**
18 **talking about splits, whether it's precinct splits,**
19 **county splits, et cetera, why is it that that metric**
20 **is an important one to present?**

21 A. Some of it's state law in this case.
22 Generally the approach -- there's a general concept
23 of communities of interest and respecting political
24 boundaries, and these are political boundaries. So,
25 adhering to those general concepts, they lead you to

1 respecting these particular political boundaries.

2 **Q. When we are talking about political**
3 **boundaries, do you consider the precinct lines to be**
4 **political boundaries as well?**

5 A. Well, they are drawn for the purpose of
6 administering the election, and the election is a
7 political function. So, that's why you would want
8 to respect the administrative part of the political
9 function.

10 **Q. I have the same question for the VTDs. Do**
11 **you view the VTDs to be political boundaries as**
12 **well?**

13 A. Yes. The highest level of political
14 boundaries are counties, large municipalities.

15 **Q. So, if we were trying to prioritize**
16 **splits, would it be better to minimize county splits**
17 **and minimize municipal splits and minimize CDP**
18 **splits and then minimize precinct level splits?**

19 MS. FORD: Objection to the form.

20 A. It depends on what the problem is. So,
21 for example, in North Carolina in the McCrory case
22 the precincts and how they were split -- and also in
23 the Bethune-Hill case -- in those two cases the
24 precincts and how they were treated were critical
25 for determining racial intentionality.

1 In the Bethune-Hill case a precinct was
2 divided, and the division, when we looked at the
3 underlying racial data, followed exactly the racial
4 composition of the precinct. I mean the black part
5 of the precinct on one district and the white
6 precinct on another district. So, it's very
7 contextual to which division you look at to answer
8 what question.

9 BY MR. JAZIL:

10 **Q. I've got it.**

11 A. The court might have its own hierarchy in
12 the Florida Constitution. That's a matter of law.
13 That's not for me.

14 **Q. Understood.**

15 **So, let's set the racial issue aside for a**
16 **moment, the Bethune-Hill example that you gave,**
17 **Doctor.**

18 **Do you have a hierarchy that you use when**
19 **you are assessing splits and trying to minimize**
20 **them?**

21 A. Well, no. In this case I was trying to
22 follow the general principle to try and keep county
23 splits to a minimum, keep municipal splits to a
24 minimum and keep precinct splits as low as possible.

25 **Q. Let me ask this another way. If I were to**

1 say that, and let me know if you agree, it is better
2 to minimize county splits than to minimize municipal
3 splits, all things being equal, would you agree with
4 that statement?

5 MS. FORD: Object to the form.

6 A. Not in my -- I don't know.

7 Q. Fair enough.

8 Doctor, moving on to the functional
9 analysis you did in this case, first I would like to
10 understand the definition of majority-minority that
11 you used. What is the definition of majority-
12 minority that you used in your report?

13 A. The majority non-Hispanic white would be a
14 majority-minority district in terms of population.
15 Then there are questions about whether that is a
16 functioning district, and that requires additional
17 analysis.

18 Q. Do, your definition of majority-minority
19 means a district where non-whites make up a majority
20 of the population, right?

21 A. Voting age population or citizen voting
22 age population, depending on what criterion we are
23 looking at.

24 Q. Doctor, do you know whether the Florida
25 Supreme Court has used such a definition of

1 **majority-minority in its decisions from the last**
2 **cycle?**

3 A. I don't know if they used that exact -- I
4 don't know how they define it. I know in the case
5 of CD-5 there's not majority black. It was
6 considered a majority -- it was considered a
7 minority district, not majority white.

8 **Q. Understood.**

9 Do you know of any courts that have
10 specifically said that a majority-minority district
11 is one where non-whites make up the majority of the
12 voting age population?

13 A. Say that again. Where a majority --

14 **Q. Do you know of any courts that have said**
15 **that a majority-minority district is one where non-**
16 **whites make up a greater than 50 percent share of**
17 **the voting age population?**

18 A. Well, this case that just came down about
19 Alabama, my understanding is the trial court judge,
20 the quotes I have seen from him were like a district
21 in Alabama that is 50 percent black or near enough,
22 right? So, the idea isn't that you have to have
23 50 percent to satisfy what he was deciding.

24 In Texas, not that these were required
25 districts but districts that were not 50 percent

1 black are considered black districts such as CD-18,
2 which is in Houston. So, it happens all the time is
3 the answer.

4 Q. Understood.

5 Doctor, let's focus on what was CD-5 in
6 the Benchmark Plan. You agree with me that that's a
7 district where the black voting age population was
8 not greater than 50 percent, right?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. And in your assessment you called it a
11 majority-minority district because the non-whites
12 voting age population in the district was greater
13 than 50 percent, right?

14 A. Correct.

15 Q. And blacks in your assessment made up a
16 plurality of the voting age population for the
17 minorities in the district, correct?

18 A. Correct.

19 Q. And when you did the functional analysis
20 for CD-5, did you look at how all of the non-white
21 voting age population would cast their ballots in
22 the district?

23 A. I did.

24 Q. So, Doctor, setting aside CD-5 for a
25 minute, suppose we have a district where all

1 minorities combined make up a majority of the
2 district and all these minorities combined vote for
3 the Democratic candidate at a 70 percent rate. But
4 black votes within the district vote for the
5 Democrat at a 90 percent rate and Hispanics vote for
6 the Democrat at a 50 percent rate. Do you follow
7 me?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Would you agree with me that there is no
10 cohesion between the Democrat and the -- there's no
11 cohesion between the black voters and the Hispanic
12 voters voting within that district?

13 MS. FORD: Objection to the form.

14 A. It depends what the question is that you
15 are trying to get answered as to whether cohesion is
16 the question. So, what is the question you are
17 trying to get answered about this district?

18 BY MR. JAZIL:

19 Q. Let me ask it another way. In that
20 district wouldn't it be better to do a functional
21 analysis that focused on just the black voters than
22 a functional analysis that focused on just the
23 Hispanic voters rather than combining the two?

24 A. Well, the first question is, are the
25 Hispanics numerous enough to actually do that

1 analysis. Assuming that they are, it's not
2 necessarily the case, but that's the question you
3 have asked. You are not asking whether this is a
4 particular voting rights situation, but maybe you
5 are asking whether this is a district that would
6 function for black voters. So, that, for example,
7 came up repeatedly in Section 5 cases, and the
8 Department of Justice's criteria was, is this a
9 district where black voters are effectively electing
10 their own people, even if they are less than
11 50 percent of the electorate?

12 **Q. Doctor, going back to CD-5, can you walk**
13 **me through the functional analysis you did conduct**
14 **in this case for that district?**

15 A. Certainly. Where would you like to start?

16 **Q. Start from the beginning. You are the**
17 **teacher. Teach me.**

18 MS. FORD: Do you want him to walk you
19 through the benchmark or which CD-5 study?

20 BY MR. JAZIL:

21 **Q. Fair enough.**

22 **The functional analysis for the Benchmark**
23 **Plan.**

24 A. Okay. So, the first thing that I did is I
25 compiled the census figures for that district. Is

1 this a majority-minority district and, if so, what
2 does the minority group population look like? This
3 is a district that is majority non-white, but it's
4 not majority of any one group. It's not a majority
5 black district in voting age population.

6 So, then the next question is how do the
7 groups vote. So, how do the whites vote? I do a
8 statistical analysis to determine how whites vote
9 and how blacks vote. And then do I have enough data
10 to estimate how -- and in the data are the people
11 appropriately distributed to actually ethnically
12 complement the other groups. In this case the
13 answer was it doesn't look like it.

14 For example, Hispanics are only
15 three percent of, I think, the VAP. Maybe it's the
16 CVAP. That's too low. They are also too dispersed.
17 They are not more than half of any precinct. So,
18 it's a big leap to rely on the methods that we use
19 to impute for such a small group or to estimate how
20 they are behaving. In physics terms you would have
21 very big error bars. So, the best we can then do is
22 estimate collectively how our minority is voting.
23 So, in that case I arrive at some numbers.

24 Then the next piece of this, which is
25 particular to Florida because Florida is one of the

1 few states that actually has race and party on the
2 voter registration data, is to ask how many blacks
3 voted in the primary and what percentage of all
4 primary voters were black, what percentage of
5 Democratic primary voters were black.

6 So, there are two different analyses. So,
7 it's just to get a sense of like how important are
8 the blacks, which is the group where we are asking
9 whether they have kind of a controlling interest in
10 this district and how big are those groups. Would
11 they be large enough to nominate their preferred
12 candidate because they are enough of the Democratic
13 district, and then finally analyze the likely
14 election outcomes by looking at under the
15 composition of the district which candidates were
16 preferred by the minority groups in question, by all
17 minorities and by blacks, and whether those
18 candidates were winning a majority of the votes in
19 elections in the precincts in that district.

20 **Q. Understood.**

21 **When you are assessing the electoral**
22 **performance, Doctor, we can go to Page 8, Paragraph**
23 **40 of your report. Is that where you lay out the**
24 **general method for assessing electoral performance?**

25 **A. Correct.**

1 Q. Is that method consistent for every
2 functional analysis that you did in your report?

3 A. Yes, and in the supplemental as well.

4 Q. Understood. Thank you.

5 In here, Doctor, it says that you used the
6 precinct level election data from each of the
7 following statewide elections. Then you list the
8 presidential election from 2020, the U.S. Senate
9 election from 2018, the gubernatorial election from
10 2018, the Attorney General election from 2018, the
11 Chief Financial Officer election from 2018, the
12 Agricultural Commission election from 2018, the U.S.
13 Presidential election from 2016 and the U.S. Senate
14 election from 2016. Why is it that you picked those
15 particular elections for the purposes of your
16 analysis?

17 A. So, I chose all the federal elections and
18 all of the top state level elections.

19 Q. Doctor, I notice that you didn't use the
20 state level elections from 2022. Why is that?

21 A. I didn't have the data yet.

22 Q. If you had the data, would you have used
23 them?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Doctor, in the next paragraph you talk

1 about how you used the ecological regression to
2 estimate the best fitting linear relationship
3 between the percent of the electorate that is of a
4 particular group and the vote share won by a party
5 or candidate to estimate the rate at which the group
6 votes for that party or candidate. Do you see that
7 page, sir?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. My first question is, Doctor, was an
10 ecological regression used last cycle in the cases
11 that you worked on in Florida to assess how a
12 particular group's voting preference aligned with
13 the share that a particular party won an election?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Then later in the paragraph you talk about
16 how you also used an ecological inference. Can you
17 help me understand the difference between an
18 ecological regression and an ecological inference?
19 You say they are similar methodologies. Can you
20 help me understand the difference between the two?

21 A. Gladly. So, ecological regression is a
22 linear regression using ordinarily the standard
23 regression analysis.

24 Ecological inference attempts to
25 estimate -- uses the same regression framework, but

1 the method is a much newer method. It was developed
2 by Professor Gary King at Harvard University. It's
3 an ecological inference, and this is the name he
4 gave to the technique.

5 So, the technique bounds every precinct
6 estimate. So, you end up with not only an estimate
7 of, say, the voting behavior in an entire district
8 of all the people, but an estimate of voting
9 behavior in every single precinct, and it imposes
10 these bounds.

11 The tricky part is when you are out in a
12 place that is, say, 95 percent black or 95 percent
13 white. It gets harder to estimate like the other
14 groups' behaviors. So, it's doing that.

15 **Q. So, if I were to call it an attempt to get**
16 **greater precision, would that be accurate?**

17 A. Or to get additional information out of
18 the data that we have at hand. It just so happens
19 that I don't need those data to do what we are doing
20 here.

21 **Q. Did you use ecological inference to**
22 **confirm the conclusions you arrived at using your**
23 **ecological regression? Would that be a fair**
24 **statement?**

25 A. I did both. I did them simultaneously and

1 just are they consistent with each other and are we
2 getting it right.

3 Q. It says here for the ecological inference
4 you relied on a limited number of elections. By
5 that do you mean you relied on fewer elections than
6 you relied on for the ecological regression
7 approach?

8 A. No. Actually in the end I ultimately did
9 it on all the elections for which I did the
10 ecological regression.

11 Q. So, you ended up doing an ecological
12 regression and an ecological inference for all of
13 the elections that are referenced in Paragraph 40?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. I've got it.

16 A. The ecological inference program runs very
17 slowly.

18 Q. Doctor, let me ask you this question since
19 you brought up the program. What do you use when
20 you are drawing maps? Do you use Maptitude?

21 A. Personally I like to just use Dave's
22 Redistricting and then upload that into -- prepare a
23 final map and upload that into ArcGIS, which is the
24 Geographic Information Service system or software
25 that is the platform on which Dave's Redistricting

1 is built and Maptitude is built and stuff like that.

2 **Q. So, it's my understanding that Maptitude**
3 **allows you to do a compactness analysis using**
4 **various different metrics. Is that accurate?**

5 A. Yes.

6 **Q. Does Dave's Redistricting give you the**
7 **ability to do a compactness analysis using various**
8 **metrics for compactness?**

9 A. Yes. It has Reock and Polsby-Popper. I
10 calculate it through ArcGIS.

11 **Q. ArcGIS also allows you to do that?**

12 A. Yes. It's just a formula. Like here's
13 the link of the perimeter. Here's the area of the
14 unit that you are analyzing, and then you apply the
15 formula.

16 **Q. Am I correct that there's a different**
17 **formula for each of those compactness methods,**
18 **right?**

19 A. Right.

20 **Q. How many of those formulas are built into**
21 **Dave's Redistricting?**

22 A. I can't remember. It definitely has Reock
23 and Polsby-Popper programs. I think you have got a
24 program in there, something that I think Gary King
25 also developed that is newer, and I don't think it's

1 widely used. So, I generally don't report that.

2 Q. So, there are about three or so metrics in
3 Dave's Redistricting?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. Is that about the same number in the
6 ArcGIS program that you use?

7 A. ArcGIS, you can put anything into it.
8 ArcGIS is just the platform on which all these other
9 things are built.

10 Q. I've got it.

11 So, if you were relying on just ArcGIS and
12 not the Maptitude version that's built on ArcGIS,
13 would you have to insert the formulas for each of
14 the compactness measures you would want to consider?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. When you are doing the ecological
17 regression and ecological inference analysis, what
18 program are you doing those on?

19 A. There's a statistical software called R,
20 and R has regression built into it. So, you write a
21 code to do the program to do that analysis. And
22 then the ecological inference is a separate program
23 that runs on top of R. So, you run that package on
24 top of R, and that will run the estimation program.
25 That's available anywhere online. You can go to

1 Gary King's website. He will be happy if you do.

2 Q. Doctor, when you are doing the ecological
3 inference and ecological regression, are those
4 analyses being done simultaneously? You plug it in
5 and then you ask it to do an ecological regression
6 and an ecological inference?

7 A. An ecological regression, regression is
8 just like a snap of the thumb in like a nanosecond.
9 An ecological inference takes a while. That runs
10 all day. So, they are not quite as --

11 Q. Understood.

12 So, the computer power needed to do an
13 ecological inference takes some time.

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Doctor, in the next paragraph, Paragraph
16 42, in your report, in the last sentence there, sir,
17 you say, "I consider a district to be a district in
18 which minorities have the ability to elect their
19 candidate of choice if the candidates preferred by
20 minorities, in fact, received a plurality of votes
21 cast in most of the elections analyzed." Do you see
22 that, sir?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. First let me ask you this. "In most of
25 the elections analyzed," what do you mean by that?

1 A. There are eight elections. So, eight out
2 of eight, seven out of eight, six out of eight.

3 **Q. So, we are looking at the eight elections**
4 **you identified in Paragraph 40 for the purposes of**
5 **that statement.**

6 A. Correct.

7 **Q. Is it your contention, Doctor, that the**
8 **districts that you are discussing for the purposes**
9 **of Paragraph 42 are also subject to the Florida**
10 **Constitution's non-diminishment standard?**

11 A. What the standard is is up to a judge to
12 determine. These follow what DOJ was using for
13 Section 5 cases that I worked on. So, to the extent
14 that that's in line with the Section 5 standards,
15 and these are also the same standards that I used in
16 my opinions in the Romo versus Detzner decision.
17 So, it would be consistent with the conclusions of
18 the courts from the last cycle.

19 **Q. So, in the Romo cases in here, you are**
20 **following a standard that is similar to the Section**
21 **5 standard that DOJ uses?**

22 A. That are used.

23 **Q. That DOJ used; is that right?**

24 A. Yes.

25 **Q. Understood. I'm sorry.**

1 **Doctor, I would like to show you what**
2 **we'll mark as Exhibit Number 4.**

3 MS. FORD: Is that the same one from
4 yesterday?

5 MR. JAZIL: I think we should have marked
6 it as Exhibit 4 as well.

7 (The documents referred to were marked for
8 identification as Defendants' Composite Exhibit
9 No. 4.)

10 BY MR. JAZIL:

11 **Q. Doctor, are you familiar with this**
12 **provision of the Florida Constitution?**

13 A. Section 20 of the constitution?

14 **Q. Article III, Section 20 of the Florida**
15 **Constitution.**

16 A. Yes, I have read it.

17 **Q. You will agree with me that this is where**
18 **Florida gets its non-diminishment standard from,**
19 **right?**

20 A. Yes.

21 **Q. In your report are you trying to show us**
22 **how districts comply with the non-diminishment**
23 **standard in the Florida Constitution?**

24 A. I would say this is the information that I
25 as an analyst rely on in determining whether or not

1 there was a district and whether or not they perform
2 for minorities and whether or not that district no
3 longer exists and there isn't another one on the
4 map.

5 **Q. So, Doctor, if we have a district where**
6 **minorities have the ability to elect their candidate**
7 **of choice in a general election, you are saying that**
8 **that district should be protected from diminishment**
9 **that takes away the minority's ability to elect**
10 **their candidate of choice, right?**

11 A. It's my understanding from the decisions
12 last time by the courts that other things might be
13 required, such as how the minority group in question
14 voted, what share of the primary were they of that
15 and so forth. So, it wouldn't be the only factor.
16 But my position is this is the information that
17 informs that judgment, and it's up to the judge to
18 make that judgment.

19 **Q. Understood.**

20 **Doctor, getting back to most of the**
21 **elections analyzed, I think you just agreed with me**
22 **that most of the elections analyzed refers to the**
23 **general elections that you identified in Paragraph**
24 **40, right?**

25 A. Correct.

1 **Q. So, for that analysis, why wouldn't you**
2 **also consider the primary elections that preceded**
3 **some of those general elections?**

4 A. I provide the primary electoral
5 composition, which was what we used as evidence last
6 time. One might delve into that. Some of these
7 primaries are uncontested. So, the data becomes
8 sparser.

9 **Q. Understood.**

10 I'm sorry. I don't think I understood one
11 **part of what you said. Are you saying that you**
12 **provided the primary election analysis last time as**
13 **in during the Romo case?**

14 A. No. The registration statistics and the
15 turnout of blacks in the Democratic primary was
16 information that was relied on by the courts last
17 time.

18 **Q. Okay.**

19 A. Not primary election data.

20 **Q. Did you provide similar information to us**
21 **in this case?**

22 A. Yes. So, Doctor, if we have a district
23 that falls within the parameters you have identified
24 in Paragraph 42, is it your contention that the
25 minority population in that district should not be

1 diminished?

2 A. The population or --

3 **Q. If there's a district that satisfies the**
4 **criteria laid out in the last sentence of Paragraph**
5 **42 of your report, is it your contention that the**
6 **minority voting age population should not be**
7 **diminished within that district?**

8 A. No. In replacing that district with a
9 district in which no minority has the ability to
10 elect reduces the number of districts in the state
11 in which the minority group has the ability to elect
12 their preferred candidate.

13 **Q. All right.**

14 A. It's diminishment.

15 **Q. Understood.**

16 A. I mean it could be that somewhere up in
17 the state another district is created, right,
18 because of population shifts or something like that,
19 but no such district exists.

20 **Q. I see. So, are you saying that for the**
21 **non-diminishment standard one should consider the**
22 **map as a whole to see whether or not the number of**
23 **minority-performing districts are abused?**

24 A. Well, there are two questions, whether
25 like in this part of the state that was -- in this

1 part of the state there was diminishment, like
2 elimination of a district where one existed and one
3 could have existed. And then my understanding of
4 the old DOJ standard was it was a plan-wide map.
5 So, was there a reduction in the number of majority-
6 minority districts?

7 **Q. I've got it.**

8 **Doctor, given this analysis, does it**
9 **matter whether the minority's preferred candidate**
10 **won the general election by one percentage point or**
11 **ten percentage points?**

12 A. That's one of the reasons to look at eight
13 elections to see if they consistently win. If they
14 always won by one percentage point and like voting
15 was super racially polarized, maybe one percentage
16 point -- and you consistently get it, then it could
17 be considered a performing district. But in this
18 case I don't think it's an issue.

19 **Q. I see what you are saying. So, we are**
20 **considering more elections to smooth out the**
21 **possibility of a district being on the knife's edge.**

22 A. Right. And occasionally, you know, it
23 allows one of these elections to go the other way
24 because it might be on the knife's edge.

25 **Q. So, Doctor, in categorizing these**

1 districts, you used the phrase "most of the
2 elections." Did you have a number in mind, five out
3 of eight, six out of eight?

4 A. I was mainly thinking six, seven, eight.
5 But in other cases there's no firm number, and the
6 courts have even rejected a firm number.

7 Q. Understood.

8 Doctor, you said that you have done
9 similar analyses for the DOJ when it used to have
10 the Section 5 requirement for purposes of the Voting
11 Rights Act, right?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. So, when you are doing this analysis and
14 you are looking at most of the elections in the
15 performance of the minority's preferred candidate,
16 did you have a number in mind then? How did you
17 decide that the "most of the elections" part was
18 satisfied?

19 A. Well, in those instances I simply provided
20 the judges with information and let them use their
21 subjective beliefs.

22 In this case we have the statistics we
23 relied on last time, and in the responses in the
24 supplemental report additional statistics to inform
25 the judge in this case.

1 **Q. Doctor, that's very helpful. Thank you.**

2 I would like to move on to Page 9 where
3 you lay out the partisan performance methodology.

4 First of all, Doctor, if you could go back
5 to Exhibit 4 and tell me why it is you were doing a
6 partisan performance analysis, that would be
7 helpful.

8 A. The partisan performance analysis could be
9 instructive on the questions concerning party in
10 Tier 1 criteria.

11 **Q. Understood.**

12 Here am I correct in understanding that
13 you used party voter registration data as part of
14 your analysis?

15 MS. FORD: Object to the form.

16 A. Yes. I looked at party registration.

17 BY MR. JAZIL:

18 **Q. Doctor, did you use party registration as**
19 **a proxy for how votes would be cast in a given**
20 **election?**

21 A. No. That was just data that was relied
22 upon last time. So, I presented the same data. The
23 main analysis is of eight elections examined and
24 referenced in Paragraph 40.

25 **Q. So, let me ask the question another way.**

1 **Why would you rely on party voter registration as**
2 **part of your partisan performance analysis?**

3 A. Because it was relied on last time.

4 Q. Is there any reason other than it was
5 **relied on last time?**

6 A. Oh, party registration tends to be highly
7 correlated with both.

8 Q. If I were to say that party registration
9 is highly correlated with the voter's preference for
10 a candidate, would you agree with that statement?

11 A. That's generally the case, not everywhere,
12 but generally.

13 Q. Doctor, if you go to Paragraph 44, you
14 say, "For example, the Republican percent of party
15 registrations (i.e., Democratic plus Republicans)
16 correlated .901 with the share of the two-party vote
17 won by Donald Trump."

18 Doctor, in layman's terms, what does the
19 .901 correlation mean there?

20 A. That's a very high correlation.
21 Correlations run from a minimum of negative one to a
22 maximum of positive one. Positive one would be a
23 perfect relationship between the two things. A
24 negative one would be a perfect negative
25 relationship. Zero would be the data that the two

1 things are unrelated to each other.

2 Q. Doctor, if I were to say that party
3 registration was 90.1 percent correlated with the
4 vote for Donald Trump, that would not be an accurate
5 statement, would it?

6 A. Could you say that again?

7 Q. Doctor, if I were to say that the
8 Republican Party registration meant that there was a
9 90.1 percent chance that that Republican voter would
10 cast a vote for Donald Trump, that wouldn't be a
11 correct statement, right?

12 A. No, not a correct statement.

13 Q. So, the .901 correlation is simply telling
14 us that we are very close to one and, therefore,
15 there is a very high correlation, right?

16 A. Right. So, it might mean that party
17 registration is a good predictor, for example.

18 Q. But it is not assigning a numerical
19 percentage to that correlation.

20 A. Correct.

21 Q. The same is true for the .897 number?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. Doctor, when we go on to Paragraph 49 in
24 your report, you talk about the measures of
25 compactness. We talked about this some now. You

1 **agree with me that there are more than three**
2 **measures of compactness, right?**

3 A. In fact, there's an infinite number of
4 measures of compactness possible. But Reock and
5 Polsby-Popper are the two most common.

6 **Q. Doctor, if I were to ask whether an intra-**
7 **ocular test could be used as a measure of**
8 **compactness, would you agree with me that it could?**

9 A. It's possible. There's been some research
10 on that.

11 **Q. Do you know whether the Florida courts**
12 **relied on an intraocular test for compactness last**
13 **cycle in the Romo case?**

14 A. I don't remember.

15 **Q. Would you use an intraocular test for**
16 **compactness?**

17 A. When looking at a map, like seeing the
18 same things side by side, like I can see some that
19 look more compact. But then I want to use other
20 measures as well to see if my perception isn't
21 wrong. I mean hold it up to me with reading
22 glasses.

23 **Q. Doctor, if I were to define the intra-**
24 **ocular test as the eyeball test for compactness,**
25 **would you agree that that's a fair definition?**

1 A. That is sometimes a term that is used.

2 **Q. Would you use that term?**

3 A. Yes, I would be more likely to use eyeball
4 than intraocular.

5 **Q. My understanding of what you just said is**
6 **that the eyeball test for compactness works by**
7 **taking maps and comparing them side by side to see**
8 **whether one looks visually more compact than**
9 **another. Is that fair?**

10 A. That's the eyeball test.

11 **Q. Am I correct in understanding that you**
12 **would use the intraocular or eyeball test, but you**
13 **would also want to use some kind of mathematical**
14 **compactness test together with it, right?**

15 A. Yes, especially if I am drawing a map.
16 It's like that looks like a nice compact district.
17 I wonder how it stacks up.

18 **Q. Fair enough.**

19 **Doctor, can keeping counties whole be used**
20 **as a measure of compactness?**

21 A. It depends on the boundaries of the
22 counties.

23 **Q. If counties are more likely to be**
24 **squares -- let me ask the question this way. If the**
25 **county boundaries are squares and we're keeping**

1 those county boundaries together, that would improve
2 compactness, right?

3 A. It might and it might make things worse,
4 depending on the populations of the districts and
5 the need for equal population. So, in the case of
6 congressional districts, they have to deviate by
7 one. It also depends on the configuration of the
8 neighboring districts. You might draw a nice square
9 district that displaces everything else around it.

10 So, it's fairly contextual about how the
11 county or municipal boundaries are going to affect
12 the compactness. I have seen instances where people
13 have just moved the blocks around and thought they
14 had a nice compact square, and then in order to
15 connect all the remaining stuff, you end up with
16 some snake-looking districts.

17 Q. So, the county split can't be considered
18 in isolation. It must be considered together with
19 how other lines of the map will show.

20 A. Correct, and how all the standards get
21 weighed. You know, again, how all the standards get
22 weighed is like a legislative or legal function.

23 Q. Doctor, we have apparently been going for
24 an hour-and-a-half. Would you like to take a break?

25 A. Yes. A break is always good.

1 MR. JAZIL: All right. Let's take a
2 little break.

3 (Recess 1:30 p.m. until 1:35 p.m.)

4 BY MR. JAZIL:

5 Q. Doctor, we have been talking about
6 compactness and some of the measures for it. Other
7 than compactness and measuring minority voting
8 trends, are there other redistricting principles
9 that are appropriate to use when drawing district
10 lines?

11 A. So, respect for municipalities and
12 counties and respect for precincts is usually
13 adhered to to the extent possible. Generally
14 communities of interest, to the extent that you know
15 them, like a really dense city, that might be
16 important to know the split populations like in
17 Chinatown or something like that in New York City
18 because that might weaken that community's
19 representation. The district bar may not know where
20 the boundaries are. So, they try to find out about
21 them. It's helpful.

22 Q. Doctor, would considering major roadways
23 be an appropriate way to draw district lines?

24 A. That's a complicated one because there's a
25 history of roadways being used for segregation, and

1 that's often in some -- there's a lot of research in
2 social sciences now, like Clayton Nall's work
3 showing that major roadways, railways and so forth
4 actually are segregated lines. So, they could be
5 proxies for things. You want to be careful about
6 that.

7 **Q. Doctor, here the Florida legislature did**
8 **use major roadways. Do you have any reason to**
9 **believe that the Florida legislature was using major**
10 **roadways as a proxy for race?**

11 A. I have no information one way or the
12 other, but it is one -- it could go one way or the
13 other.

14 **Q. Understood.**

15 **The Florida legislature also used water**
16 **bodies as a way to draw district lines. Was that**
17 **use appropriate?**

18 A. There's a lot of old case law on water
19 bodies and how they are respected and so forth. I
20 was just assuming that that was adhered to.

21 **Q. Understood.**

22 **Could a state appropriately use other**
23 **natural boundaries -- a mountain range, for example**
24 **-- as a way to divide districts? Would that be**
25 **okay?**

1 A. Possibly. It could be. It depends on
2 what the justification is.

3 Q. Doctor, I would like to go back to
4 communities of interest. You gave the example of
5 keeping Chinatown whole, for example.

6 When we are looking at a statewide map and
7 the map keeps a region of the state intact, is that
8 an appropriate thing to do?

9 A. You know, it depends on what the intents
10 are of the legislature and what the judges and the
11 legal code deem to be appropriate.

12 Q. Going back to the Chinatown example, my
13 understanding as you were talking it through is we
14 may not want to split Chinatown because we don't
15 want to take away that community's ability to choose
16 a representative. Is that understanding correct?

17 A. Yes. It depends on what is a question in
18 a particular case. You know, if the Chinese
19 community groups are bringing suit, maybe that's how
20 you want to think about it.

21 Q. So, in Florida, if the map drawer was
22 trying to keep the Big Bend region of Florida intact
23 as a community, would that in and of itself be an
24 appropriate goal?

25 A. It depends how much the Big Bend community

1 is a definable community. It's a community of
2 interest standard.

3 Usually, when you are dealing with like
4 half a state, it's hard to say that's a community,
5 but maybe it's an economic interest. So, it
6 depends. There might be other objectives.

7 Q. Understood.

8 I would like to go to Page 11 of your
9 report, Doctor, where you talk about the North
10 Florida districts.

11 At Paragraph 53, the first sentence says,
12 "North Florida, which stretches from the Panhandle
13 to Jacksonville, has a substantial black
14 population." Do you see that, sir?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. When you say the Panhandle to
17 Jacksonville, are you talking about Pensacola to
18 Jacksonville?

19 A. Yes, all the way across the state.

20 Q. Then you say, "For three decades this
21 region has been the home to a CD in which black
22 voters have had the ability to elect their preferred
23 candidates to the U.S. House of Representatives."

24 Again, when you are saying "this region,"
25 you are talking about that region from Pensacola to

1 **Jacksonville.**

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. In reading the paragraph, I was left with
4 the impression that you were talking about a
5 district anchored in Jacksonville for the past three
6 decades. Is that a fair understanding of what you
7 were saying there?

8 A. Jacksonville, and part of the plan was
9 extended to Tallahassee.

10 Q. Doctor, in Paragraph 55 you say, "The
11 elimination of CD-5 as a functioning majority-
12 minority CD results in a reduction in the number of
13 majority-minority CDs in Florida's Congressional
14 Map. Under the Benchmark Map there were 10
15 majority-minority CDs."

16 Just so we are clear, when you are talking
17 about majority-minority CDs, you are talking about
18 majority non-white CDs based on voting age
19 population, correct?

20 A. Correct.

21 Q. Are there any other districts in the 10,
22 Doctor, where one specific minority group did not
23 make up a majority of the voting age population in
24 the congressional district?

25 A. I would have to look, but I think

1 Benchmark CD-10 might be one and possibly CD-9. I
2 would have to look. And 14 as well.

3 Q. In Paragraph 56 you also mention majority-
4 minority, and you say that the number of districts
5 was reduced to nine. So, is CD-5 the only majority-
6 minority district, as you defined the term in your
7 report, that was eliminated under the --

8 A. I said the first criterion is how many
9 districts have a majority non-white population, and
10 by comparison it's a reduction of one.

11 Q. Doctor, I would like to go to Page 12 of
12 your report, the last paragraph, Paragraph 60.

13 It says, "Detzner CD-5 maintained a CD in
14 which black votes had the ability to elect their
15 preferred candidates. Such a black opportunity CD
16 in North Florida was first created in 1992."

17 Doctor, are you familiar with the
18 circumstances under which that CD was first created
19 in 1992?

20 A. I'm not sure what you are referring to by
21 the circumstances.

22 Q. Who created that CD in 1992?

23 A. I don't know.

24 Q. Do you know whether that CD in its
25 configuration from 1992 was the product of a

1 **lawsuit?**

2 A. I don't know that.

3 **Q. Do you know whether in 1992 that CD had a**
4 **majority black voting age population?**

5 A. I don't know the VAP, the voting age
6 population, of the 1992 district.

7 **Q. Doctor, in reading Paragraph 62, I come**
8 **away with the conclusion that the CD-5 configuration**
9 **in the Detzner Plan was not a majority black VAP**
10 **district. Is that accurate?**

11 A. It was not a majority black CVAP district
12 that I recall. I don't remember what the number was
13 on the VAP from Detzner at the time of the 2010
14 census. I don't recall that number.

15 **Q. Fair enough.**

16 **Let me go back to the 1992 version of that**
17 **district. Do you recall whether that was a majority**
18 **black CVAP district?**

19 A. No. I don't know.

20 **Q. Doctor, in Paragraph 62 you discuss the**
21 **Florida Supreme Court's decision from League of**
22 **Women Voters versus Florida, 172 So.3d 363. Did you**
23 **write this paragraph?**

24 A. I did, but I got the -- I remember there
25 was a passage, and I asked for a reference to find

1 this passage, like where is this passage, from
2 counsel. They helped me find it.

3 **Q. Doctor, in this section you have a black-**
4 **performing district that has existed in North**
5 **Florida for 30 years, right?**

6 A. That's right.

7 **Q. Do you read the provisions in the Florida**
8 **Constitution, specifically Article III, Section 20,**
9 **as requiring that there be a black-performing**
10 **district in North Florida?**

11 A. I read this as putting forward a standard
12 of non-diminishment, and whether that's in North
13 Florida or where or how diminishment might occur
14 depends on the configuration of the districts and
15 concentrations of population. So, it doesn't say
16 North Florida.

17 **Q. Understood.**

18 **So, you read Article III, Section 20, as**
19 **mandating that the number of black-performing**
20 **districts not be reduced. Is that fair?**

21 A. My reading is, if there's a minority-
22 performing district, if you take that district
23 apart, there needs to be a justification for why.
24 But that's a constraint that is on the state
25 legislature not to diminish or reduce minority

1 districts, where there are effective minority
2 districts.

3 Q. Understood.

4 Doctor, in Paragraphs 62 through 64, you
5 discuss what the Florida Supreme Court did with
6 respect to what was formerly Congressional District
7 5. In there you say that the Florida Supreme Court
8 put in place a majority-minority Benchmark 5.

9 Is it your understanding that the Florida
10 Supreme Court put in a majority-minority District 5
11 so that there would be a black-performing district
12 in the region?

13 A. It's my understanding that they did that
14 in line with their interpretation of the standard of
15 non-diminishment.

16 Q. And non-diminishment of black voters'
17 ability to elect a representative of their choice?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Doctor, in Paragraph 66 on Page 14, you
20 say, "Compared to the map as a whole, Benchmark CD-5
21 had comparatively low measures on Reock and
22 Polsby-Popper, but a reasonably high Convex-Hull
23 measure, higher than Benchmark CD-23 or Benchmark
24 CD-25."

25 My question for you is, Doctor, when we

1 are assessing compactness in a redistricting
2 context, is it better to assess compactness on a
3 district-by-district basis or a map-wide basis?

4 A. We look at both if there's a question
5 about a district in particular, like North Carolina
6 12, if it's a question about one district.

7 Q. So, you look at both. Are you saying
8 that, if we are assessing whether or not a district
9 as redrawn diminishes the ability of a minority to
10 elect a candidate of their choice, we ought to look
11 at compactness on a district-specific basis?

12 A. Compactness was discussed in the trial
13 court. So, I'm putting in the compactness numbers
14 for this case.

15 Q. Should we also, as part of our analysis,
16 look at the compactness of the one district we are
17 focused on for the purposes of non-diminishment and
18 compare it to other districts in the Enacted Plan,
19 as you do here?

20 A. So, sometimes when you are trying to judge
21 what the standards are that the state legislature is
22 trying to use, it's useful to say how compact are
23 other districts.

24 Q. I've got it.

25 I would like to go to Page 15, Paragraph

1 72. Here you say, "Enacted CD-3 also closely
2 resembles Detzner CD-3 rather than Benchmark CD-3,"
3 and you provide an image, Map A3, right under that
4 paragraph.

5 A. Correct.

6 Q. For the purposes of reference, I note that
7 Page 12 of your report includes an excerpt of the
8 Detzner Map, CD-5 in the North Florida region.

9 Doctor, would you agree with me that in
10 the Duval Center District from the Enacted Map --

11 A. Are you referring to CD-4?

12 Q. CD-4, yes, sir. You were kind enough in
13 the next paragraph to tell us that CD-4 is the
14 district with the highest population that comes from
15 Benchmark District 5.

16 Would you agree with me that, if we are
17 looking at District 4 in the Enacted Map and
18 comparing it to District 5 in the Detzner Map, that
19 District 4 in the Enacted Map is more compact?

20 A. District 4 in the Enacted Map?

21 Q. Compared to District 5 in the Detzner Map.

22 A. District 5 in the Detzner Map.

23 Q. Yes, sir.

24 A. Yes. So, comparing the map on Page 12,
25 the Detzner Map.

1 So, CD-4 four in the Enacted Map is more
2 compact than CD-5 in the Detzner Map.

3 **Q. Would you agree with me that CD-5 in the**
4 **Enacted Map is more compact than CD-5 in the Detzner**
5 **Map?**

6 A. Yes.

7 **Q. Would you agree with me that CD-4 in the**
8 **Enacted Map is also more compact than CD-5 in the**
9 **Benchmark Map?**

10 A. I believe that's the case. I'll look at
11 the compactness measures.

12 **Q. Thank you. Fair enough.**

13 A. So, we are comparing CD-4 --

14 **Q. To Benchmark CD-5, sir.**

15 A. Yes, by all three of the measures.

16 **Q. If we go to Page 17 of your report, the**
17 **section on Cohesion and Polarization, in Paragraph**
18 **84 where you talk about the ecological regression**
19 **estimate, you say, "Ecological regression estimates**
20 **show that 90 percent of black voters in the**
21 **precincts in Benchmark CD-5 voted for Democratic**
22 **candidates across the eight statewide general**
23 **elections examined."**

24 A. Correct.

25 **Q. Is it fair to say that you don't know for**

1 certain whether 90 percent of the black voters in
2 the eight general elections voted for the Democratic
3 candidate?

4 A. I'm not sure I understand your question.

5 Q. Fair enough.

6 You are estimating that 90 percent of
7 black voters in the precincts in Benchmark CD-5
8 voted for Democratic candidates across the state-
9 wide elections.

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. You created this estimate based on the
12 ecological regression model.

13 A. Correct.

14 Q. You also created an estimate for white
15 voters and how they voted?

16 A. Correct.

17 Q. And you did look at the primary election
18 results as you were creating your estimates for
19 black voters, right?

20 A. You mean the primary -- the registration
21 number?

22 Q. Yes, sir.

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. But you did not look at how black voters
25 voted in the individual primary elections?

1 A. No.

2 Q. Did you look at how white voters voted in
3 the individual primary elections?

4 A. No.

5 Q. Doctor, here's what I am trying to get to,
6 and maybe we will just cut through it. What I am
7 trying to figure out is how, if at all, we can
8 disentangle race from party. How do we know whether
9 people are truly voting for a candidate of their
10 choice because of race versus how voters are voting
11 because they just have a political party preference?
12 If we are trying to disentangle race from party,
13 Doctor, would looking at the actual election results
14 from primary elections for the Democratic party be a
15 helpful way to do that?

16 A. Not necessarily.

17 Q. Why not?

18 A. Well, first of all, these methodologies
19 are not for use in primary elections. But setting
20 those issues aside, typically we don't look at
21 primary elections when determining these questions.
22 We didn't look at it, aside from registration data,
23 we didn't look at it last time. So, it's not
24 standard. Typically it's not looked at in like many
25 of the voting rights cases I have worked on. Only

1 exceptionally has it been looked at and then only in
2 Section 2 type cases, intentional discrimination
3 against minorities. So, it's not just what we do.
4 It's not standard that it's been used in the past.

5 Then there's a question about what party
6 is. You choose your party. You don't choose your
7 skin color. So, party is actually part of the
8 outcome of all of this. So, even your party
9 registration could change it, go from one to the
10 other.

11 So, generally, as social scientists, we
12 think of it as a more primitive indicator of a
13 person's ethnicity or type or identify, and the
14 party is something that is developed later. So, we
15 think of that as actually downstream. So, in terms
16 of untangling race and party, race gets primacy in
17 this area in terms of how social scientists think
18 about and approach this.

19 **Q. So, Doctor, let me ask the question this**
20 **way. In the Benchmark CD-5, if the Democrats had**
21 **nominated a white man as their candidate, based on**
22 **the functional analysis you have done, am I right in**
23 **saying that the majority-minority Benchmark District**
24 **5 would have elected the white Democrat into office?**

25 **A. If that was their preferred candidate.**

1 It's like who do they want. Who does that group
2 want? If that's who they prefer, then if it was a
3 functioning district for them, then that's who would
4 get elected.

5 **Q. So, when we are talking about a majority-**
6 **performing district, the person that people in that**
7 **district choose to elect can be white or non-white,**
8 **right?**

9 A. Yes. For it to be a performing district,
10 yes.

11 **Q. If it is a performing district for**
12 **minorities and they elect a white person to be their**
13 **representative, does that affect your non-**
14 **diminishment analysis at all?**

15 A. I think it works the other way. Like if
16 they elect a black person, say, to that seat, then
17 that has further evidence or adds to the evidence.
18 But the basic standard is are they able to elect the
19 candidate they prefer. It could be there's a black
20 candidate who is utterly offensive to every other
21 black voter in the district and the black voters
22 say, no, not that guy. So, it's really the right of
23 the voter to make the choice. And the question is
24 are the people that they chose to represent them the
25 ones that they are selecting.

1 **Q. Doctor, as you are doing the cohesion and**
2 **polarization analysis in a plurality black district,**
3 **have you seen instances where the plurality black**
4 **district would elect someone other than a black**
5 **person to be their candidate of their choice?**

6 A. I have not seen the plurality black. I
7 have seen the plurality Hispanic districts. Like
8 CD-35 in Texas elected Lloyd Doggett after it was
9 created as a majority Hispanic district and he ran
10 against Hispanics in the primary, in the general,
11 and he beat them. He was clearly the preferred
12 choice. He just worked super hard for that
13 community. So, that was their preferred choice.
14 They chose him. But, again, that configuration of
15 the district gave them the ability to elect the
16 person that they wanted.

17 **Q. That Texas district that you just**
18 **described, it was majority Hispanic, right?**

19 A. That one is, yes. It is majority
20 Hispanic.

21 **Q. And they elected a white representative.**

22 A. Yes.

23 **Q. If that district went through a**
24 **redistricting cycle and was reconfigured such that**
25 **the white person, the incumbent, still got**

1 re-elected but the number of Hispanic voters in that
2 district declined, what conclusions would you reach
3 about non-diminishment in that circumstance?

4 A. Well, the question is like, is it now a
5 majority white district? So, if it's a majority
6 white district and the whites prefer that person,
7 then that's a different situation entirely. So,
8 that first threshold you have to get down.

9 If it's a minority district and the
10 minorities prefer that candidate and the whites don't
11 prefer that candidate, Then that masks into the CD-5
12 situation. That would be a still performing
13 district, and that is the standard that is used
14 elsewhere as well. So, there is no inconsistency,
15 say, between applying that concept here and applying
16 it in Virginia or in Texas.

17 Q. This is helpful.

18 I would like to go to Page 19 of your
19 report, Paragraph 92. You say, "None of the enacted
20 CDs in this area are majority-minority districts in
21 voter registration. White voters are the
22 significant majority of registered voters in Enacted
23 CD-2, Enacted CD-3, Enacted CD-4, and Enacted CD-5."

24 First, Doctor, when you are referring to
25 "this area," are you referring to the regions in

1 Pensacola and Jacksonville?

2 A. Under the Enacted Plan.

3 Q. Yes, sir.

4 Doctor, I would like to unpack this
5 section of your report. Are you saying that any
6 Enacted Plan after the 2020 census had to keep the
7 black population in North Florida together so that
8 the black population could elect a candidate of its
9 choice to congress?

10 A. Or find another configuration of a
11 district in this area that didn't diminish. It
12 didn't have to be that configuration. It could have
13 been another.

14 A more interesting question, but it's not
15 one before us, is whether they created a black
16 district somewhere else in the state, a new black
17 district, an additional black district, to offset
18 the reconfiguration in North Florida.

19 Q. So, the Enacted Plan should have kept the
20 core of black votes together in the area, right?

21 A. Yes, if we are talking about just this
22 area.

23 Q. So, that's a yes if we are talking about
24 just this area.

25 A. Yes, but diminishment under Section 5

1 allows states to create other districts elsewhere in
2 the state. That's not this case. So, I don't know
3 how it would be answered by Florida. But here we
4 have a diminishment in the number statewide as a
5 result of taking this particular district apart.

6 **Q. Doctor, you will agree with me that the**
7 **state couldn't draw a district that combined the**
8 **black population in Duval County to, say, the black**
9 **population all the way to Miami through a small**
10 **slender string, right? That would not be okay.**

11 A. My sense, based on how the court navigated
12 this version of CD-5 in the Detzner version, is a
13 more compact version of the district was available,
14 and that is the one that is in the Benchmark Map,
15 than the Detzner Map. So, I think it would have
16 said -- just guessing, it would have said like that
17 one wouldn't have been acceptable because an
18 alternative version was available. I don't know
19 what the limits of this court or the court's
20 tolerance for tradeoffs of different standards is.

21 **Q. Understood.**

22 **Doctor, if you will excuses me, I am**
23 **trying to make sure I capture the questions for**
24 **everyone.**

25 A. Of course.

1 Do you want to take a break?

2 Q. I think we are good. I just wanted to
3 make sure that we covered everything that everyone
4 wanted to cover about North Florida.

5 Doctor, moving on to the Tampa/St. Pete
6 region, this is Page 23 of your initial report.

7 In Paragraph 112, in the last sentence,
8 sir, you say, "As the Demonstration Map shows,
9 alternative versions of CDs in Orlando and Tampa/
10 St. Petersburg adhere more closely to the Benchmark
11 Map, have equal populations, split fewer counties or
12 cities, and are on the whole as compact as the
13 version of these CDs in the Enacted Map."

14 Here, sir, getting back to our discussion
15 from earlier today, you were following a minimal
16 changes approach when drawing the Tampa/St. Pete and
17 the Orlando regions of the Demonstration Plan,
18 right?

19 A. Correct, thinking that that version of the
20 map had passed constitutional muster already. So,
21 you know, let's see if we can put in equal
22 population versions of the districts and see what
23 emerges.

24 Q. Doctor, let's go to Page 27, Paragraph
25 131.

1 A. For Orlando?

2 Q. Yes, sir. I apologize. It has Orlando
3 and Tampa/St. Pete first.

4 Doctor, in Paragraph 131, the first
5 sentence, you say, "The Enacted Map's division of
6 Volusia County was not required to equalize
7 population."

8 First, Doctor, what is the basis for that
9 conclusion?

10 A. So, let's start with CD-6. It's
11 overpopulated by 27,000 people. So, it needed to
12 lose 27,000 people. And then CD-7 also needed to
13 lose 19,000 people. So, that could have been
14 accomplished -- CD-7's equalization could have been
15 accomplished by just shrinking its footprint in
16 Orange County. It didn't need to add 300,000 people
17 from Volusia County. 300,000 is like -- what are we
18 doing -- 15 times more population than we needed to
19 equalize. So, if you are just equalizing, you
20 wouldn't have moved 300,000 voters.

21 Q. I've got it.

22 Then you say, "Benchmark CD-6 was
23 overpopulated by just 27,033 people, which could
24 have been addressed by reducing the footprint of
25 CD-6 in Lake County."

1 **Doctor, how many times was Lake County**
2 **split in the Enacted Plan?**

3 A. I don't recall.

4 Q. Does two sound right?

5 A. It could be.

6 Q. Would Lake County be split more than two
7 times in the Demonstration Plan?

8 A. I think it was split three times.

9 Q. You are saying that that reduction in
10 split for Lake County could not be justified if we
11 are picking up 300,000 people from Volusia County to
12 reduce that one split in Lake County?

13 MS. FORD: Objection to the form.

14 A. So, my understanding is that it's just
15 whether the counties split the criterion, the
16 criterion that we used last time, as opposed to the
17 number of different portions created.

18 BY MR. JAZIL:

19 Q. So, your question of choice made --

20 A. It's like the rule I follow in the
21 Demonstration Map. But we are looking at the
22 Enacted Map and the Benchmark Map. We are not
23 looking at the Demonstration Map.

24 Q. Sure.

25 A. There, if you are looking at the

1 comparison of the Benchmark and what was needed to
2 change and the amount of change that was put in
3 place, it far exceeds what was needed for
4 equalization.

5 Q. Just to keep talking about the issue, if
6 we go to Page 31, Paragraph 149, where you do talk
7 about the Demonstration Plan, you say, "The changes
8 in the locations of CD-7 and CD-10 in Orange County
9 were unnecessary to equalize population." You are
10 making the same point here that you made earlier in
11 our discussion?

12 A. Correct. If you look at the overage, you
13 could have left these districts pretty much in
14 place.

15 Q. Doctor, now I would like to turn to Page
16 34, please.

17 Doctor, in Paragraph 144 you note that,
18 "The Detzner Map divided Hillsborough and Pinellas
19 Counties across five CDs." How many congressional
20 districts does your Demonstration Plan divide the
21 regions into?

22 A. Let me go to that.

23 Q. Fair enough.

24 A. So, Pinellas and Hillsborough are divided
25 by five CDs.

1 **Q. In your Demonstration Plan how many times**
2 **are you splitting Hillsborough County?**

3 A. Three.

4 **Q. Do you recall how many times Hillsborough**
5 **County was split in the Enacted Plan?**

6 A. I don't remember. I would have to look.

7 **Q. Take your time, Doctor.**

8 A. In the Enacted Plan it's split three
9 times.

10 **Q. How many times was Pinellas County split**
11 **in your Demonstration Plan?**

12 A. It's split between 12 and 13.

13 **Q. And then the Enacted Plan?**

14 A. It's split between 13 and 14.

15 **Q. For Pinellas County, your disagreement**
16 **with the Enacted Plan comes down to where the split**
17 **occurs, right?**

18 A. It divides the City of St. Petersburg, the
19 Enacted Map does, and it divides the City of Tampa
20 and it divides the City of Lakeland.

21 **Q. Understood.**

22 **Do you have any other disagreements with**
23 **the Enacted Plan as it relates to the split in**
24 **Pinellas County?**

25 MS. FORD: Objection to the form.

1 A. As it relates to the split in Pinellas
2 County?

3 BY MR. JAZIL:

4 **Q. Yes, sir.**

5 A. It runs through a black community. So, it
6 ignores the communities of interest. And the way it
7 divides the area is actually called cracking of
8 Democratic votes in St. Petersburg and Tampa.

9 **Q. Understood.**

10 **Doctor, when you are discussing the Tampa**
11 **region and -- I apologize for not knowing which**
12 **report you specifically discussed this in. But you**
13 **introduced the concept of competitive maps. Pardon**
14 **me. You introduced the concept of competitive**
15 **districts. Do you recall that?**

16 A. I discussed how competitive the districts
17 are, yes.

18 **Q. Doctor, what is your definition of a**
19 **competitive district?**

20 A. So, there are different definitions that
21 political scientists use. One is competitiveness.
22 Like if you are comparing two sets of districts, are
23 there more districts that are closer to 50/50?

24 Another definition is plus or minus five
25 percentage points, around 45 to 55. That's an old

1 definition due to David Mayhew in the 1970s.

2 Another is how many times it's won by one
3 party or another across multiple elections. Like
4 you could have a district that is 52/48, but every
5 time a Democrat wins it's 52/48. So, it's in eight
6 elections.

7 So, we look at many pieces of the data
8 now, not just simple margins.

9 **Q. I understand.**

10 **Doctor, the first descriptor you used was,**
11 **is the district split 50/50. Are you referring to**
12 **split 50/50 based on party registration?**

13 A. No. There are enough people who are
14 declining to state or non-partisan if it's close to
15 50/50. You don't know how it's going to come out.
16 But I'm using the vote in general elections in that
17 area.

18 **Q. What is the definition that you prefer**
19 **when discussing competitive seats?**

20 A. Actually I look at all of these
21 statistics. There are other indicators, too.

22 **Q. There's no one statistic that you would**
23 **use to say a particular seat is a competitive seat?**

24 A. Yes. The first thing I would look at is
25 like how close is the vote margin across a bunch of

1 elections. That is the first number I would look
2 at, but I wouldn't stop there.

3 **Q. If I understood what you said correctly,**
4 **even though the vote margin might be close for a**
5 **particular seat but the seat goes to the same party**
6 **for election after election, you might consider it**
7 **to be an uncompetitive seat.**

8 A. Not uncompetitive but less competitive
9 than -- usually these are in comparison to some
10 other districts or some other plans.

11 **Q. So, a competitive seat in Florida would**
12 **mean something different than a competitive seat in**
13 **New York.**

14 A. I'm not sure about that. But maybe like
15 the Long Island seats are pretty competitive, but
16 the Brooklyn seat is not. So, that's like the range
17 in which -- that's a pretty nice comparison. I'm
18 trying to think of a good example in Florida. Maybe
19 some of the south coastal districts are less
20 competitive than these Tampa/St. Pete.

21 **Q. So, less competitive.**

22 A. Yes, less competitive than the Tampa/St.
23 Pete districts. But certainly when we compare two
24 versions of the same district, we can say this is
25 less competitive or more competitive.

1 **Q. Understood.**

2 **So, it's a bit like the eyeball test where**
3 **you take two districts and put them side by side and**
4 **check the other metrics to see is one competitive**
5 **and the other isn't?**

6 A. No. The problem with the eyeball test is,
7 it turns out, if you take a map and you turn it
8 upside down, people have a totally different eyeball
9 test.

10 **Q. Fair enough. Why is that?**

11 A. I don't know what it is about the human
12 cognition, but it's orientation and things. So,
13 there are things that our brain plays tricks on us.

14 These statistics are based on predictive
15 accuracy. How well can we predict? If we just use
16 election margin, we can predict pretty well, but
17 there's a lot of uncertainty still. We augment that
18 with past history of accuracy or voter registration
19 statistics. That helps to predict the accuracy.

20 So, at CBS when we forecast elections on
21 election night, we come up with before the election
22 which districts are likely going to go one way or
23 the other based on whether the nation is swinging
24 one way or the other and what the districts look
25 like, and that's based on all of these data.

1 **Q. So, competitiveness is a concept that**
2 **includes the evaluation of many different factors.**

3 A. Yes, indicators. Like how much should I
4 pay for my house? Well, that depends on all sorts
5 of things. It depends on the square footage, the
6 number of bedrooms. How much is a bedroom worth? I
7 could run a regression and tell you the number, but
8 that has some uncertainty around it. So, it's
9 really predictive accuracy in the way that realtors
10 have knowledge about how much you should pay for
11 your house.

12 **Q. Understood.**

13 **So, when we talk about competitive**
14 **districts, it's an indicator of predictive accuracy**
15 **of how that district would perform?**

16 A. That would be one way to put it. You
17 know, if there was one single indicator, it's
18 probably the vote margin across a bunch of elections
19 in the past. That's where you start.

20 **Q. When we look at the vote margin across a**
21 **bunch of elections, we don't have a definitive**
22 **number of elections that we would look at, right?**

23 A. Well, we would stay more recent. The 2012
24 election would not be as informative about a 2024
25 election as, say, a 2020 election. So, the more

1 recent elections are more informative.

2 It's not always the very most recent. At
3 CBS we will figure out our best predictor, which
4 election do we think is the best leading indicator
5 of what's going to happen in a state on election
6 night.

7 **Q. Doctor, forgive me. Earlier when we**
8 **talked about why it is that we use more than one**
9 **election, my understanding was we use more than one**
10 **election when we are doing our analysis so that we**
11 **account for the one knife's edge election or the one**
12 **landside election, right?**

13 A. Correct.

14 **Q. What you are saying now is that, as we are**
15 **doing our analysis, we should perhaps exclude older**
16 **elections because they might not be good predictors**
17 **on how something might happen in the future,**
18 **correct?**

19 A. There has been a lot of population change
20 over a decade.

21 **Q. As an example of why that older election**
22 **would not be appropriate, right?**

23 A. Yes.

24 **Q. So, does it come down to essentially an**
25 **art when you are figuring out which set of elections**

1 **to use for the purposes of your analyses?**

2 A. No. There is experience, but it's like
3 the three most recent statewide elections or
4 election years, and all the elections are there.
5 They are very helpful in predicting. The further
6 you get back in time, the less helpful it is. I
7 wouldn't use 2008 to predict the future.

8 **Q. I've got it.**

9 **Doctor, as you are doing your analyses, I**
10 **notice, for example, you used the 2020 presidential**
11 **election, right?**

12 **Can you say yes or no?**

13 A. Yes. I thought there was another question
14 coming.

15 **Q. There is.**

16 **Doctor, the 2020 election was held in the**
17 **midst of a worldwide pandemic, right?**

18 A. Correct.

19 **Q. We had an unusual candidate at the top of**
20 **the ticket for one of the two major political**
21 **parties running for president, right?**

22 A. Correct.

23 **Q. People changed the method by which they**
24 **voted. More vote by mail was used in 2020 than ever**
25 **before, right?**

1 A. Vote by mail is an interesting example of
2 why you might want to use more recent elections
3 because, in fact, it's been a constant trend upwards
4 since 2000, since the 2000 election controversy.
5 Every state has been liberalizing their voting laws
6 and allowing for more absentee votes. In 2016 it
7 was 40 percent absentee voting nationwide. In 2020
8 it was 60 percent absentee. Nationwide 2022 dropped
9 back to 55 percent.

10 So, 2020 might be very helpful about this
11 next election because we have got this trend upwards
12 of absentee voting. That's an example of why --
13 this is one of the reasons why more recent elections
14 are more helpful.

15 **Q. I was going to ask you, why wouldn't you**
16 **just exclude the 2020 presidential election results**
17 **from the analysis because it was, you know, the only**
18 **election in recent memory held during a pandemic**
19 **with an unusual candidate? Would you ever consider**
20 **excluding the 2020 election results from your**
21 **analyses because they might be out of whack?**

22 A. What I do as part of my election analyst
23 hat is I routinely see what elections are correlated
24 with other elections, which ones are exceptional.
25 Presidential elections, even in exceptional times,

1 tend to be pretty similar to other elections.
2 Interestingly enough, the most different -- this one
3 always surprises me -- are governors.

4 **Q. Really?**

5 A. But governors are held accountable for
6 everything. They tend to be the least strongly
7 correlated to other elections.

8 So, when I look at data, I look at, okay,
9 how strong are the correlations among all the
10 elections? If they are strongly correlated, then
11 that's an indicator that they are all capturing the
12 same thing.

13 When we do get really exceptional
14 elections that I would exclude, it would be like the
15 Florida election that had a three-party race where
16 the favorite son, Kendrick Meek, was running as a
17 Democrat and we had Charlie Crist. That's just not
18 helpful. We don't have three-party elections like
19 that.

20 Another example was when Ken Blackwell ran
21 for senator, I think, or governor of Ohio. Ken is
22 an African American. The correlation of that
23 election with every other election was really low
24 because the whites were voting more Democratic and
25 the blacks were voting more Republican than normal.

1 So, they didn't like completely split, but it was
2 enough to move. It was like .6 or so. So, maybe
3 that's not an election to include in the mix.

4 Q. Doctor, when you prepared this report, did
5 you do the analysis to see how the eight general
6 elections that you utilized correlated with one
7 another?

8 A. Oh, yes. They correlate very highly.

9 Q. That's why you didn't exclude any one of
10 those elections. You used all eight of those as
11 part of your --

12 A. Yes. Nothing was unusual to me.

13 Q. Understood.

14 Doctor, let's go back to the Tampa/St.
15 Pete region again, Paragraph 147, sir.

16 Doctor, this is where you are describing
17 the splits in the St. Petersburg and Tampa regions,
18 right --

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. -- in the Detzner Plan?

21 Tell me if I am wrong here. Are you
22 saying that the splits in the Detzner Plan between
23 CD-13 and CD-14 are similar to the splits that were
24 made in the Enacted Plan?

25 A. The division down in the center of St.

1 Petersburg follows 34th Street in both maps.

2 Q. And you are saying that that division
3 divides a black community in the region.

4 A. Yes, it does.

5 Q. You are also saying that that division has
6 the effect of packing Democrats into one of the two
7 districts in the region?

8 A. Well, it cracks the Democratic vote and
9 the black vote in St. Petersburg. There are other
10 Democrats, not just blacks, in that part of St.
11 Petersburg. So, that's what this piece is about.

12 Then how 14 gets configured is the packing
13 of Democrats.

14 Q. Doctor, for the partisanship issue, you
15 would agree with me that the Florida Constitution
16 talks about not drawing districts with the intent to
17 favor one party or another, right?

18 A. Correct.

19 Q. So, here do you have any evidence that you
20 have relied on across your four reports that shows
21 that the map drawer was trying to crack or pack
22 Democrats intentionally?

23 A. So, this is the sort of information that
24 was relied on in 2015 in the past trial as well as
25 other information. So, this is one piece of the

1 bigger puzzle. I was not asked to look at any
2 legislative records or communications or anything
3 like that, just to look at what happened to these
4 districts and how that might inform the court's
5 decision on these questions.

6 **Q. So, you were looking at the partisan**
7 **effects on the ground in these districts based on**
8 **how the lines were drawn, right?**

9 A. Looking at where the lines were drawn, how
10 they assembled older maps. That also was relied on.

11 **Q. Doctor, in one of your reports you**
12 **mentioned a swing analysis. Do you recall**
13 **discussing something like that?**

14 A. Not a musical swing.

15 **Q. No.**

16 **I apologize, Doctor. I'm asking other**
17 **people's questions. I can't point you to where you**
18 **may have mentioned a swing analysis.**

19 **Are you familiar with what a swing**
20 **analysis is, Doctor?**

21 A. Well, different things can get called
22 swings.

23 **Q. Do you conduct a swing analysis?**

24 A. Yes. Usually it's a change over time,
25 like how much change there would be or how much the

1 vote swung statewide or nationally, how much did
2 this district swing with it, things like that.

3 **Q. So, does a swing analysis look at a**
4 **deviation in a given election from what had been a**
5 **trend?**

6 A. So, usually what a swing analysis is is
7 like either how responsive -- how the composition of
8 the state legislature and congressional districts
9 are to change in the vote, like how much change in
10 probability they will be, Democrats winning 10
11 seats, 15 seats, whatever the number is, in response
12 to a 10-point swing in the vote shared statewide,
13 not in any district. That's one form of a swing
14 analysis. Without a reference, it's hard for me to
15 know where we are going.

16 **Q. Understood.**

17 MS. FORD: It doesn't look like the word
18 "swing" appears in the doctor's primary report
19 on the PDF. It does appear once we get into
20 the supplemental report.

21 BY MR. JAZIL:

22 **Q. I've got it.**

23 **Doctor, I'm looking at Paragraph 16 from**
24 **your April 28th, 2023 report. You discuss swing**
25 **analysis in the context of discussing**

1 competitiveness, and we have covered that topic.

2 A. Okay.

3 Q. That's fine.

4 Doctor, you were kind enough to answer so
5 many of my questions. I have covered the notes from
6 my rebuttal report.

7 A. Wow.

8 Q. I would like to move on to the
9 supplemental expert report dated April 10th, 2023.

10 Doctor, would you mind taking a look at
11 this. I will mark it as Exhibit 5.

12 (The documents referred to were marked for
13 identification as Defendants' Composite Exhibit
14 No. 5.)

15 BY MR. JAZIL:

16 Q. Doctor, does this appear to be a fair and
17 accurate copy of your supplemental expert report
18 from April 10th, 2023?

19 A. It is.

20 Q. Doctor, I had a question about Footnote 2
21 on Page 6.

22 A. Okay.

23 Q. I don't understand it. Can you help me
24 understand how you went about calculating the
25 expected number of seats?

1 A. Oh, okay. So, under a map you have 28
2 seats. You want to know how many of those 28 seats
3 you are going to expect are going to be won by
4 Democrats or Republicans. It's a pretty common
5 calculation.

6 Each election is a coin toss for every
7 seat for every district. So, in 2018 did they get a
8 majority or did they not get a majority, heads
9 Republicans, tails Democrats. You count up 28 coin
10 tosses, how many times it happens.

11 Now, it's not technically a coin toss.
12 It's the percentage of the vote they got in Governor
13 2018. So, let's say in Governor 2018 you get 17
14 seats Republicans win and 10 seats Democrats win.
15 That's the majority of the Governor 2018 vote in
16 those districts.

17 Then you move on to the U.S. Senate,
18 president. You go through all eight elections that
19 way. You just count them up. You make a table, 17
20 and 10, 17 and 10, 16 and 11, 17 and 10, 16 and 11.
21 You count them up. Okay. What is the average
22 number of seats that the Republicans won and what is
23 the average number of seats that the Democrats won?
24 So, on average Republicans won, you know, whatever
25 it was, 16.75 in that example.

1 **Q. Understood.**

2 **So, as you are doing the coin toss, the**
3 **coin toss is a weighted coin, right?**

4 **Can you say yes or no?**

5 A. Yes.

6 **Q. The weights are correlated with what the**
7 **outcome was for the statewide election in a given**
8 **race within that district.**

9 A. Well, in this case the coin toss is
10 determined by the percentage of the vote that they
11 got in the Governor 2018 election in District 1.
12 So, the Republicans won that. So, they get the seat
13 there. In CD-2, Republicans won that. They get one
14 there. Then you count up how many you get a
15 majority of the seats.

16 **Q. Doctor, when you say the Governor 2018,**
17 **did you do the coin toss based on all eight**
18 **elections that you considered or just the Governor**
19 **2018?**

20 A. For Governor 2018, let's say
21 hypothetically Republicans got the majority of the
22 vote in 17 congressional districts and Democrats won
23 11, whatever the numbers are. We are using the
24 Governor 2018 in the precincts that are in those
25 districts, right? So, we are looking at multiple

1 maps. None of them actually had the governor
2 election because none them ever existed, except for
3 14-A.

4 So, you take all these precincts and you
5 add up how many votes did Republicans win in that
6 election and how many votes did Democrats win in
7 that election in that district and in those
8 precincts. You do the same thing repeatedly for
9 every district using the Governor 2018 and then for
10 every district using the U.S. Senate and every
11 district using the president.

12 So, when you count them up, this first
13 election, the governor election, was, say, 17 to 11.
14 The next election was 16 to 12. So, the Senate
15 election or the Ag Commission was 17 to 11 and then
16 president was 17 to 11. You just count them all up.
17 Then you ask how much or what the average number of
18 seats was. That would literally be the expected
19 number -- the calculation of the expected number of
20 seats.

21 **Q. That's the last part of this footnote**
22 **where you are providing the formula, 16.75.**

23 A. Right.

24 **Q. Six times 17 and two times 15, and you add**
25 **them up and divide by eight, the number of statewide**

1 elections.

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. And then --

4 A. So, it would be 16.75 out of 28. That
5 would be your expected number of seats.

6 Now, it's not a whole number because you
7 are averaging other things. But, you know, in
8 betting and forecasting and predicting, things are
9 rarely whole numbers.

10 Q. I understand.

11 Doctor, earlier we talked about how you
12 didn't use the 2022 statewide races because you
13 didn't have the election data, right?

14 A. Yes. I would need the election data in
15 the precincts merged in with all of the other data.

16 Q. So, Doctor, do you know the results of the
17 Florida election in 2022 for the governor's race?

18 A. Yes. Ron DeSantis won.

19 Q. Do you know whether he won by a large
20 margin or a small margin?

21 A. I think he got like 58 percent of the
22 vote. I don't remember. It was about there. It
23 was certainly higher than his margin last time where
24 he won by less than a percent.

25 Q. If I represented to you that in the 2022

1 elections the Republican candidate for Governor, the
2 Republican candidate for Chief Financial Officer,
3 the Republican candidate for Commissioner of
4 Agriculture and the Republican candidate for
5 Attorney General all won their races, do you have
6 any reason to doubt that?

7 A. No.

8 Q. If I represented to you that all of those
9 statewide officers won by ten points or more and you
10 factored in those election results into your
11 analysis here, would that reduce or would that
12 increase the Republican share of seats?

13 A. It might increase it. It might reduce it.
14 I'm guessing. It depends on how those votes
15 translated to the district. That's the problem with
16 packing. If you pack, like a party ends up wasting
17 all of its surplus votes. Its good fortune gets
18 spent in places it shouldn't have been. So, if one
19 party is overly packed, you can see the other party
20 is doing very well, picking up no additional seats
21 as a result of the packing.

22 Q. Understood.

23 You said it could increase their share of
24 seats. Is that because that one election result in
25 and of itself would just be one of -- pardon me.

1 **Let me ask the question another way.**

2 **You said it might increase the share of**
3 **the Republican seats, right?**

4 A. Yes. I said it depends.

5 Q. It depends in part because that would be
6 **one set of statewide elections, right?**

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And your model is looking at a broader
9 **trend over several years, right?**

10 A. Well, this calculation is for this graph,
11 which is a comparison trend across versions of the
12 plans that were drawn and the expected number of
13 seats, showing that those were increasing.

14 Q. Fair enough. Over eight specific
15 **elections.**

16 A. Yes, over the eight elections I have been
17 analyzing throughout.

18 Q. And if we were to add the 2022 election
19 **results, the denominator in Footnote 8 at the very**
20 **end would change to 12.**

21 A. Yes. If there are four additional
22 elections, it would change to 12, and then whatever
23 those numbers are enumerated there.

24 Q. Understood.

25 A. Does that make sense? Does that

1 calculation make sense?

2 Q. That calculation does make sense.

3 I guess what I am trying to get at is you
4 said it depends in part on how the map shakes out
5 because we are increasing the denominator and we are
6 going to change what happens in the numerator based
7 on how the results work out in each of the
8 individual districts on a precinct-by-precinct
9 level, right?

10 A. Yes, and I have no idea.

11 Q. Understood. I just wanted to understand
12 that.

13 A. I've got it.

14 Q. Do you mind taking a five-minute break?
15 Let me just make sure I have captured everyone's
16 questions.

17 A. Yes. Thank you.

18 MR. JAZIL: Mr. Reporter, we are going to
19 take a short break.

20 (Recess 2:51 p.m. until 3:00 p.m.)

21 BY MR. JAZIL:

22 Q. Doctor, I have a few cleanup questions.
23 Like all my questions, they are in no particular
24 order.

25 Doctor, when you were assessing the

1 **partisan effect of the Enacted Map, did you use the**
2 **efficiency gap method?**

3 A. No.

4 Q. Did you use the declination method?

5 A. No.

6 Q. Did you use the mean median method?

7 A. No.

8 Q. Did you use the symmetry method?

9 A. No.

10 Q. What method did you use when you were
11 doing your analysis of the partisan effect of the
12 **Enacted Map?**

13 A. I examined the districts in question.
14 Those apply to the entire map. I was focused on
15 particular areas of the map. So, I was focusing on
16 CD-13, 14, 9, 10, 7 and 5.

17 Q. Understood.

18 Doctor, the Benchmark District 5 that the
19 Florida Supreme Court drew, do you know whether the
20 Romo plaintiffs submitted that version of Benchmark
21 District 5 to the Florida Supreme Court for
22 **consideration?**

23 A. Yes, though I don't think it's exactly the
24 same as the version that was in the Romo plaintiffs.
25 It maybe changed slightly. But something very

1 similar was proposed by the Romo plaintiffs.

2 Q. The Florida Supreme Court drew what became
3 Congressional District 5 in the Benchmark Plan,
4 right?

5 A. That's my understanding.

6 Q. And the very similar map that the Romo
7 plaintiffs submitted to the Florida Supreme Court,
8 did you draw that plan?

9 A. I did.

10 MR. JAZIL: I have no further questions.

11 I do not think that Mr. Nordby or Mr.
12 Bardos have any, but I will let them speak for
13 themselves?

14 MR. BARDOS: Nothing here. Thanks.

15 MR. NORDBY: This is Dan Nordby. No
16 questions from me. Thank you.

17 MS. FORD: I just have two quick
18 questions.

19 CROSS-EXAMINATION

20 BY MS. FORD:

21 Q. I'm using my best memory of the
22 terminology we used before. So, forgive me if I
23 don't use the exact wording you used before.

24 Doctor, earlier in the deposition Mr.
25 Jazil asked you about your use of aggregate data and

1 **if you had used partisan data for your report or**
2 **not. Do you remember that discussion?**

3 A. Yes. That was early on.

4 **Q. Generally?**

5 A. Yes.

6 **Q. My question is simply, did you consult**
7 **partisan data in your map drawing when you drew the**
8 **Demonstration Map?**

9 A. No. I used the partisan data in doing the
10 analysis that is presented in the report. I was
11 drawing districts that were similar to the existing
12 map. I was following the map. So, it made it
13 easier. I didn't need much other guidance from
14 anything. It's just where the other lines were.

15 **Q. When you say you used partisan data in**
16 **your analysis, you are referring to like a**
17 **functional analysis?**

18 A. The functional analysis and the analysis
19 of partisan performance in the districts.

20 **Q. My second question is, earlier we also**
21 **spoke about -- Mr. Jazil asked you about if you sort**
22 **of looked at how Hispanic voters voted in any**
23 **particular precinct in CD-5. My memory is that you**
24 **said that Hispanic voters were too dispersed within**
25 **the precincts for you to make a very accurate --**

1 reach a very accurate conclusion as to how Hispanic
2 voters alone voted in a particular precinct. That's
3 what I remember. Is that a fair summary of the
4 conversation?

5 A. That's a fair summary of the conversation.

6 Q. My question then is, the fact that you
7 aren't able to estimate Hispanic voters alone in any
8 given precinct in CD-5, does that affect your
9 conclusion about whether black voters have the
10 ability to elect their candidate of choice in CD-5?

11 A. No. My conclusion is based on the voting
12 behavior of whites and the voting behavior of
13 blacks, the voting behavior of all minorities
14 collectively, and showing that the black voters have
15 the ability to elect their preferred candidates
16 because their preferred candidates won all the
17 elections we analyzed. And also, blacks are the
18 dominant share of the Democratic electorate in the
19 primary. So, they would then determine who gets
20 nominated.

21 MS. FORD: That's all I have.

22 REDIRECT EXAMINATION

23 BY MR. JAZIL:

24 Q. Doctor, I have just a line of follow-up
25 based on what my friend asked you.

1 If I understand this right, you drew a map
2 first and then you looked at partisan data to assess
3 how a minority group might perform in a particular
4 district within the map that you drew, right?

5 A. Right. I mean the nice thing about using
6 the Benchmark as my guide is the big pieces were
7 already in place. So, the first step was to put
8 those into the context, like Benchmark CD-13 and 14
9 into the context of the Enacted Map, then 9, 10 and
10 7 into the context of the Enacted Map, and then see
11 what needed to be done to equalize populations
12 around that.

13 MR. JAZIL: Thank you. No further
14 questions.

15 I will take a transcript.

16 THE STENOGRAPHER: Ms. Ford, would you
17 like a copy?

18 MS. FORD: Yes, please, and we'll read it.

19 (The deposition was concluded at 3:06
20 p.m.)

21

22

23

24

25

CERTIFICATE OF OATH

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF MIAMI-DADE

I, the undersigned authority, certify
that STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE remotely appeared
before me and was duly sworn on the 14th day of
June, 2023.

Signed this 21st day of June, 2023.



CRAIG W. TAYLOR, STENOGRAPHER
Notary Public, State of Florida
My Commission No. HH 84400
Expires: 3/28/25

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

STATE OF FLORIDA

COUNTY OF MIAMI-DADE

I, CRAIG W. TAYLOR, Registered Professional Reporter, do hereby certify that I was authorized to and did stenographically report the foregoing remote deposition of STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE, Pages 1 through 137; that a review of the transcript was requested; and that the transcript is a true record of my stenographic notes.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that I am not a relative, employee, attorney, or counsel of any of the parties, nor am I a relative or employee of any of the parties' attorneys or counsel connected with the action, nor am I financially interested in the action.

Dated this 21st day of June, 2023.



CRAIG W. TAYLOR, STENOGRAPHER

June 21, 2023

STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE
C/O Christina Ford, Esq.
(cford@elias.law)

Re: BLACK VOTERS MATTER V. CORD BYRD
Case No.: 2022 CA 0666
Type of Proceeding: Deposition on June 14, 2023

Please take notice the on the 14th day of June, 2023
you gave your deposition in the above case. At that
time you did not waive your signature.

The above-addressed attorney has ordered a copy of
this transcript and will make arrangements with you
to read their copy. Please execute the Errata
Sheet, which can be found at the back of the
transcript, and have it returned to us for
distribution to all parties.

If you do not sign the transcript within 30 days,
the original, which has already been forwarded to
the ordering attorney, may be filed with the Clerk
of the Court.

If you wish to waive your signature now, please sign
your name on the line at the bottom of this letter
and return it to the e-mail address listed below.

Very truly yours,



CRAIG W. TAYLOR, STENOGRAPHER
LEXITAS
fl.production@lexitaslegal.com

I do hereby waive my signature.

STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE

ERRATA SHEET

DO NOT WRITE ON THE TRANSCRIPT
ENTER CHANGES ON THIS SHEET

Re: BLACK VOTERS MATTER V. CORD BYRD
Case No.: 2022 CA 0666
Deponent: STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE
Date of Deposition: June 14, 2023

PAGE	LINE	REMARKS
------	------	---------

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have read the foregoing document and that the facts stated in it are true.

Signature of Witness _____

Dated this _____ day of _____, _____.

Job No.: 314761

Exhibits	10-point	110:17	2
Exhibit 001 Ausolabehere	124:12	147	2
4:17 7:13,15, 16,19,20 36:1,21 37:23,24 40:12	100 47:15	121:15	11:12,15 29:13 101:2 125:20
Exhibit 002 Ausolabehere	10:15 5:1	149 110:6	20
4:18 11:12, 14,15	10:55 32:3	96:25 108:18 124:11 128:24	75:13,14 94:8,18
Exhibit 003 Ausolabehere	10th 125:9,18	16	2000
4:19 22:11, 13,14	11 90:8 126:20	7:25 32:9 124:23 126:20 128:14	119:4
Exhibit 004 Ausolabehere	127:23	16.75	2001
4:20 75:2,6, 8,9 81:5	128:13,15,16	126:25 128:22 129:4	8:11,22 9:10, 18
Exhibit 005 Ausolabehere	112 107:7	17	2002
4:21 125:11, 13,14	11:00 31:23	7:25 40:12,14 98:16 126:13, 19,20 127:22 128:13,15,16, 24	9:25
1	11:30 31:25	172	2003
1	12 20:13 92:11	93:22	9:25
7:13,16,20 11:4 17:11 20:13 36:1,21 37:24 38:20 40:12 81:10 127:11	96:6 97:7,24 111:12 128:14 131:20,22	19	2008
10	12:05 32:3	39:10,12,13 104:18	12:13 118:7
91:14,21 124:10 126:14,20 133:16	13 111:12,14	19,000	2010
	131 107:25 108:4	108:13	93:13
	14 92:2 95:19	1970s	2012
	111:14 122:12 133:16	113:1	20:8 116:23
	14-A 128:3	92:16,19,22, 25 93:3,6,16	2013
	144	1:30 87:3	18:6
		1:35 87:3	2014
			18:6 20:18
			2015
			41:5 122:24
			2016
			67:13,14 119:6
			2018
			67:9,10,11,12 126:7,13,15 127:11,16,19, 20,24 128:9

2020 26:4 32:13 67:8 105:6 116:25 118:10,16,24 119:7,10,16, 20 2022 35:15 67:20 119:8 129:12, 17,25 131:18 2023 36:2 124:24 125:9,18 2024 116:24 23 107:6 27 107:24 27,000 108:11,12 27,033 108:23 27th 36:2 28 126:1,2,9 129:4 28th 124:24 2:51 132:20 <hr/> 3 <hr/> 3 22:11,14 40:13	30 94:5 300,000 108:16,17,20 109:11 31 110:6 33 47:5,8 34 110:16 34th 122:1 363 93:22 3:00 132:20 <hr/> 4 <hr/> 4 38:22 75:2,6, 9 81:5 97:17, 19,20 40 66:23 70:13 74:4 76:24 81:24 119:7 42 73:16 74:9 77:24 78:5 44 82:13 45 112:25 49 83:23	<hr/> 5 <hr/> 5 11:10 64:7 74:13,14,21 80:10 95:7,8, 10 97:15,18, 21,22 101:24 105:25 125:11,14 133:16,18,21 134:3 50 61:16,21,23, 25 62:8,13 63:6 64:11 50/50 112:23 113:11,12,15 52/48 113:4,5 53 90:11 55 91:10 112:25 119:9 56 92:3 58 129:21 <hr/> 6 <hr/> 6 43:18 121:2 125:21 60 92:12 119:8 62	93:7,20 95:4 64 95:4 66 95:19 67 56:7,8 <hr/> 7 <hr/> 7 133:16 70 63:3 72 97:1 <hr/> 8 <hr/> 8 66:22 131:19 84 98:18 897 83:21 <hr/> 9 <hr/> 9 81:2 133:16 90 63:5 98:20 99:1,6 90.1 83:3,9 901 82:16,19 83:13 92 104:19
--	---	--	--

<p>95 69:12</p> <hr/> <p>A</p> <hr/> <p>A-N-S-O-L-A-B-E-H-E-R-E 5:22</p> <p>a.m. 5:1 32:3</p> <p>A3 97:3</p> <p>Abbott 21:23 22:3,4, 9,17,22 23:10,19</p> <p>Abbott's 22:7</p> <p>Abha 25:22 26:14 27:3 30:24 32:17 35:9</p> <p>abide 6:10</p> <p>ability 71:7 73:18 76:6,9 78:9, 11 89:15 90:22 92:14 95:17 96:9 103:15 136:10,15</p> <p>absentee 25:14 119:6, 7,8,12</p> <p>abused 78:23</p> <p>academic 44:25</p>	<p>acceptable 106:17</p> <p>accepted 25:14</p> <p>accommodate 43:5,10</p> <p>accomplished 108:14,15</p> <p>account 117:11</p> <p>accountable 120:5</p> <p>accuracy 115:15,18,19 116:9,14</p> <p>accurate 45:2 49:9 69:16 71:4 83:4 93:10 125:17 135:25 136:1</p> <p>ACLU 24:4</p> <p>Act 10:20 11:11 80:11</p> <p>active 18:1</p> <p>actual 50:12,13 100:13</p> <p>add 108:16 128:5, 24 131:18</p> <p>additional 42:14 60:16 69:17 80:24 105:17 130:20 131:21</p>	<p>addressed 108:24</p> <p>adds 102:17</p> <p>adhere 107:10</p> <p>adhered 87:13 88:20</p> <p>adhering 57:25</p> <p>adjust 43:15 57:5</p> <p>administering 5:4 58:6</p> <p>administration 8:12 9:12,16 14:21,22,23, 24 55:3 56:21</p> <p>administrative 58:8</p> <p>administrators 55:9</p> <p>adults 48:13,14</p> <p>advertising 10:18,20,21</p> <p>advise 29:17</p> <p>affect 44:17 86:11 102:13 136:8</p> <p>affiliated 12:25</p> <p>affiliation 33:11 34:23 35:3</p> <p>African 120:22</p>	<p>Ag 128:15</p> <p>age 5:14 49:18, 19,24 50:6,9, 21,25 51:1,4, 7,15,18,20,22 52:1,2,3,4 60:21,22 61:12,17 62:7,12,16,21 65:5 78:6 91:18,23 93:4,5</p> <p>aggregate 45:23 46:1,6, 7 134:25</p> <p>aggregated 45:21,22</p> <p>agree 22:21 42:8 55:7 60:1,3 62:6 63:9 75:17 82:10 84:1,8,25 97:9,16 98:3, 7 106:6 122:15</p> <p>agreed 76:21</p> <p>agreement 55:20 56:11</p> <p>Agricultural 67:12</p> <p>Agriculture 130:4</p> <p>Alabama 20:19,20 61:19,21</p>
---	---	---	---

ALARM 44:15 45:16 47:6 aligned 68:12 alignment 44:13 56:19 Allman's 52:5 allowed 10:21 allowing 119:6 alternative 17:24 106:18 107:9 American 120:22 amicus 10:25 11:6,18 20:18,24 21:1,22 22:17 amount 44:17 110:2 analog 16:15 analyses 66:6 73:4 80:9 118:1,9 119:21 analysis 25:4 43:23 44:10,12,15 45:9,17,20 49:4,20,21 50:1,4,7,8, 10,11 51:7, 11,19,25 52:6,11,13	53:12 56:20 60:9,17 62:19 63:21,22 64:1,13,22 65:8 67:2,16 68:23 71:3,7 72:17,21 77:1,12 79:8 80:13 81:6,8, 14,23 82:2 96:15 101:22 102:14 103:2 117:10,15 119:17 121:5 123:12,18,20, 23 124:3,6, 14,25 130:11 133:11 135:10,16,17, 18 analyst 75:25 119:22 analyze 17:20 66:13 analyzed 17:8 18:2 43:20 46:23 73:21,25 76:21,22 136:17 analyzing 49:22 71:14 131:17 anchored 91:5 Andy 31:23 annual 40:24 41:25	Ansolabehere 5:12,18 7:8 Antonio 18:7,10,17 33:10 anyone's 25:9 apologize 5:23 34:1 49:1 108:2 112:11 123:16 apparently 86:23 appealing 22:1 appears 124:18 appellees 21:23,24 22:21 application 19:1 apply 71:14 133:14 applying 104:15 apportion 48:21 49:12 apportioning 49:15 apportionment 15:25 16:13 45:4 approach 41:10,11,14, 19,21 42:12, 15 44:24 57:10,14,16,	22 70:7 101:18 107:16 approached 18:12 33:17 appropriately 65:11 88:22 approved 43:13 approximate 36:15 approximately 14:8 42:3 April 124:24 125:9, 18 Aquifer 18:8,18,23,25 Arcgis 70:23 71:10, 11 72:6,7,8, 11,12 area 40:6,18 44:22 45:6 48:23 49:11,14,16 51:17 54:10 71:13 101:17 104:20,25 105:11,20,22, 24 112:7 113:17 areas 133:15 arise 17:16 29:9 arises 53:13 Arizona 25:15 28:3
--	---	---	---

33:20 51:14	assistant		began
arrive	30:12	B	5:1
65:23	assistants	back	beginning
arrived	36:22 37:5	32:7,8 35:7	64:16
69:22	38:2,14	64:12 76:20	behalf
art	assume	81:4 89:3,12	8:18 11:2
117:25	7:12 39:11	93:16 107:14	12:15,19
Article	assuming	118:6 119:9	13:13,16
75:14 94:8,18	50:2 64:1	121:14	14:10,19
articulated	88:20	ballots	15:2,5 17:3
40:5	assumptions	25:14 62:21	18:6 19:6,22,
ascertaining	47:23	bar	25 20:19
51:8	attempt	87:19	21:12,16
ascribe	69:15	Bardos	23:4,5,11,13,
51:2	attempts	134:12,14	22 24:1 26:25
aspect	68:24	bars	27:2 30:22
43:12	attend	65:21	31:6,9
aspects	31:19	based	behaving
53:3	attorney	56:3,9 91:18	65:20
assembled	12:21 24:4	99:11 101:21	behavior
123:10	28:11 67:10	106:11 113:12	11:8 17:14
assess	130:5	115:14,23,25	29:5 69:7,9
17:9 38:24	attorneys	123:7 127:17	136:12,13
42:25 57:9	14:15 15:6	132:6 136:11,	behaviors
68:11 96:2	28:12,13	25	69:14
assessed	augment	basic	beliefs
53:6,10	115:17	102:18	80:21
assessing	Austin	basis	benchmark
59:19 66:21,	11:3	16:24 53:22	40:17 41:5
24 96:1,8	Authority	96:3,11 108:8	44:1 62:6
132:25	18:8,18,23,25	Bay	64:19,22
assessment	average	40:17	91:14 92:1
62:10,15	126:21,23,24	beat	95:8,20,23
assigning	128:17	103:11	97:2,15 98:9,
83:18	averaging	bedroom	14,21 99:7
assist	129:7	116:6	101:20,23
10:5		bedrooms	106:14 107:10
		116:6	108:22 109:22
			110:1 133:18,
			20 134:3

Bend 89:22,25	122:3,9 136:9,14	58:1,3,4,11, 14 85:21,25 86:1,11 87:20 88:23	54:11 113:25 116:18,21
Bennett 8:20	black- 94:3		Byrd 30:18 35:8
Bethune-hill 21:10,13,16 58:23 59:1,16	black- performing 94:9,19 95:11	boundary 29:13 30:15	<hr/> C <hr/>
betting 129:8	blacks 46:21 49:13 62:15 65:9 66:2,8,17 77:15 120:25 122:10 136:13,17	bounds 7:3 69:5,10	C-U-T-I 31:11
big 65:18,21 66:10 89:22, 25		brain 115:13	calculate 71:10
bigger 123:1	Blackwell 120:20	break 6:13,15 31:19 48:19 86:24, 25 87:2 107:1 132:14,19	calculating 125:24
Billie 26:23	block 47:10,14,19 48:3,5,7,12, 13,15,16 49:3,16,18,19	breakdown 37:15 44:6 46:16,20	calculation 126:5 128:19 131:10 132:1, 2
Bipartisan 10:19	blocks 36:25 37:22 47:9,15,17,20 48:1 49:8 86:13	Brennan 10:1,3,4,6	call 36:10 69:15
bit 47:4 115:2		brief's 11:6	called 62:10 72:19 112:7 123:21
black 9:19,22 30:18,22 35:7 46:17 48:12, 14,17 51:9 59:4 61:5,21 62:1,7 63:4, 11,21 64:6,9 65:5 66:4,5 69:12 90:13, 21 92:14,15 93:4,9,11,18 95:16 98:20 99:1,7,19,24 102:16,19,21 103:2,3,4,6 105:7,8,15, 16,17,20 106:8 112:5	boards 21:11	briefly 10:9 11:7 17:6 20:10 37:14	calls 36:10,13
	Bob 8:20	bringing 89:19	campaign 10:17,19
	Boca 52:25	broader 131:8	candidate 63:3 66:12 68:5,6 73:19 76:6,10 78:12 79:9 80:15 82:10 96:10 99:3 100:9 101:21,25 102:19,20 103:5 104:10, 11 105:8 118:19 119:19 130:1,2,3,4 136:10
	bodies 88:16,19	Brooklyn 114:16	
	border 54:8	brought 15:13 70:19	
	boundaries 20:12 43:16 54:4 57:24	built 71:1,20 72:9, 12,20	
		bunch	

candidates 66:15,18 73:19 90:23 92:15 98:22 99:8 136:15, 16 caption 22:20,24 capture 106:23 captured 132:15 capturing 120:11 careful 88:5 Carolina 20:7,13 58:21 96:5 carve 42:25 case 6:23 7:4 10:10,13,16, 18,23 11:7,11 13:4,17,25 15:8,10 16:4, 5,14 17:7,8 18:9,15 19:4, 9,14,20 20:5, 6,10,16 21:3, 17,25 22:2,7, 20,21,24 23:16 24:17, 20,23 25:3,5, 10,12,21,23 26:3,5,13 27:7 29:4 30:18 32:18 35:7,10,21	36:2 37:24 38:8,15 43:4, 6 46:10 50:5, 15,24 51:6 53:6 54:2 57:21 58:21, 23 59:1,21 60:9 61:4,18 64:2,14 65:12,23 77:13,21 79:18 80:22, 25 82:11 84:13 86:5 88:18 89:18 96:14 98:10 106:2 127:9 cases 32:10,13 51:13 53:13 54:19 58:23 64:7 68:10 74:13,19 80:5 100:25 101:2 cast 62:21 73:21 81:19 83:10 categorizing 79:25 Caucus 9:19,22 CBS 115:20 117:3 CD 90:21 91:12 92:13,15,18, 22,24 93:3 CD-10 92:1 110:8	CD-13 121:23 133:16 CD-14 121:23 CD-18 62:1 CD-2 104:23 127:13 CD-23 95:23 CD-25 95:24 CD-3 97:1,2 104:23 CD-35 103:8 CD-4 97:11,12,13 98:1,7,13 104:23 CD-5 52:6 61:5 62:5,20,24 64:12,19 91:11 92:5,13 93:8 95:20 97:8 98:2,3, 4,8,14,21 99:7 101:20 104:11,23 106:12 135:23 136:8,10 CD-6 108:10,22,25 CD-7 108:12 110:8 CD-7's 108:14	CD-9 92:1 CDP 58:17 CDPS 53:23 54:4,18 55:21,22 CDS 20:13 91:13, 15,17,18 104:20 107:9, 13 110:19,25 census 37:19 40:24 41:25 44:13 46:19 47:6,9, 10,13,17,25 48:3 49:3,11, 14 52:21 55:16 56:12 57:1,4,6 64:25 93:14 105:6 census- 52:14 53:17 census- designated 52:10,12,19, 20 53:7,11,23 center 10:1,3,4,7 97:10 121:25 Central 18:20 cetera 46:18 47:6 57:19 chair 8:19,20 9:1,
--	---	---	---

2,3,5,14,15 12:8,10 challenging 27:10 chance 83:9 change 41:2 42:19,21 43:3,4,11 55:8 56:24 57:4,16 101:9 110:2 117:19 123:24,25 124:9 131:20, 22 132:6 changed 118:23 133:25 changing 43:7 characteristics 17:22 characterization 16:24 39:21 Charles 11:1,25 21:4 Charlie 120:17 check 115:4 checking 36:23 37:1 Chief 67:11 130:2 Chinatown 87:17 89:5, 12,14 Chinese	89:18 choice 73:19 76:7,10 95:17 96:10 100:10 102:23 103:5,12,13 105:9 109:19 136:10 choose 89:15 101:6 102:7 chose 67:17 102:24 103:14 Chris 37:9,21 38:4, 7 Chuck 8:20 circumstance 104:3 circumstances 48:24 92:18, 21 cite 43:19 cities 49:23 107:12 citizen 51:1,15,20 60:21 citizens 48:4,12,14,17 50:9 52:1,3 citizens' 49:17 city 18:6,10,13,17 33:13,14,17	53:1 87:15,17 111:18,19,20 clarification 16:11 Clayton 88:2 cleanup 132:22 clear 6:1 15:9 34:2 51:12 91:16 cleared 41:17 close 83:14 113:14, 25 114:4 closely 97:1 107:10 closer 50:12 112:23 closest 53:17 coastal 114:19 code 72:21 89:11 cognition 115:12 cohesion 63:10,11,15 98:17 103:1 Coie 13:18 15:6 16:7 20:4 21:19 26:19 36:7,20 coin 126:6,9,11	127:2,3,9,17 colleague 11:5 collection 47:20 collectively 65:22 136:14 color 101:7 columns 46:20 combined 63:1,2 106:7 combining 63:23 comment 46:25 54:25 Commerce 8:13 commission 26:24 27:14, 17,24 28:4,7, 8,10,12,13, 19,24 29:2,8, 16 30:6 33:20 67:12 128:15 commissioner 28:15 29:20, 23 130:3 commissioners 29:19,20 commissions 33:22 committee 8:13,15,17,23 9:1,11,14 12:6,8 common
--	--	---	---

84:5 126:4	98:13 112:22	concentrations	43:12
communications	comparison	94:15	congress
123:2	92:10 110:1	concept	105:9
communities	114:9,17	57:22 104:15	congressional
53:15,16 54:9	131:11	112:13,14	9:19,21 20:7
57:23 87:14	competitive	116:1	27:8,11 42:1,
89:4 112:6	112:13,14,16,	concepts	2,9,13 86:6
community	19 113:19,23	57:25	91:13,24 95:6
45:14 52:24	114:8,11,12,	concern	110:19 124:8
89:19,23,25	15,20,21,22,	53:25 54:1	127:22 134:3
90:1,4 103:13	25 115:4	concerned	connect
112:5 122:3	116:13	20:11,17	47:22 86:15
community's	competitiveness	54:13,14	connected
87:18 89:15	112:21 116:1	concerns	28:13
compact	125:1	17:10 40:4,8	consent
84:19 85:8,16	compiled	conclusion	5:4
86:14 96:22	64:25	93:8 108:9	consequential
97:19 98:2,4,	complement	136:1,9,11	45:11
8 106:13	65:12	conclusions	consideration
107:12	complete	69:22 74:17	133:22
compactness	8:7 29:10	104:2	considered
17:21 71:3,7,	completely	conduct	61:6 62:1
8,17 72:14	48:23 121:1	64:13 123:23	79:17 86:17,
83:25 84:2,4,	complicated	conducted	18 127:18
8,12,16,24	26:6 87:24	44:10	consistent
85:6,14,20	complies	Conference	46:24 67:1
86:2,12 87:6,	38:25	20:20	70:1 74:17
7 96:1,2,11,	comply	configuration	consistently
12,13,16	75:22	40:1,16,23	79:13,16
98:11	Composite	86:7 92:25	constant
comparatively	7:15 11:14	93:8 94:14	119:3
95:21	22:13 75:8	103:14	constitution
compare	125:13	105:10,12	16:17 17:12
96:18 114:23	composition	configured	39:1,3,14
compared	59:4 66:15	122:12	54:14 59:12
39:18 95:20	77:5 124:7	confirm	75:12,13,15,
97:21	computer	69:22	23 94:8
comparing	73:12	conform	122:15
85:7 97:18,24			

Constitution's 74:10	42:19 59:7 86:10	12,20,22 85:11 86:20 89:16 91:19, 20 97:5 98:24 99:10,13,16 107:19 110:12 117:13,18 118:18,22 122:18 129:2	58:14 85:19, 22,23 87:12 107:11 109:15 110:19
constitutional 41:18 107:20	Continued 32:5		
constitutionall y 43:13	control 15:21		counties' 56:9
constraint 94:24	controlling 66:9		county 17:21 43:3 57:19 58:16 59:22 60:2 85:25 86:1, 11,17 106:8 108:6,16,17, 25 109:1,6, 10,11,12 110:8 111:2, 5,10,15,24 112:2
consult 32:23 33:3,8, 14,22 135:6	controversy 119:4	correctly 16:15 114:3	
consultant 10:1,2 15:25 16:3 19:5,22 21:12	conversation 136:4,5	correlate 121:8	
consultation 8:3,8 10:10	Convex-hull 95:22	correlated 82:7,9,16 83:3 119:23 120:7,10 121:6 127:6	
consulting 10:15 28:3 30:10	copy 7:8,11 8:7 125:17	correlation 82:19,20 83:13,15,19 120:22	couple 16:10 32:21 36:10
contacted 32:17	core 105:20	correlations 82:21 120:9	court 5:24 11:3 15:8,25 16:23 17:16,24 50:21 54:18 59:11 60:25 61:19 95:5,7, 10 96:13 106:11,19 133:19,21 134:2,7
contend 42:13	correct 13:10 14:12 15:2,3 16:2 19:11,19 21:14 23:20, 23,24 24:11 26:18 30:20 31:2,5 32:12 34:25 35:10, 11 36:3,4 37:6 38:1 39:15 40:7,10 41:22 42:9,10 49:11 50:19, 23 51:24 53:8,9 54:3 55:10 56:8 62:9,14,17,18 66:25 71:16 74:6 76:25 81:12 83:11,	corridor 42:22	
contending 39:12		council 33:17	
contention 74:7 77:24 78:5		councils 33:13,14	
contest 6:12,18		counsel 94:2	court's 50:17 93:21 106:19 123:4
context 41:4,13 96:2 124:25		count 126:9,19,21 127:14 128:12,16	courts 51:21 61:9,14 74:18 76:12 77:16 80:6 84:11
contexts 41:1		counties 55:5,20 56:2, 7,13,18,22	
contextual			

<p>cover 107:4</p> <p>covered 107:3 125:1,5</p> <p>COVID 24:20,24</p> <p>crack 122:21</p> <p>cracking 112:7</p> <p>cracks 122:8</p> <p>create 106:1</p> <p>created 38:24 78:17 92:16,18,22 99:11,14 103:9 105:15 109:17</p> <p>creating 99:18</p> <p>credence 51:20</p> <p>Crist 120:17</p> <p>criteria 17:11 28:18, 21 64:8 78:4 81:10</p> <p>criterion 60:22 92:8 109:15,16</p> <p>critical 58:24</p> <p>critique 53:20</p>	<p>CROSS- EXAMINATION 134:19</p> <p>cut 100:6</p> <p>Cuti 31:11,13</p> <p>cuts 48:15</p> <p>CV 7:18 32:8</p> <p>CVAP 47:6,8 65:16 93:11,18</p> <p>cycle 50:16,17 54:19 61:2 68:10 74:18 84:13 103:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <hr/> <p>Dale 24:2</p> <p>Dan 31:23 134:15</p> <p>data 17:17 37:19 43:19 44:2, 14,15,21,22 45:3,8,9,10, 18,22,23 46:1,2,10,15, 19,22,23,25 47:1,6,8,13, 15,22,24 48:3,7,19 49:3,4,18,20, 24 50:2 51:21,22 52:8</p>	<p>56:21 59:3 65:9,10 66:2 67:6,21,22 69:18,19 77:7,19 81:13,21,22 82:25 100:22 113:7 115:25 120:8 129:13, 14,15 134:25 135:1,7,9,15</p> <p>database 44:4,5</p> <p>date 25:13,15,16 35:25</p> <p>dated 125:9</p> <p>Dave's 70:21,25 71:6,21 72:3</p> <p>David 30:12 37:9,18 38:4 113:1</p> <p>day 25:18 73:10</p> <p>deal 17:15</p> <p>dealing 44:16 90:3</p> <p>debate 44:25 45:1</p> <p>decade 117:20</p> <p>decades 90:20 91:6</p> <p>December 35:18</p>	<p>decide 80:17</p> <p>deciding 61:23</p> <p>decision 74:16 93:21 123:5</p> <p>decisions 17:17 50:17, 20 61:1 76:11</p> <p>declination 133:4</p> <p>declined 104:2</p> <p>declining 113:14</p> <p>deem 55:9 89:11</p> <p>Defendants' 7:15 11:14 22:13 75:8 125:13</p> <p>definable 90:1</p> <p>define 61:4 84:23</p> <p>defined 92:6</p> <p>definition 60:10,11,18, 25 84:25 112:18,24 113:1,18</p> <p>definitions 112:20</p> <p>definitive 116:21</p> <p>degree</p>
--	---	---	--

<p>56:14</p> <p>delivery</p> <p>53:2</p> <p>delve</p> <p>77:6</p> <p>Democrat</p> <p>12:11,12</p> <p>24:13 31:15,</p> <p>17 35:2,4</p> <p>63:5,6,10</p> <p>101:24 113:5</p> <p>120:17</p> <p>Democratic</p> <p>9:6 14:21,23</p> <p>15:19 16:1,4</p> <p>20:20 29:19</p> <p>30:3,5 34:10,</p> <p>12,17 49:6</p> <p>63:3 66:5,12</p> <p>77:15 82:15</p> <p>98:21 99:2,8</p> <p>100:14 112:8</p> <p>120:24 122:8</p> <p>136:18</p> <p>Democrats</p> <p>29:7,22 30:9</p> <p>46:4,8 101:20</p> <p>122:6,10,13,</p> <p>22 124:10</p> <p>126:4,9,14,23</p> <p>127:22 128:6</p> <p>demonstrate</p> <p>41:16</p> <p>demonstration</p> <p>17:20,23 18:1</p> <p>38:23,24</p> <p>39:5,18,25</p> <p>40:15 41:16,</p> <p>20 42:24</p> <p>43:24 53:8</p>	<p>55:13 107:8,</p> <p>17 109:7,21,</p> <p>23 110:7,20</p> <p>111:1,11</p> <p>135:8</p> <p>denominator</p> <p>131:19 132:5</p> <p>dense</p> <p>87:15</p> <p>Department</p> <p>14:15 19:6,8,</p> <p>12 64:8</p> <p>depending</p> <p>60:22 86:4</p> <p>depends</p> <p>42:16,18 43:2</p> <p>58:20 63:14</p> <p>85:21 86:7</p> <p>89:1,9,17,25</p> <p>90:6 94:14</p> <p>116:4,5</p> <p>130:14 131:4,</p> <p>5 132:4</p> <p>deposed</p> <p>6:2 24:23</p> <p>deposition</p> <p>6:5 134:24</p> <p>Desantis</p> <p>129:18</p> <p>describe</p> <p>17:6</p> <p>describing</p> <p>121:16</p> <p>description</p> <p>16:25</p> <p>descriptor</p> <p>113:10</p> <p>designated</p> <p>52:15 53:18</p>	<p>determine</p> <p>65:8 74:12</p> <p>136:19</p> <p>determined</p> <p>127:10</p> <p>determining</p> <p>58:25 75:25</p> <p>100:21</p> <p>Detzner</p> <p>17:2 44:1</p> <p>53:8 55:13</p> <p>74:16 92:13</p> <p>93:9,13 97:2,</p> <p>8,18,21,22,25</p> <p>98:2,4</p> <p>106:12,15</p> <p>110:18</p> <p>121:20,22</p> <p>Devaney</p> <p>13:22 16:5,7</p> <p>17:5</p> <p>developed</p> <p>69:1 71:25</p> <p>101:14</p> <p>deviate</p> <p>56:23 86:6</p> <p>deviation</p> <p>124:4</p> <p>difference</p> <p>45:7 52:7</p> <p>68:17,20</p> <p>difficulties</p> <p>5:24</p> <p>digitals</p> <p>38:7</p> <p>diminish</p> <p>94:25 105:11</p> <p>diminished</p> <p>78:1,7</p>	<p>diminishes</p> <p>96:9</p> <p>diminishment</p> <p>17:10 76:8</p> <p>78:14 79:1</p> <p>94:13 102:14</p> <p>105:25 106:4</p> <p>DIRECT</p> <p>5:16 32:5</p> <p>direction</p> <p>38:6,11</p> <p>directly</p> <p>28:14</p> <p>disagreement</p> <p>111:15</p> <p>disagreements</p> <p>111:22</p> <p>discovery</p> <p>26:9</p> <p>discrimination</p> <p>101:2</p> <p>discuss</p> <p>93:20 95:5</p> <p>124:24</p> <p>discussed</p> <p>96:12 112:12,</p> <p>16</p> <p>discussing</p> <p>74:8 112:10</p> <p>113:19 123:13</p> <p>124:25</p> <p>discussion</p> <p>32:12 107:14</p> <p>110:11 135:2</p> <p>disentangle</p> <p>100:8,12</p> <p>dispersed</p> <p>65:16 135:24</p>
---	---	--	--

displaces 86:9	103:2,4,9,15, 17,23 104:2, 5,6,9,13	24 116:14 122:7,16 123:4,7 124:8 126:16 127:22,25 132:8 133:13 135:11,19	24:15,21 26:3,18,22 28:2 30:17 31:3,18 32:7, 20,21 33:12 35:1,7,14,25 36:5 38:13, 17,22,24 39:4,17 40:11,14 41:8,23 42:11 43:19 46:15 49:1,17 50:15,24 51:24 52:8,12 53:5 54:3,17 55:7,25 56:6 59:17 60:8,24 62:5,24 64:12 66:22 67:5, 19,25 68:9 70:18 73:2,15 74:7 75:1,11 76:5,20 77:22 79:8,25 80:8 81:1,4,18 82:13,18 83:2,7,23 84:6,23 85:19 86:23 87:5,22 88:7 89:3 90:9 91:10,22 92:11,17 93:7,20 94:3 95:4,19,25 97:9 100:5,13 101:19 103:1 104:24 105:4 106:6,22 107:5,24 108:4,8 109:1 110:15,17
dispute 26:7	105:11,16,17 106:5,7,13 112:19 113:4, 11 114:24 116:15 124:2, 13 126:7 127:8,11 128:7,9,10,11 130:15 133:18,21 134:3	divide 44:22 88:24 110:20 128:25	
distribute 49:5		divided 15:20,21 49:12 52:15 53:21 59:2 110:18,24	
distributed 65:11		divides 111:18,19,20 112:7 122:3	
district 11:4 15:8 18:7,19 19:2 20:7,12 42:1, 2,13,17 45:22 46:2,4,6,9,17 51:9,10 59:5, 6 60:14,16,19 61:7,10,15,20 62:7,11,12, 17,22,25 63:2,4,12,17, 20 64:5,9,14, 25 65:1,3,5 66:10,13,15, 19 69:7 73:17 76:1,2,5,8 77:22,25 78:3,7,8,9, 17,19 79:2, 17,21 85:16 86:9 87:9,19, 23 88:16 91:5,24 92:6 93:6,10,11, 17,18 94:4, 10,22 95:6, 10,11 96:5,6, 8,16 97:10, 14,15,17,18, 19,20,21,22 101:23 102:3, 6,7,9,11,21	district-by-district 96:3 district-specific 96:11 districts 17:15,22 20:17 39:4,5, 12,13,15,19 43:5,7,9,14 55:16,17 61:25 62:1 74:8 75:22 78:10,23 79:6 80:1 86:4,6, 8,16 88:24 90:10 91:21 92:4,9 94:14, 20 95:1,2 96:18,23 103:7 104:20 106:1 107:22 110:13,20 112:15,16,22, 23 114:10,19, 23 115:3,22,	dividing 54:11 55:22, 23 division 14:16 19:9,11 53:14,15 59:2,7 108:5 121:25 122:2, 5 divvied 21:4 Doctor 5:23 6:2,12, 22 7:18 8:2 10:25 11:12 12:4,14 13:6, 11,15,20,24 14:7,17,25 15:23 17:1,4 18:5 19:4,20 21:10 22:11, 16,20 23:9	

<p>111:7 112:10, 18 113:10 117:7 118:9, 16 121:4,14, 16 122:14 123:11,16,20 124:23 125:4, 10,16,20 127:16 129:11,16 132:22,25 133:18 134:24 136:24</p> <p>doctor's 124:18</p> <p>documents 7:14 11:13 22:12 75:7 125:12</p> <p>Doggett 103:8</p> <p>DOJ 74:12,21,23 79:4 80:9</p> <p>dominant 136:18</p> <p>Donald 82:17 83:4,10</p> <p>doubt 130:6</p> <p>downloaded 43:25</p> <p>downstream 101:15</p> <p>dozen 36:11,12,14</p> <p>draw 17:19 86:8 87:23 88:16</p>	<p>106:7 134:8</p> <p>drawer 41:9,12 57:9 89:21 122:21</p> <p>drawing 42:23 70:20 85:15 87:9 107:16 122:16 135:7,11</p> <p>drawn 27:13 41:14 43:8 47:25 58:5 123:8,9 131:12</p> <p>drew 17:23 27:16 133:19 134:2 135:7</p> <p>dropped 119:8</p> <p>due 113:1</p> <p>duly 5:14</p> <p>Duval 97:10 106:8</p> <hr/> <p>E</p> <hr/> <p>earlier 32:12 35:8,18 107:15 110:10 117:7 129:11 134:24 135:20</p> <p>early 135:3</p> <p>easier 135:13</p> <p>ecological</p>	<p>68:1,10,16, 18,21,24 69:3,21,23 70:3,6,10,11, 12,16 72:16, 17,22 73:2,3, 5,6,7,9,13 98:18,19 99:12</p> <p>economic 90:5</p> <p>edge 79:21,24 117:11</p> <p>Edward 18:18</p> <p>Edwards 18:8</p> <p>effect 20:14 122:6 133:1,11</p> <p>effective 95:1</p> <p>effectively 64:9</p> <p>effects 17:18 123:7</p> <p>efficiency 133:2</p> <p>elect 73:18 76:6,9 78:10,11 90:22 92:14 95:17 96:10 102:7,12,16, 18 103:4,15 105:8 136:10, 15</p> <p>elected</p>	<p>101:24 102:4 103:8,21</p> <p>electing 64:9</p> <p>election 8:12 25:17 26:7 44:14,22 46:5 47:22 55:3,9 56:13, 21 58:6 66:14 67:6,8,9,10, 11,12,13,14 68:13 76:7 77:12,19 79:10 81:20 99:17 100:13 114:6 115:16, 21 116:24,25 117:4,5,9,10, 11,12,21 118:4,11,16 119:4,11,16, 18,20,22 120:15,23 121:3 124:4 126:6 127:7, 11 128:2,6,7, 13,14,15 129:13,14,17 130:10,24 131:18</p> <p>elections 21:11 26:23 27:13,24 66:19 67:7, 15,17,18,20 70:4,5,9,13 73:21,25 74:1,3 76:21, 22,23 77:2,3 79:13,20,23</p>
---	--	---	--

<p>80:2,14,17 81:23 98:23 99:2,9,25 100:3,14,19, 21 113:3,6,16 114:1 115:20 116:18,21,22 117:1,16,25 118:3,4 119:2,13,23, 24,25 120:1, 7,10,14,18 121:6,10 126:18 127:18 129:1 130:1 131:6,15,16, 22 136:17</p> <p>electoral 29:6,10 37:18 40:16 46:10 50:13 66:21, 24 77:4</p> <p>electorate 51:16 64:11 68:3 136:18</p> <p>Elias 26:1,15 27:4 30:25 32:16 35:9 36:6,19</p> <p>eliminated 92:7</p> <p>elimination 79:2 91:11</p> <p>embraced 40:25</p> <p>emerges 107:23</p> <p>enacted 16:16 20:8 39:6,18,24</p>	<p>41:4 43:7,8 44:2 53:7 55:12 96:18 97:1,10,17, 19,20 98:1,4, 8 104:19,22, 23 105:2,6,19 107:13 108:5 109:2,22 111:5,8,13, 16,19,23 121:24 133:1, 12</p> <p>encounter 48:2</p> <p>end 7:21 44:19 50:1 69:6 70:8 86:15 131:20</p> <p>ended 70:11</p> <p>ends 130:16</p> <p>endurance 6:12</p> <p>ensure 38:25</p> <p>entire 69:7 133:14</p> <p>enumerated 131:23</p> <p>equal 60:3 86:5 107:11,21</p> <p>equalization 108:14 110:4</p> <p>equalize 108:6,19</p>	<p>110:9</p> <p>equalizing 108:19</p> <p>equipment 8:23 9:10,19</p> <p>error 45:3,13 65:21</p> <p>essentially 117:24</p> <p>estimate 35:1 36:11 50:12 65:10, 19,22 68:2,5, 25 69:6,8,13 98:19 99:11, 14 136:7</p> <p>estimated 47:9</p> <p>estimates 98:19 99:18</p> <p>estimating 99:6</p> <p>estimation 72:24</p> <p>et al 26:23</p> <p>ethnically 65:11</p> <p>ethnicity 101:13</p> <p>evaluating 10:11 29:6</p> <p>evaluation 16:20 29:5 116:2</p> <p>Evenwell 21:23 22:17</p>	<p>Everglades 44:20</p> <p>everyone's 132:15</p> <p>evidence 17:13 77:5 102:17 122:19</p> <p>exact 61:3 134:23</p> <p>EXAMINATION 5:16 32:5 136:22</p> <p>examine 39:16</p> <p>examined 81:23 98:23 133:13</p> <p>exceeds 110:3</p> <p>exceptional 119:24,25 120:13</p> <p>exceptionally 101:1</p> <p>excerpt 97:7</p> <p>exclude 117:15 119:16 120:14 121:9</p> <p>excluding 119:20</p> <p>excuses 106:22</p> <p>executive 14:4 38:20</p> <p>exhibit 7:13,15,19,24 8:1 11:12,14</p>
--	--	---	--

<p>22:11,13 23:7 36:1,21 37:23 40:12 75:2,6, 8 81:5 125:11,13</p> <p>exhibits 7:11</p> <p>existed 79:2,3 94:4 128:2</p> <p>existing 41:2 135:11</p> <p>exists 76:3 78:19</p> <p>expect 57:3 126:3</p> <p>expected 125:25 128:18,19 129:5 131:12</p> <p>experience 118:2</p> <p>expert 8:3,7 10:13, 15,22 12:15 13:13 14:9,14 15:1,4 17:3 19:5,22,24 20:9 21:12,15 23:10,12,22, 25 24:17 25:2,4,7 26:5,24 27:1 28:3,9,23 30:2,21 31:6, 9 36:1,21 37:16 40:4 125:9,17</p> <p>experts 28:19 29:1,3,</p>	<p>16,24 54:1</p> <p>expired 15:12</p> <p>expressed 6:24</p> <p>expressing 40:8</p> <p>extended 91:9</p> <p>extent 43:9 55:21 74:13 87:13, 14</p> <p>eyeball 84:24 85:3,6, 10,12 115:2, 6,8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p> <hr/> <p>facial 16:18,23</p> <p>fact 30:11 53:19 73:20 84:3 119:3 136:6</p> <p>factor 76:15</p> <p>factored 130:10</p> <p>factors 116:2</p> <p>fair 6:8,9,16,17, 20 9:17 16:24 23:8 24:21 25:1 31:25 38:12 39:11, 21 41:8 45:25</p>	<p>46:14 47:3 49:9,10 60:7 64:21 69:23 84:25 85:9,18 91:6 93:15 94:20 98:12, 25 99:5 110:23 115:10 125:16 131:14 136:3,5</p> <p>fairly 41:6 86:10</p> <p>fall 35:15</p> <p>falls 77:23</p> <p>familiar 75:11 92:17 123:19</p> <p>fast 26:10</p> <p>favor 122:17</p> <p>favorite 120:16</p> <p>FEC 10:2</p> <p>federal 67:17</p> <p>fewer 70:5 107:11</p> <p>figure 15:13 29:23 100:7 117:3</p> <p>figures 64:25</p> <p>figuring 117:25</p>	<p>file 43:25</p> <p>filed 5:13 10:25 11:18,21 20:18 26:7</p> <p>filing 23:4</p> <p>final 30:17 70:23</p> <p>finalized 36:7</p> <p>finally 66:13</p> <p>finance 10:17</p> <p>Financial 67:11 130:2</p> <p>find 52:17 87:20 93:25 94:2 105:10</p> <p>finds 11:5</p> <p>fine 125:3</p> <p>firm 12:24 13:18, 20 16:8 21:20 31:11,12,13 80:5,6</p> <p>Fish 23:21,23 24:1,5,7</p> <p>fitting 68:2</p> <p>five-minute 132:14</p>
---	---	---	---

<p>flexibility 56:14</p> <p>flip 7:18</p> <p>Florida 15:25 16:1,4, 17,22,23 38:25 39:13, 16 40:5,19 42:8,21 43:20,22 44:2,20 45:9, 10,19 46:16 50:16,20,25 51:3 54:17 55:4,19 56:7, 20 59:12 60:24 65:25 68:11 74:9 75:12,14,18, 23 84:11 88:7,9,15 89:21,22 90:10,12 92:16 93:21, 22 94:5,7,10, 13,16 95:5,7, 9 97:8 105:7, 18 106:3 107:4 114:11, 18 120:15 122:15 129:17 133:19,21 134:2,7</p> <p>Florida's 91:13</p> <p>Florida-related 16:10</p> <p>focus 51:22 62:5</p>	<p>focused 40:4 50:21 63:21,22 96:17 133:14</p> <p>focusing 133:15</p> <p>folks 36:6</p> <p>follow 41:9,20 54:4 57:13 59:22 63:6 74:12 109:20</p> <p>follow-up 136:24</p> <p>footage 116:5</p> <p>footnote 125:20 128:21 131:19</p> <p>footprint 108:15,24</p> <p>Ford 7:12 58:19 60:5 63:13 64:18 75:3 81:15 109:13 111:25 124:17 134:17,20 136:21</p> <p>forecast 115:20</p> <p>forecasting 129:8</p> <p>forgive 117:7 134:22</p> <p>form 35:9 58:19 60:5 63:13</p>	<p>81:15 109:13 111:25 124:13</p> <p>formula 71:12,15,17 128:22</p> <p>formulas 71:20 72:13</p> <p>fortune 130:17</p> <p>forward 57:11 94:11</p> <p>found 45:10 46:23 52:6</p> <p>frame 14:9</p> <p>framework 68:25</p> <p>frequently 53:13 57:1</p> <p>friend 136:25</p> <p>function 53:4 58:7,9 64:6 86:22</p> <p>functional 44:10,12 45:8,16,19 49:21 50:1,4, 10,11 51:11, 19,25 60:8 62:19 63:20, 22 64:13,22 67:2 101:22 135:17,18</p> <p>functioning 60:16 91:11 102:3</p>	<p>fusion 18:20</p> <p>future 117:17 118:7</p> <hr/> <p>G</p> <hr/> <p>gain 41:25</p> <p>gained 42:5,9,12</p> <p>gap 133:2</p> <p>Gary 69:2 71:24 73:1</p> <p>gauging 54:11</p> <p>gave 7:8 8:22 9:18 59:16 69:4 89:4 103:15</p> <p>general 57:22,25 59:22 66:24 67:10 76:7,23 77:3 79:10 98:22 99:2 103:10 113:16 121:5 130:5</p> <p>generally 56:20 57:22 72:1 82:11,12 87:13 101:11 135:4</p> <p>geographic 40:16,22 70:24</p> <p>Georgia 26:4,11</p>
---	--	--	---

<p>give 6:6,20 7:2 8:14,24 9:13, 22 37:15 51:19 53:23 71:6</p> <p>Gladly 68:21</p> <p>glasses 84:22</p> <p>goal 89:24</p> <p>Gonzales 13:14,16,24</p> <p>good 5:18 16:25 22:8 83:17 86:25 107:2 114:18 117:16 130:17</p> <p>government 14:10 15:21 53:3</p> <p>governor 13:7,9 14:5 15:11,16,18 19:17 22:4,6, 9,22 23:4,18 32:23 120:21 126:12,13,15 127:11,16,18, 20,24 128:1, 9,13 130:1</p> <p>governor's 129:17</p> <p>governors 120:3,5</p> <p>governs 18:19</p>	<p>Graduate 37:12</p> <p>graph 131:10</p> <p>great 6:21 53:16</p> <p>greater 61:16 62:8,12 69:16</p> <p>greatly 42:17</p> <p>ground 123:7</p> <p>group 26:2,15 27:4 30:25 32:16 35:9 36:7,20 47:10 48:5, 12,13,25 49:15,22,25 65:2,4,19 66:8 68:4,5 76:13 78:11 91:22 102:1</p> <p>group's 48:22 68:12</p> <p>groups 47:10,19 48:3,15,17 50:13,14 51:16 65:7,12 66:10,16 89:19</p> <p>groups' 69:14</p> <p>growth 42:16</p> <p>gubernatorial 67:9</p>	<p>guess 30:8 132:3</p> <p>guessing 106:16 130:14</p> <p>guidance 135:13</p> <p>guy 14:25 15:2,5, 7 102:22</p> <hr/> <p>H</p> <hr/> <p>H-I-C-K-S 12:23</p> <p>half 36:17 55:22, 23,24 65:17 90:4</p> <p>Hamilton 20:1,2 21:18, 19</p> <p>hand 5:3 69:18</p> <p>happen 117:5,17</p> <p>happened 42:19 54:15 123:3</p> <p>happy 73:1</p> <p>hard 90:4 103:12 124:14</p> <p>harder 69:13</p> <p>Harkenrider 31:3</p> <p>Harris 19:21,23,25</p>	<p>Harvard 30:13 37:8 69:2</p> <p>hat 119:23</p> <p>heads 126:8</p> <p>hearing 31:20,23 35:21</p> <p>held 32:4 118:16 119:18 120:5</p> <p>helped 36:23 38:5,7 94:2</p> <p>helpful 81:1,7 87:21 100:15 104:17 118:5,6 119:10,14 120:18</p> <p>helps 115:19</p> <p>heretofore 5:13</p> <p>Hicks 12:21,25 18:12 23:14</p> <p>hierarchy 59:11,18</p> <p>high 25:11 49:22 51:17 82:20 83:15 95:22</p> <p>higher 95:23 129:23</p> <p>highest 58:13 97:14</p>
--	---	---	--

<p>highly 82:6,9 121:8</p> <p>highway 47:17</p> <p>Hillsborough 110:18,24 111:2,4</p> <p>hired 10:2 12:19 13:15 14:13, 17,18 15:4 16:3 17:4 18:9 19:9,24 20:3 21:15 23:12,25 25:20 26:13 27:1 28:7,9 29:25 30:11, 21 31:8 32:22 33:2,14,22 35:9,15</p> <p>Hispanic 46:18 51:10 63:11,23 103:7,9,18,20 104:1 135:22, 24 136:1,7</p> <p>Hispanics 46:21 49:13, 23 63:5,25 65:14 103:10</p> <p>history 30:10 87:25 115:18</p> <p>Ho 24:2,3</p> <p>Hobbs 24:16</p> <p>Hochul 31:4</p>	<p>hold 84:21</p> <p>Holder 11:4 14:8</p> <p>home 90:21</p> <p>hope 41:1</p> <p>hour 36:17</p> <p>hour-and-a-half 86:24</p> <p>house 8:23 9:11,16 90:23 116:4, 11</p> <p>Houston 62:2</p> <p>huge 44:17</p> <p>human 115:11</p> <p>Hunter 26:25 27:2,10</p> <p>hypothetically 127:21</p> <hr/> <p>I</p> <hr/> <p>I-4 42:22</p> <p>i.e 82:15</p> <p>idea 61:22 132:10</p> <p>identical 39:6,20 49:3</p> <p>identifiable</p>	<p>52:23</p> <p>identification 7:15 11:14 22:13 75:8 125:13</p> <p>identified 74:4 76:23 77:23</p> <p>identify 52:21 101:13</p> <p>ignores 112:6</p> <p>III 75:14 94:8,18</p> <p>ill 51:3</p> <p>image 97:3</p> <p>immediately 52:25</p> <p>impasse 15:10</p> <p>important 40:22 46:1 52:19 57:20 66:7 87:16</p> <p>imposes 69:9</p> <p>impression 91:4</p> <p>improve 86:1</p> <p>impute 65:19</p> <p>inaccurate 51:18</p> <p>include 121:3</p>	<p>includes 97:7 116:2</p> <p>inconsistency 104:14</p> <p>incorporated 52:22 53:1 54:5,7,21</p> <p>increase 130:12,13,23 131:2</p> <p>increasing 131:13 132:5</p> <p>incumbent 103:25</p> <p>independent 10:21 13:1 28:4,8 29:20, 23 30:2,7 33:20,21 34:10,11,20, 22,23</p> <p>indicator 49:6 53:24 101:12 116:14,17 117:4 120:11</p> <p>indicators 113:21 116:3</p> <p>individual 99:25 100:3 132:8</p> <p>inference 68:16,18,24 69:3,21 70:3, 12,16 72:17, 22 73:3,6,9, 13</p> <p>infinite 84:3</p>
---	--	--	---

inform 51:6 80:24 123:4	101:2 intentionality 58:25	54:20 55:2,5 irregularities 36:24	134:10,25 135:21 136:23
information 43:21 46:13 69:17 70:24 75:24 76:16 77:16,20 80:20 88:11 122:23,25	intentionally 122:22 intents 89:9 interest 53:16 57:23 66:9 87:14 89:4 90:2,5 112:6	Island 114:15 isolation 86:18 issue 33:23 59:15 79:18 110:5 122:14	John 13:22 16:5 17:5 Johnson 26:23 47:1 53:19
informative 116:24 117:1	interesting 105:14 119:1	issues 29:8,17 32:24 33:8 53:5 100:20	join 44:21 45:4 47:24 55:18
informing 29:7	Interestingly 120:2	item 12:4,14 13:11 14:7,25 15:23 17:1 18:5 23:9,21 24:15 26:22 28:2	joining 45:3
informs 76:17	interpretation 95:14	<hr/> J <hr/>	Joint 15:24 16:12
initial 7:9,19 16:17 40:12 44:15 107:6	intervenors 12:16,20 13:3,14,16,25 23:11,13,16 26:25 27:2,10	Jacksonville 90:13,17,18 91:1,5,8 105:1	judge 26:9 31:24 61:19 74:11 76:17 80:25 96:20
injunction 35:21 56:1	intra- 84:6,23	January 36:2	judges 80:20 89:10
insert 72:13	intraocular 84:12,15 85:4,12	Jazil 5:17 7:7,17 11:16 22:15 31:22 32:6 59:9 63:18 64:20 75:5,10 81:17 87:1,4 109:18 112:3 124:21 125:15 132:18,21	judgment 76:17,18
instances 80:19 86:12 103:3	introduce 38:22		Justice 14:15 19:7,12
instructions 51:12	introduced 112:13,14		Justice's 19:8 64:8
instructive 81:9	intrude 25:8		justification 89:2 94:23
intact 89:7,22	invited 8:13,17,24 9:12,22 12:6		justified 109:10
integrity 37:21	involved		<hr/> K <hr/>
intent 122:16			Kansas 24:8,10
intentional			keeping 85:19,25 89:5

Ken 120:20,21	23:22 24:9,12	29:14 93:1	39:23 41:13
Kendrick 120:16	Kris 24:9	lawyer 13:1	50:25 51:3
Kenny 37:9	<hr/> L <hr/>	lawyers 25:12 36:19 38:13	88:7,9,15 89:10 94:25 96:21 124:8
Kevin 20:1,2,4 21:17	laid 78:4	lay 66:23 81:3	legislature's 15:12
Khanna 25:22,24 26:14,15,19 27:3 30:24 32:17 35:9	Lake 108:25 109:1, 6,10,12	layman's 82:18	level 14:4 25:11 45:22 46:2 47:14 48:5 49:4,9,18,19 58:13,18 67:6,18,20 132:9
kicks 34:13	Lakeland 111:20	lead 57:25	liberalizing 119:5
kind 29:11 41:6 44:6 46:12 51:2 54:9 66:9 85:13 97:12 125:4	land 44:22 45:6 48:23	leader 8:19 31:7,10, 15	light 50:24
kinds 53:25	landside 117:12	leading 14:3 20:23,25 117:4	lightly 25:6
King 69:2 71:24	large 52:24 58:14 66:11 129:19	League 93:21	limited 70:4
King's 73:1	large-area 44:18	leap 65:18	limits 106:19
knew 29:11 56:2	Latino 24:16 32:13	led 13:7 14:20 19:17	linear 68:2,22
knife's 79:21,24 117:11	law 12:24 16:7 21:19 26:1,15 27:4 30:25 31:13 32:16 34:13 35:9 36:6,19 50:5, 15,24 57:21 59:12 88:18	left 43:14 91:3 110:13	lines 17:14 57:2,3 58:3 86:19 87:10,23 88:4,16 123:8,9 135:14
knowing 112:11	lawful 5:14	legal 54:15 86:22 89:11	link 31:22 71:13
knowledge 18:16 116:10	laws 119:5	legislative 15:24 16:13, 22 86:22 123:2	list 12:4,14 13:11 14:7,25 15:23
Kobach	lawsuit	legislature 15:10,19 27:17,20 33:3	

<p>18:5 19:20 21:10 23:9,21 24:15 26:22 28:2 30:17 67:7</p> <p>literally 128:18</p> <p>literature 44:25</p> <p>litigants 18:15</p> <p>litigating 19:13,15</p> <p>live 46:17</p> <p>Lloyd 103:8</p> <p>local 55:9</p> <p>locations 11:9 110:8</p> <p>long 34:11 36:15 114:15</p> <p>longer 76:3</p> <p>looked 54:18,21 59:2 81:16 100:24 101:1 135:22</p> <p>lose 42:1 108:12, 13</p> <p>lost 42:5</p> <p>lot 43:3,10 44:19 88:1,18</p>	<p>115:17 117:19</p> <p>low 59:24 65:16 95:21 120:23</p> <p>LULAC 18:7</p> <p>lunch 32:2</p> <hr/> <p>M</p> <hr/> <p>made 27:19,23 54:25 62:15 109:19 110:10 121:24 135:12</p> <p>mail 53:2 118:24 119:1</p> <p>mailed 25:15</p> <p>main 81:23</p> <p>maintain 40:22 41:2</p> <p>maintained 92:13</p> <p>maintaining 41:15</p> <p>maintains 40:15</p> <p>major 87:22 88:3,8, 9 118:20</p> <p>majority 8:18 27:20,24 31:7,10,15 33:3 51:9,10 60:13,19</p>	<p>61:5,6,7,11, 13 63:1 65:3, 4 66:18 91:18,23 92:9 93:4,9,11,17 103:9,18,19 104:5,22 126:8,15 127:15,21</p> <p>majority- 60:11 79:5 91:11 92:3,5 102:5</p> <p>majority- minority 60:10,14,18 61:1,10,15 62:11 65:1 91:13,15,17 95:8,10 101:23 104:20</p> <p>make 5:25 17:17 36:23 37:2,20 52:6 60:19 61:11,16 63:1 76:18 86:3 91:23 102:23 106:23 107:3 126:19 131:25 132:1,2,15 135:25</p> <p>making 38:7 110:10</p> <p>man 101:21</p> <p>mandating 94:19</p> <p>map 15:11 16:20</p>	<p>17:20,23 18:1,2 20:7 27:9,11,13,16 29:9,11 38:23 39:5,25 40:9, 15,17,23 41:3,4,5,6,9, 12,14,16,17 43:1,7,8 44:1,2,18 53:21,24 54:1,16 57:9, 10 70:23 76:4 78:22 79:4 84:17 85:15 86:19 89:6,7, 21 91:14 95:20 97:3,8, 10,17,18,19, 20,21,22,24, 25 98:1,2,4, 5,8,9 106:14, 15 107:8,11, 13,20 109:21, 22,23 110:18 111:19 115:7 122:21 126:1 132:4 133:1, 12,14,15 134:6 135:7, 8,12</p> <p>map's 29:6 108:5</p> <p>map-wide 96:3</p> <p>maps 16:16,18,22 17:18,24 18:3 36:23 37:21 43:6,20,25 55:14 70:20</p>
--	--	---	--

85:7 112:13 122:1 123:10 128:1 Maptitude 70:20 71:1,2 72:12 margin 113:25 114:4 115:16 116:18,20 129:20,23 margins 113:8 mark 7:13 11:12 22:11 75:2 125:11 marked 7:14,19 8:3 11:13 22:12 36:21 75:5,7 125:12 masks 104:11 Massachusetts 34:6,13 match 49:8 mathematical 85:13 matter 17:4 30:17, 18,22 35:8 59:12 79:9 matters 16:11 52:5 maximum 82:22	Mayhew 113:1 mayor 33:9 mayors 33:7 Mcconnell 10:1 Mccrory 19:21 58:21 meaningful 52:7 54:12 means 60:19 meant 83:8 measure 84:7 85:20 95:23 measures 53:17 72:14 83:24 84:2,4, 20 87:6 95:21 98:11,15 measuring 87:7 median 133:6 Meek 120:16 meet 36:6 meetings 36:15 member 30:7 55:19 members 30:5,6	memory 6:18 24:25 119:18 134:21 135:23 mention 47:5 92:3 mentioned 123:12,18 merged 129:15 method 45:12 49:15 66:24 67:1 69:1 118:23 133:2,4,6,8, 10 methodologies 68:19 100:18 methodology 81:3 methods 45:15 65:18 71:17 metric 57:19 metrics 71:4,8 72:2 115:4 Miami 106:9 midst 118:17 Miller 15:1 mind 5:19 11:6,17 39:22 80:2,16 125:10 132:14	minimal 41:2,10,20 42:11,14 57:10 107:15 minimize 57:16 58:16, 17,18 59:19 60:2 minimum 57:13,14,15 59:23,24 82:21 minorities 62:17 63:1,2 66:17 73:18, 20 76:2,6 101:3 102:12 104:10 136:13 minority 8:19 11:9 51:10 60:12 61:7 65:2,22 66:16 76:13 77:25 78:6,9, 11 79:6 87:7 91:12,22 92:4,6 94:25 95:1 96:9 104:9 minority's 76:9 79:9 80:15 minority- 94:21 minority- performing 78:23 minus 112:24
---	--	---	--

minute 62:25	52:22 54:6,22 55:20 58:14 87:11	negative 82:21,24	10:22 25:7
missed 31:3	musical 123:14	neighborhood 53:21	non-white 62:20 65:3 91:18 92:9 102:7
missing 36:24 37:22	muster 107:20	neighborhoods 52:23 53:15, 25	non-whites 60:19 61:11 62:11
mix 121:3		neighboring 86:8	Nordby 134:11,15
model 99:12 131:8	N	Nevada 15:8,16	normal 26:9 120:25
moment 59:16	Nall's 88:2	newer 69:1 71:25	North 20:7,12 40:5, 18 58:21 90:9,12 92:16 94:4,10,12,16 96:5 97:8 105:7,18 107:4
month 35:13	named 5:13 12:21	nice 85:16 86:8,14 114:17	
morning 5:18	nanosecond 73:8	night 115:21 117:6	
motive 51:3	Nathan 20:23	nominate 66:11	Northwest 11:3
mountain 88:23	Nathaniel 11:1	nominated 101:21 136:20	note 97:6 110:17
move 23:8 54:24 81:2 121:2 125:8 126:17	nation 115:23	non- 61:15 102:13	notes 125:5
moved 20:15 86:13 108:20	nationally 124:1	non-citizen 49:23 51:17	notice 5:13 39:17 52:9 67:19 118:10
moving 26:10 47:5 60:8 107:5	nationwide 119:7,8	non-diminishment 74:10 75:18, 22 78:21 94:12 95:15, 16 96:17 104:3	number 11:4 39:9 45:24 46:6,7, 8 47:18 53:6 55:11 70:4 72:5 75:2 78:10,22 79:5 80:2,5,6,16 83:21 84:3
multiple 113:3 127:25	natural 88:23	non-hispanic 60:13	
municipal 11:3 17:21 54:4 58:17 59:23 60:2 86:11	navigated 106:11	non-partisan 113:14	
municipalities	necessarily 39:20 52:22 64:2 100:16	non-testifying	
	necessity 57:12		
	needed 29:16 43:15 73:12 108:11, 12,18 110:1,3		

<p>91:12 92:4 93:12,14 94:19 99:21 104:1 106:4 109:17 114:1 116:6,7,22 124:11 125:25 126:22,23 128:17,19,25 129:5,6 131:12</p> <p>numbers 37:2 45:10,23 46:8 65:23 96:13 127:23 129:9 131:23</p> <p>numerator 132:6</p> <p>numerical 83:18</p> <p>numerous 63:25</p> <hr/> <p>O</p> <hr/> <p>oath 5:5,15</p> <p>Obama 14:24</p> <p>Object 60:5 81:15</p> <p>Objection 58:19 63:13 109:13 111:25</p> <p>objectives 90:6</p> <p>obstacle 15:21</p> <p>occasionally 34:14 79:22</p>	<p>occur 94:13</p> <p>occurs 111:17</p> <p>ocular 84:7,24</p> <p>offensive 102:20</p> <p>offer 6:23</p> <p>office 54:10 101:24</p> <p>Officer 67:11 130:2</p> <p>officers 130:9</p> <p>official 41:12</p> <p>officials 56:9</p> <p>offset 105:17</p> <p>Ohio 120:21</p> <p>older 117:15,21 123:10</p> <p>online 72:25</p> <p>opinions 6:22,24 7:2 74:16</p> <p>opportunity 92:15</p> <p>opposed 44:23 45:5 48:22 109:16</p>	<p>opposite 13:4,24 14:2 23:16</p> <p>Orange 108:16 110:8</p> <p>order 86:14 132:24</p> <p>ordinarily 68:22</p> <p>orientation 115:12</p> <p>Orlando 40:6,19 42:23 107:9,17 108:1,2</p> <p>outcome 101:8 127:7</p> <p>outcomes 66:14</p> <p>overage 110:12</p> <p>overestimate 49:25</p> <p>overly 130:19</p> <p>overpopulated 42:18 108:11, 23</p> <p>overstepped 29:12</p> <hr/> <p>P</p> <hr/> <p>p.m. 32:3 87:3 132:20</p> <p>pack 122:21 130:16</p>	<p>package 72:23</p> <p>packed 130:19</p> <p>packing 122:6,12 130:16,21</p> <p>pandemic 118:17 119:18</p> <p>Panhandle 90:12,16</p> <p>paragraph 38:22 40:12, 14 47:5,8 66:22 67:25 68:15 70:13 73:15 74:4,9 76:23 77:24 78:4 81:24 82:13 83:23 90:11 91:3,10 92:3,12 93:7, 20,23 95:19 96:25 97:4,13 98:17 104:19 107:7,24 108:4 110:6, 17 121:15 124:23</p> <p>Paragraphs 95:4</p> <p>parameters 77:23</p> <p>pardon 14:18 112:13 130:25</p> <p>part 41:24 44:10 45:1,5 49:21 52:10,13</p>
--	--	--	--

53:11,20 54:16 58:8 59:4 69:11 77:11 78:25 79:1 80:17 81:13 82:2 91:8 96:15 101:7 119:22 121:11 122:10 128:21 131:5 132:4 particularity 10:6 parties 118:21 partisan 17:14,18 33:10,11 44:6 45:18 81:3,6, 8 82:2 123:6 133:1,11 135:1,7,9,15, 19 partisans 17:15 partisanship 122:14 partners 31:12 parts 11:24,25 29:4 40:9 44:23 48:9,10 party 9:6,7 11:2 15:21 16:1,4 20:19 28:8 34:8,10,12, 13,17,23 35:3,5 44:7,9	66:1 68:4,6, 13 81:9,13, 16,18 82:1,6, 8,14 83:2,8, 16 100:8,11, 12,14 101:5, 6,7,8,14,16 113:3,12 114:5 122:17 130:16,19 passage 93:25 94:1 passed 15:11 16:21 107:20 past 33:21 91:5 101:4 115:18 116:19 122:24 patience 5:25 patterns 15:14 17:8 20:11 pay 116:4,10 PDF 124:19 Pensacola 90:17,25 105:1 people 29:21 41:13 47:16 48:16 49:6 50:3 54:12 64:10 65:10 69:8 86:12 100:9 102:6,24 108:11,12,13,	16,23 109:11 113:13 115:8 118:23 people's 123:17 percent 46:3 48:12,13 61:16,21,23, 25 62:8,13 63:3,5,6 64:11 65:15 68:3 69:12 82:14 83:3,9 98:20 99:1,6 119:7,8,9 129:21,24 percentage 49:13 66:3,4 79:10,11,14, 15 83:19 112:25 126:12 127:10 percentages 48:9 perception 84:20 Perez 12:16 23:9 perfect 82:23,24 perform 76:1 116:15 performance 29:6,10 40:17 66:22,24 80:15 81:3,6, 8 82:2 135:19 performing 79:17 94:4,22	102:6,9,11 104:12 perimeter 71:13 Perkins 13:18 15:6 16:7 20:4 21:19 26:19 32:15 36:7,20 permission 31:18 Perry 12:16 13:9 14:5 19:5,17 Persily 11:1 20:23 person 18:13,24 19:1 36:9 102:6, 12,16 103:5, 16,25 104:6 person's 101:13 Personally 70:21 perspective 41:9 perspectives 29:22 Pete 40:5 107:5,16 108:3 114:20, 23 121:15 Petersburg 107:10 111:18 112:8 121:17 122:1,9,11 phase 56:1
---	---	---	---

phone 36:9,13,14	133:20,24 134:1,7	98:17 103:2	86:4 87:16 107:11
phonetic 31:24	plan 38:23,25	polarized 79:15	portions 21:2,3 51:5 109:17
phrase 80:1	39:6,18 41:20 42:23,24	political 10:18 29:21 30:9 34:8,17 57:23,24 58:1,2,4,7,8, 11,13 100:11 112:21 118:20	position 11:6 22:7 76:16
physics 65:20	43:24 53:7,8 55:13 62:6 64:23 91:8	Polk 43:3	positions 12:1 21:7
picked 67:14	93:9 96:18 105:2,6,19 107:17 109:2, 7 110:7,20	Polsby-popper 71:9,23 84:5 95:22	positive 82:22
picking 109:11 130:20	111:1,5,8,11, 13,16,23 121:20,22,24 134:3,8	population 41:24 42:16, 18,21 43:10, 11 44:19,21, 23 45:4 47:17 48:21,25 49:16,18,19 50:6,9,22 51:1,7,15,18, 20,22 52:1,2, 3,4 60:14,20, 21,22 61:12, 17 62:7,12, 16,21 65:2,5 77:25 78:2,6, 18 86:5 90:14 91:19,23 92:9 93:4,6 94:15 97:14 105:7,8 106:8,9 107:22 108:7, 18 110:9 117:19	possibility 79:21
piece 65:24 122:11, 25	plan-wide 79:4		possibly 48:20 89:1 92:1
pieces 36:25 37:1 48:18,20,22 113:7	plans 52:16 114:10 131:12		post 54:9
Pinellas 110:18,24 111:10,15,24 112:1	platform 70:25 72:8		postmarked 25:16
place 41:5 43:14 53:1 69:12 95:8 110:3,14	plays 115:13		power 73:12
places 52:10,13,15, 19,20,21 53:7,11,18,23 54:12 56:23 130:18	plug 73:4		practice 13:2
plaintiffs 15:2,5,7 17:3 18:18 19:23, 25 21:13,16 23:23 24:1,5, 7 30:23	plurality 62:16 73:20 103:2,3,6,7		preceded 77:2
	point 6:13 25:5 79:10,14,16 110:10 123:17		precinct 44:19 45:5 48:14,18 49:4,7,9 55:14,23,24 57:2,3,8,14, 18 58:3,18 59:1,4,5,6,24 65:17 67:6 69:5,9 135:23 136:2,8
	points 79:11 112:25 130:9	populations 48:4,8 50:11	
	polarization		

precinct-by-precinct 132:8	68:12 82:9 100:11	12,15,19 99:17,20,25 100:3,14,19, 21 103:10 124:18 136:19	proportion 49:5
precincts 44:18 47:23, 24 48:10 49:12,14 54:25 55:1,8, 12 56:3,9,18, 25 58:22,24 66:19 87:12 98:21 99:7 127:24 128:4, 8 129:15 135:25	preferred 66:11,16 73:19 78:12 79:9 80:15 90:22 92:15 101:25 103:11,13 136:15,16	primitive 101:12	proportionally 47:9 48:16
precision 69:16	preliminary 35:21 56:1	principle 40:25 59:22	proposal 57:11
preclearance 16:16	prepare 70:22	principles 41:16 87:8	proposed 18:3 134:1
predict 115:15,16,19 118:7	prepared 121:4	prioritize 58:15	protected 76:8
predicting 118:5 129:8	present 57:20	probability 124:10	protective 25:9
predictive 115:14 116:9, 14	presented 81:22 135:10	problem 44:13,17 48:5 58:20 115:6 130:15	proto-cities 54:7
predictor 83:17 117:3	president 118:21 126:18 128:11,16	proceedings 5:1 32:4	provide 12:7 16:19 17:16 23:12 25:2 26:5 44:5 46:19 77:4,20 97:3
predictors 117:16	presidential 67:8,13 118:10 119:16,25	process 41:18	provided 7:4 8:11 17:13 23:10 24:17 77:12 80:19
predominantly 20:14 35:2	pretty 110:13 114:15,17 115:16 120:1 126:4	product 25:9 92:25	providing 128:22
prefer 102:2,19 104:6,10,11 113:18	primacy 101:16	Professor 69:2	provision 75:12
preference 30:2,5,9	primaries 77:7	Professors 11:1	provisions 94:7
	primary 66:3,4,5 76:14 77:2,4,	program 55:18,19 70:16,19 71:24 72:6, 18,21,22,24	proxies 88:5
		programs 71:23	proximate 51:16
		project 44:15 45:16	proxy 81:19 88:10
			pull

<p>57:17</p> <p>purpose</p> <p>58:5</p> <p>purposes</p> <p>44:3 67:15</p> <p>74:4,8 80:10</p> <p>96:17 97:6</p> <p>118:1</p> <p>put</p> <p>41:5 43:23</p> <p>57:11 72:7</p> <p>95:8,10</p> <p>107:21 110:2</p> <p>115:3 116:16</p> <p>putting</p> <p>10:12 41:15</p> <p>94:11 96:13</p> <p>puzzle</p> <p>123:1</p> <hr/> <p>Q</p> <hr/> <p>question</p> <p>6:6,14 7:5</p> <p>15:14 18:25</p> <p>22:8 30:3</p> <p>33:13 40:3,21</p> <p>53:14,20</p> <p>54:15 56:7</p> <p>58:10 59:8</p> <p>63:14,16,24</p> <p>64:2 65:6</p> <p>66:16 68:9</p> <p>70:18 76:13</p> <p>81:25 85:24</p> <p>89:17 95:25</p> <p>96:4,6 99:4</p> <p>101:5,19</p> <p>102:23 104:4</p> <p>105:14 109:19</p> <p>118:13 125:20</p>	<p>131:1 133:13</p> <p>135:6,20</p> <p>136:6</p> <p>questioning</p> <p>54:1 56:4</p> <p>questions</p> <p>6:25 17:16</p> <p>25:8 32:21</p> <p>34:2 52:4</p> <p>60:15 78:24</p> <p>81:9 100:21</p> <p>106:23 123:5,</p> <p>17 125:5</p> <p>132:16,22,23</p> <p>134:10,16,18</p> <p>quick</p> <p>134:17</p> <p>quotes</p> <p>61:20</p> <hr/> <p>R</p> <hr/> <p>R-E-N-E-A</p> <p>12:22</p> <p>race</p> <p>17:12 47:10</p> <p>49:6 66:1</p> <p>88:10 100:8,</p> <p>10,12 101:16</p> <p>120:15 127:8</p> <p>129:17</p> <p>races</p> <p>129:12 130:5</p> <p>racial</p> <p>17:10 20:6,</p> <p>11,14 46:15</p> <p>48:8,9,21</p> <p>49:15 58:25</p> <p>59:3,15</p>	<p>racially</p> <p>79:15</p> <p>Raffensperger</p> <p>26:4 32:14</p> <p>railways</p> <p>88:3</p> <p>raise</p> <p>5:2 53:19</p> <p>ran</p> <p>36:16 52:5</p> <p>103:9 120:20</p> <p>range</p> <p>88:23 114:16</p> <p>rarely</p> <p>129:9</p> <p>RAS</p> <p>37:3,4</p> <p>rate</p> <p>49:23 63:3,5,</p> <p>6 68:5</p> <p>rates</p> <p>17:14 51:17</p> <p>Raton</p> <p>52:25</p> <p>re-elected</p> <p>104:1</p> <p>reach</p> <p>104:2 136:1</p> <p>reached</p> <p>10:4,12</p> <p>13:18,21 16:5</p> <p>25:22,25</p> <p>28:14 29:24</p> <p>read</p> <p>51:6 75:16</p> <p>94:7,11,18</p> <p>reading</p> <p>84:21 91:3</p>	<p>93:7 94:21</p> <p>real</p> <p>45:7</p> <p>realtors</p> <p>116:9</p> <p>reason</p> <p>50:8 82:4</p> <p>88:8 130:6</p> <p>reasons</p> <p>79:12 119:13</p> <p>rebuttal</p> <p>125:6</p> <p>recall</p> <p>9:2,5,8,12,</p> <p>15,21 10:8</p> <p>12:10,24</p> <p>13:6,15,20</p> <p>14:3,20 15:16</p> <p>16:14 17:4</p> <p>18:11 19:13</p> <p>21:24 22:8,10</p> <p>23:11,15</p> <p>24:3,5,12,18</p> <p>25:20,24</p> <p>27:19,23</p> <p>28:16,18</p> <p>31:8,14 35:12</p> <p>54:17 56:3</p> <p>93:12,14,17</p> <p>109:3 111:4</p> <p>112:15 123:12</p> <p>received</p> <p>25:17 46:11,</p> <p>12 73:20</p> <p>recent</p> <p>41:6 116:23</p> <p>117:1,2 118:3</p> <p>119:2,13,18</p> <p>recess</p> <p>31:25 32:2</p>
---	---	--	---

87:3 132:20 recognizable 54:10 recollection 11:11 23:3 51:5 reconfiguration 105:18 reconfigured 103:24 reconvene 32:1 record 5:19 6:1 32:7 34:2 records 123:2 recounts 26:11 REDIRECT 136:22 redistricting 20:16 28:4, 9, 24 32:23 33:3, 8, 15, 20, 21, 23 41:10 43:21, 23 44:3 46:16 54:19 57:6 70:22, 25 71:6, 21 72:3 87:8 96:1 103:24 redrawing 40:23 redrawn 96:9 reduce 94:25 109:12 130:11, 13	reduced 92:5 94:20 reduces 78:10 reducing 108:24 reduction 79:5 91:12 92:10 109:9 refer 6:19 22:3 reference 93:25 97:6 124:14 referenced 70:13 81:24 referred 7:14 11:13 22:12 51:8 75:7 125:12 referring 50:16 55:2 92:20 97:11 104:24, 25 113:11 135:16 refers 7:6 76:22 Reform 10:19 region 40:6, 19 89:7, 22 90:21, 24, 25 95:12 97:8 107:6 112:11 121:15 122:3, 7 regions 104:25 107:17 110:21 121:17	registered 34:3, 7, 12, 16 35:2, 4 46:8, 9 104:22 registration 12:5 17:14 34:14 44:7 66:2 77:14 81:13, 16, 18 82:1, 6, 8 83:3, 8, 17 99:20 100:22 101:9 104:21 113:12 115:18 registrations 82:15 regression 68:1, 10, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25 69:23 70:6, 10, 12 72:17, 20 73:3, 5, 7 98:18, 19 99:12 116:7 rejected 80:6 related 26:11 relates 111:23 112:1 relationship 68:2 82:23, 25 released 48:3, 4 56:17 releases 55:17 relevant 16:20 relied	28:19 44:14 55:15 70:4, 5, 6 77:16 80:23 81:21 82:3, 5 84:12 122:20, 24 123:10 rely 50:25 65:18 75:25 82:1 relying 72:11 remaining 86:15 remember 9:3, 23 12:9 18:13 22:1 23:2, 6 27:15 28:11 31:12 35:13, 22 39:9 46:20 71:22 84:14 93:12, 24 111:6 129:22 135:2 136:3 remotely 5:5 Renea 12:21 13:1 18:12 23:14 Reock 71:9, 22 84:4 95:21 repeatedly 64:7 128:8 replacing 78:8 reply 47:1 report
--	---	---	---

<p>6:24 7:3,6,9, 19 25:2 26:7, 8 36:1,8,21 38:8,18 40:12,20 41:11 43:18, 20 44:11 52:5,14 55:17 56:17 57:7 60:12 66:23 67:2 72:1 73:16 75:21 78:5 80:24 83:24 90:9 92:7,12 97:7 98:16 104:19 105:5 107:6 112:12 121:4 124:18,20,24 125:6,9,17 135:1,10</p> <p>reporter 5:24 7:10 132:18</p> <p>reports 37:17,24 38:3,15 40:4 47:13 122:20 123:11</p> <p>represent 14:14,18 102:24</p> <p>representation 17:11 18:23 20:6 87:19</p> <p>representative 33:17 89:16 95:17 102:13 103:21</p> <p>Representatives</p>	<p>90:23</p> <p>represented 129:25 130:8</p> <p>Republican 9:7,9 12:11 13:7 14:21 15:18 23:18 24:13,14 29:19 30:6 31:15 32:23 33:2,7,14,16 82:14 83:8,9 120:25 130:1, 2,3,4,12 131:3</p> <p>Republicans 27:19,23 29:7,23 46:5, 9 82:15 126:4,9,14, 22,24 127:12, 13,21 128:5</p> <p>required 61:24 76:13 108:6</p> <p>requirement 80:10</p> <p>requires 47:23 60:16</p> <p>requiring 94:9</p> <p>reran 45:9</p> <p>research 30:11 36:22 37:4 38:2,14 84:9 88:1</p> <p>researchers 45:16</p>	<p>resembles 97:2</p> <p>Resolution 15:24 16:13</p> <p>respect 55:21 58:8 87:11,12 95:6</p> <p>respected 53:24 88:19</p> <p>respecting 56:22 57:23 58:1</p> <p>response 53:20 124:11</p> <p>responses 80:23</p> <p>responsive 124:7</p> <p>result 106:5 130:21, 24</p> <p>results 46:24 47:2 91:12 99:18 100:13 119:16,20 129:16 130:10 131:19 132:7</p> <p>retained 28:23,25 29:1 32:15</p> <p>retirement 52:24</p> <p>revealing 25:11</p> <p>review 11:20 16:17, 18</p>	<p>reviewed 16:23</p> <p>rights 11:11 19:9 29:8 64:4 80:11 100:25</p> <p>roadways 87:22,25 88:3,8,10</p> <p>Rodriguez 12:15,20 13:3 23:11,13,15</p> <p>Romo 17:1,3 74:16, 19 77:13 84:13 133:20, 24 134:1,6</p> <p>Ron 129:18</p> <p>roughly 42:7</p> <p>routinely 119:23</p> <p>rule 6:11 109:20</p> <p>rules 10:18 12:6</p> <p>run 47:1 56:13 72:23,24 82:21 116:7</p> <p>running 47:18 118:21 120:16</p> <p>runs 70:16 72:23 73:9 112:5</p> <p>rural 54:9</p>
---	---	---	--

<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">S</p> <hr/> <p>San 18:6,7,10,17 33:10</p> <p>satisfied 80:18</p> <p>satisfies 78:3</p> <p>satisfy 61:23</p> <p>Schumer 8:20</p> <p>Science 8:23</p> <p>sciences 88:2</p> <p>scientists 101:11,17 112:21</p> <p>Scott 46:11</p> <p>scrutinizing 37:1</p> <p>Sean 28:25 29:4 30:13,14</p> <p>Sean's 30:9</p> <p>seat 42:9,14 43:1 102:16 113:23 114:5,7,11, 12,16 126:7 127:12</p> <p>seats 113:19 114:15 124:11 125:25</p>	<p>126:2,14,22, 23 127:15 128:18,20 129:5 130:12, 20,24 131:3, 13</p> <p>Secretary 24:9 55:4</p> <p>section 8:2 11:10 29:13 64:7 74:13,14,20 75:13,14 80:10 94:3,8, 18 98:17 101:2 105:5, 25</p> <p>segregated 88:4</p> <p>segregation 87:25</p> <p>select 28:19</p> <p>selecting 102:25</p> <p>Senate 8:13,15,17 12:5 15:24 16:12 31:7, 10,14 67:8,13 126:17 128:10,14</p> <p>senator 120:21</p> <p>sense 66:7 106:11 131:25 132:1, 2</p> <p>sentence</p>	<p>40:14 47:8,11 73:16 78:4 90:11 107:7 108:5</p> <p>separate 72:22</p> <p>sequence 38:19</p> <p>serve 15:4 16:3 19:24 21:15 23:25 27:1 28:7,9 30:21 31:8</p> <p>served 13:13 15:1 17:2 19:5,21 21:12 23:22 26:24 31:6</p> <p>service 53:2 70:24</p> <p>set 16:17 43:13 55:1 56:2,9 59:15 117:25 131:6</p> <p>sets 112:22</p> <p>setting 62:24 100:19</p> <p>settled 24:20 25:5</p> <p>shakes 132:4</p> <p>shape 43:25</p> <p>share 61:16 68:4,13 76:14 82:16</p>	<p>130:12,23 131:2 136:18</p> <p>shared 124:12</p> <p>shifts 78:18</p> <p>short 132:19</p> <p>show 75:1,21 86:19 98:20</p> <p>showing 39:25 46:7 56:18 88:3 131:13 136:14</p> <p>shows 107:8 122:20</p> <p>shrinking 108:15</p> <p>side 37:18 84:18 85:7 115:3</p> <p>sign 15:11</p> <p>signed 22:18</p> <p>significant 104:22</p> <p>similar 39:19 40:18 46:24 68:19 74:20 77:20 80:9 120:1 121:23 134:1, 6 135:11</p> <p>simple 113:8</p> <p>simply</p>
---	--	---	---

<p>44:22 80:19 83:13 135:6 simultaneously 69:25 73:4 single 69:9 116:17 sir 7:22 8:10,13 10:2 12:17 16:1 18:9,21 19:8 20:5,9, 18 21:24 23:12,23 24:18 25:20 26:13 27:1,7 28:5,16 30:21 31:8 34:5 35:6 42:6 52:17 68:7 73:16,22 90:14 97:12, 23 98:14 99:22 105:3 107:8,14 108:2 112:4 121:15 situation 64:4 104:7,12 size 48:22 49:25 50:12,13 skin 101:7 slender 106:10 slightly 133:25 slowly 70:17</p>	<p>small 47:19 65:19 106:9 129:20 smallest 47:14 48:20 smooth 79:20 snake-looking 86:16 snap 73:8 So.3d 93:22 social 88:2 101:11, 17 software 70:24 72:19 solemnly 5:7 son 120:16 sort 54:7 122:23 135:21 sorts 116:4 sound 109:4 sources 43:19 52:9 south 39:16 114:19 Space 8:24 sparser 77:8</p>	<p>speak 134:12 speaking 55:3 special 18:19 19:2 specific 41:14 56:2 91:22 131:14 specifically 37:23 43:22 55:4 61:10 94:8 112:12 spelled 5:21 12:22 31:11 spelling 5:19 spent 130:18 split 48:1,2,3,11 55:12 57:8 58:22 86:17 87:16 89:14 107:11 109:2, 6,8,10,12,15 111:5,8,10, 12,14,16,23 112:1 113:11, 12 121:1 splits 17:21 53:6,10 57:14,15,18, 19 58:16,17, 18 59:19,23, 24 60:2,3 121:17,22,23 splitting</p>	<p>111:2 spoke 135:21 square 86:8,14 116:5 squares 85:24,25 st 107:10 111:18 112:8 121:17, 25 122:9,10 stacks 85:17 staff 8:18 stand 12:1 21:7 standard 68:22 74:10, 11,20,21 75:18,23 78:21 79:4 90:2 94:11 95:14 100:24 101:4 102:18 104:13 standards 74:14,15 86:20,21 96:21 106:20 start 38:17,20 64:15,16 108:10 116:19 started 41:7 47:4 starting 43:6</p>
--	--	--	--

state 13:5,6,12 14:2,3,8 15:12,15,19 17:9 19:15 20:20 21:11 22:22 23:17 24:7,10 25:14 27:14,17 39:23 42:12, 20 43:11 47:25 49:22 51:14 54:14 55:1,4 57:21 67:18,20 78:10,17,25 79:1 88:22 89:7 90:4,19 94:24 96:21 105:16 106:2, 7 113:14 117:5 119:5 124:8	118:3 124:1, 12 127:7 128:25 129:12 130:9 131:6 statistic 113:22 statistical 65:8 72:19 statistics 16:19 44:8,9 77:14 80:22, 24 113:21 115:14,19 stay 42:2 116:23 STENOGRAPHER 5:2,7 STEPHEN 5:12 Stewart 11:2 stop 114:2 Street 122:1 stretches 90:12 string 106:10 strong 120:9 strongly 120:6,10 struggling 52:17 students 30:13 37:7, 10,12	study 64:19 stuff 71:1 86:15 subject 10:9 29:13 74:9 subjective 80:21 submitted 36:2 38:15 133:20 134:7 substantial 90:13 sufficiency 57:12 suing 13:25 15:7 18:18,21,22 24:6,7 suit 89:19 summary 38:21 136:3,5 super 79:15 103:12 supplemental 38:8 67:3 80:24 124:20 125:9,17 support 21:22 22:6,9 suppose 62:25 supposed 56:12 Supreme 11:3 15:25	16:23 50:17, 20 54:18 60:25 93:21 95:5,7,10 133:19,21 134:2,7 surplus 130:17 surprises 120:3 Sutton 30:12 37:9 swear 5:7 swing 123:12,14,18, 19,23 124:2, 3,6,12,13,18, 24 swinging 115:23 swings 123:22 sworn 5:15 swung 124:1 symmetry 133:8 system 70:24 <hr/> T <hr/> table 6:15 126:19 tables 37:2
--	---	--	--

tabulating 50:10	40:17 42:23 107:9 111:19 112:8,10 121:17	test 84:7,12,15,24 85:6,10,12,14 115:2,6,9	thought 86:13 118:13
tabulation 55:15,17			three-party 120:15,18
tacit 40:25	Tampa/st 40:5 107:5,16 108:3 114:20, 22 121:14	testified 5:15 35:8	threshold 104:8
tails 126:9		testify 15:14	thumb 73:8
takes 73:9,13 76:9	tasked 37:16	testimony 8:3,8,12,14, 22,25 9:10, 13,18,22 12:5,7 20:9 23:10,12 24:17 26:5	ticket 118:20
taking 11:17 41:14 42:21 85:7 106:5 125:10 132:14	Teach 64:17		Tier 17:11 81:10
	teacher 64:17		Tim 46:11
talk 6:7 36:20 67:25 68:15 83:24 90:9 98:18 110:6 116:13	team 30:11 36:22	Texas 13:5,7,12 14:2,4,8 18:20 19:16 22:4,22 23:17 51:13 61:24 103:8,17 104:16	time 9:4 10:14,20 12:9,12 13:7 14:4,9,17,18 15:17 16:21 19:18 20:3 21:20 24:19, 24 25:25 26:1,16,19 27:5,21,25 31:1,16,25 34:19 35:20, 22,24 50:6 55:8 56:24 62:2 73:13 76:12 77:6, 12,17 80:23 81:22 82:3,5 93:13 100:23 109:16 111:7 113:5 118:6 123:24 129:23
talked 21:1 33:19 54:24 55:25 83:25 117:8 129:11	technically 126:11	thing 45:24 64:24 89:8 113:24 120:12 128:8	
talking 32:9 37:23 52:8 57:18 58:2 87:5 89:13 90:17, 25 91:4,16,17 102:5 105:21, 23 110:5	technique 69:4,5	things 10:14 39:23 44:8 60:3 72:9 76:12 82:23 83:1 84:18 86:3 88:5 115:12, 13 116:5 123:21 124:2 129:7,8	
	Technology 8:24		times 36:11,12,14 108:18 109:1, 7,8 111:1,4,
talks 122:16	telling 11:6 83:13		
Tallahassee 91:9	ten 47:20 79:11 130:9		
Tampa	tend 47:25 120:1,6		
	term 15:12 85:1,2 92:6		
	terminology 134:22		
	terms 29:6 60:14 65:20 82:18 101:15,17	thinking 80:4 107:19	

<p>9,10 113:2 119:25 126:10 128:24 today 32:12 107:15 told 25:12 tolerance 106:20 top 67:18 72:23, 24 118:19 topic 125:1 toss 126:6,11 127:2,3,9,17 tosses 126:10 total 37:24 totally 30:11 115:8 touching 47:4 tradeoffs 106:20 translated 130:15 tread 25:6 treated 58:24 trend 119:3,11 124:5 131:9, 11</p>	<p>Trende 28:25 29:16 trends 41:24 87:8 trial 26:8 61:19 96:12 122:24 tricks 115:13 tricky 69:11 true 83:21 Trump 82:17 83:4,10 truth 5:8,9 turn 110:15 115:7 turnout 77:15 turns 115:7 two-party 82:16 type 101:2,13 typically 47:15 100:20, 24 typo 23:7 typos 37:3,20 <hr/>U<hr/>U.S.</p>	<p>8:12,23 9:11 12:5 15:8 67:8,12,13 90:23 126:17 128:10 ultimately 70:8 uncertainty 115:17 116:8 unclear 24:19 uncompetitive 114:7,8 uncontested 77:7 underlying 59:3 understand 33:6 38:19 47:11 51:21 60:10 68:17, 20 99:4 113:9 125:23,24 129:10 132:11 understanding 16:12 29:15, 18 34:24 39:2 49:2 51:5,24 54:3 61:19 71:2 76:11 79:3 81:12 85:5,11 89:13,16 91:6 95:9,13 109:14 117:9 134:5 understood 7:7 9:24 10:23 13:23 14:6 18:4</p>	<p>19:3 21:6 25:19 26:21 27:18 30:16 31:21 33:12, 18,25 34:15 35:6,19,23 36:18 38:9,12 40:2 43:17 51:23 54:23 59:14 61:8 62:4 66:20 67:4 73:11 74:25 76:19 77:9,10 78:15 80:7 81:11 88:14,21 90:7 94:17 95:3 106:21 111:21 112:9 114:3 115:1 116:12 121:13 124:16 127:1 130:22 131:24 132:11 133:17 unique 48:24 unit 71:14 United 11:2,10 13:12 14:10,13,14, 19,20 19:6 University 69:2 unnecessary 110:9 unpack 47:10 105:4 unrelated 48:23 83:1</p>
---	--	--	---

untangling 101:16	17:2 18:8 19:4,21 20:20 21:11,23 22:17 23:10, 21 24:16 26:4,23 30:18 31:4 32:13 35:8 46:17 49:18 74:16 93:22 100:10	127:10,22 129:22	voting 8:22 9:10,18 11:8,10 14:16 15:14 17:8,13 19:9,11 20:11 29:5,8 37:19 48:4 49:17, 19,24 50:3,6, 9,21,25 51:1, 4,7,15,18,20, 22 52:1,3,4 55:15,17 60:21 61:12, 17 62:7,12, 16,21 63:12 64:4 65:5,22 68:12 69:7,8 78:6 79:14 80:10 87:7 91:18,23 93:4,5 100:9, 10,25 119:5, 7,12 120:24, 25 136:11,12, 13
unusual 118:19 119:19 121:12		voted 66:3 76:14 98:21 99:2,8, 15,25 100:2 118:24 135:22 136:2	
upload 70:22,23			
upside 115:8		voter 12:5 34:3 35:3 66:2 81:13 82:1 83:9 102:21, 23 104:21 115:18	
upwards 119:3,11	vetted 44:25 45:14, 15		
Utility 11:4	view 58:11	voter's 82:9	
utilized 121:6	violate 39:13	voters 11:9 30:18,22 35:8 46:17 63:11,12,21, 23 64:6,9 66:4,5 90:22 93:22 98:20 99:1,7,15,19, 24 100:2,10 102:21 104:1, 21,22 108:20 135:22,24 136:2,7,9,14	
utterly 102:20	violated 18:24		
<hr/>	Virginia 21:11 104:16		
V <hr/>	virtually 45:10		
VAP 65:15 93:5,9, 13	visually 85:8		Voto 24:15 32:13
vary 47:18	Volusia 108:6,17 109:11		VTD 57:3,8,15
Veasey 19:4	vote 18:24 19:1 46:4 50:3 63:2,4,5 65:7,8,9 68:4 82:16 83:4,10 113:16,25 114:4 116:18, 20 118:24 119:1 122:8,9 124:1,9,12 126:12,15	voters' 95:16	VTDS 56:3,10,22,24 57:5 58:10,11
version 29:9 72:12 93:16 106:12, 13,18 107:13, 19 133:20,24		votes 46:11,12 63:4 66:18 68:6 73:20 81:19 92:14 105:20 112:8 119:6 128:5,6 130:14,17	<hr/>
versions 107:9,22 114:24 131:11			W <hr/>
versus 10:2 11:4 12:16 13:12 14:8 15:1			walk 8:10 42:24 64:12,18
			wanted 29:21 50:8 103:16 107:2,

4 132:11	win	28:3 30:12,14	
wasting	79:13 126:14	32:22 33:19	<hr/> Y <hr/>
130:16	128:5,6	51:2 88:2	years
water	window	132:7	94:5 118:4
18:7,19	10:20	worked	131:9
88:15,18	winning	20:2 25:24	yesterday
ways	66:18 124:10	26:19 30:10	75:4
50:8	wins	32:10 33:9	York
weaken	113:5	37:18,21	31:7,9,13,14
87:18	Wisconsin	51:14 53:5	87:17 114:13
website	26:23 27:8,	68:11 74:13	you-all
43:21,23 44:3	11,20,24 41:1	100:25 103:12	21:7
45:19 46:16	Women	working	<hr/> Z <hr/>
73:1	93:22	10:15 18:14	Zoom
weighed	won	29:3,5 38:6,	31:22 36:10,
86:21,22	68:4,13	10,17	13,14
weighted	79:10,14	workover	
127:3	82:17 113:2	29:10	
weights	126:3,22,23,	works	
127:6	24 127:12,13,	24:3 57:6	
whack	22 129:18,19,	85:6 102:15	
119:21	24 130:5,9	worldwide	
white	136:16	118:17	
11:9 59:5	Wood	worse	
60:13 61:7	26:4 32:13	86:3	
69:13 99:14	Wopper	worth	
100:2 101:21,	31:24	116:6	
24 102:7,12	word	Wow	
103:21,25	124:17	125:7	
104:5,6,21	wording	write	
whites	134:23	11:23 72:20	
46:21 61:16	words	93:23	
65:7,8 104:6,	49:7	wrong	
10 120:24	work	50:2 84:21	
136:12	6:5 10:11	121:21	
wide	12:15,19	wrote	
99:9	13:12,16	11:24,25	
widely	14:19 17:1	21:2,3,4	
72:1	18:6 25:9		

The Florida Senate
HOUSE MESSAGE SUMMARY

Prepared By: The Professional Staff of the Committee on Reapportionment

[2022s00102.hms.re]

BILL: CS/SB102

INTRODUCER: Reapportionment Committee and Senator Rodrigues

SUBJECT: Establishing the Congressional Districts of the State

DATE: March 4, 2022

I. Amendments Contained in Message:

House Amendment 1 – 269533 (body with title)

II. Summary of Amendments Contained in Message:

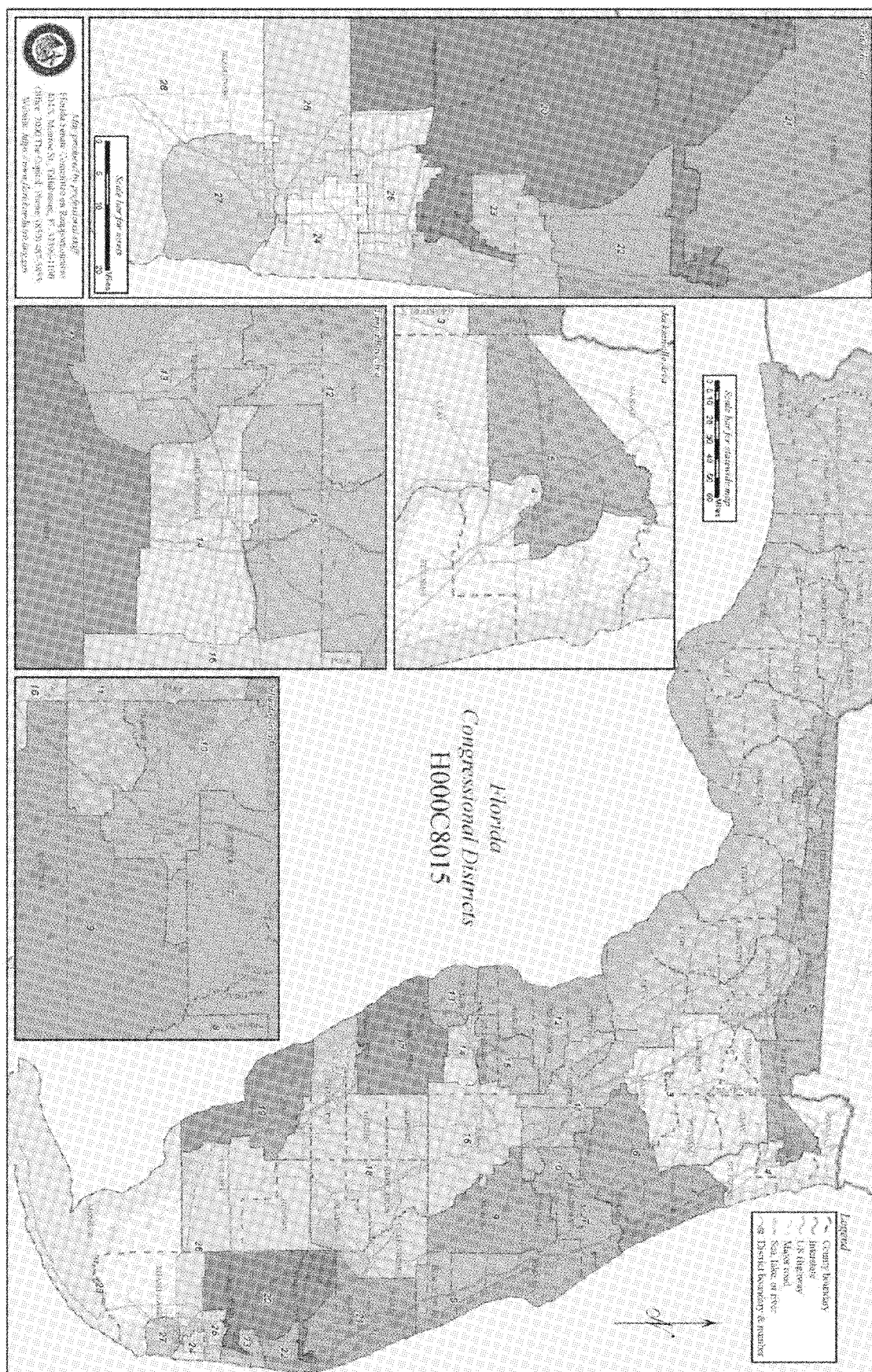
House Amendment 1 – Barcode 269533 replaces the substance of Redistricting Plan S035C8060 with plans H000C8019 and H000C8015.

Plan H000C8019, the “primary” plan, apportions the state into 28 single-member congressional districts. This plan will serve as the map for elections beginning in 2022 and thereafter unless Congressional District 5 is invalidated by a court.

Plan H000C8015, the “secondary” plan, apportions the state into 28 single-member congressional districts. If Congressional District 5 in the “primary” map is invalidated, Plan H000C8015 will take immediate effect and serve as Florida’s congressional districts for elections beginning in 2022 and thereafter.

House Amendment 1 additionally provides that any action challenging this act shall be commenced within 30 days upon becoming law.

The attached maps and statistical analysis provide details for congressional plans H000C8019 and H000C8015 in House Amendment 1.



3/3/2022

Census and Boundary Statistics

Plan H000C8015

Dist.	Deviation		Voting Age Population		Area (sq.m.)	Perim. (mi.)	Cover		Road Ratio	Counties		Cities		Political and Geographic Boundaries			
	Total	%	Black	Hispanic			Water	Forest		Whole	Parts	Whole	Parts	City	County	Road	Water
1	0	0.00%	13.54%	6.69%	4,416	341	0.87	0.48	0.54	3	1	16	0	8%	78%	10%	52%
2	0	0.00%	14.53%	6.32%	15,766	884	0.72	0.25	0.31	15	4	56	1	6%	78%	15%	46%
3	0	0.00%	16.11%	10.49%	3,751	295	0.89	0.54	0.71	5	1	28	0	18%	78%	5%	25%
4	0	0.00%	10.24%	8.94%	1,725	350	0.64	0.18	0.33	1	2	7	1	23%	76%	17%	55%
5	0	0.00%	13.48%	9.24%	3,548	545	0.65	0.11	0.11	4	4	16	2	12%	73%	23%	13%
6	0	0.00%	10.23%	9.15%	2,737	315	0.77	0.34	0.48	1	4	20	2	17%	45%	14%	36%
7	0	0.00%	11.42%	21.14%	914	169	0.82	0.40	0.50	1	2	12	2	26%	47%	19%	31%
8	0	0.00%	9.69%	12.00%	2,263	272	0.81	0.38	0.29	2	1	22	0	3%	92%	1%	54%
9	0	0.00%	13.13%	24.64%	1,956	270	0.86	0.34	0.48	1	1	2	1	2%	86%	10%	36%
10	0	0.00%	28.60%	24.60%	377	110	0.77	0.39	0.50	0	1	9	1	20%	55%	23%	20%
11	0	0.00%	8.35%	15.88%	2,031	289	0.81	0.31	0.32	1	4	19	1	12%	50%	15%	13%
12	0	0.00%	4.53%	10.60%	2,089	312	0.61	0.27	0.40	1	3	7	1	10%	72%	6%	52%
13	0	0.00%	11.46%	9.17%	625	112	0.91	0.63	0.68	0	1	21	1	46%	70%	0%	86%
14	0	0.00%	20.26%	26.06%	456	104	0.87	0.53	0.45	0	1	0	2	23%	19%	28%	32%
15	0	0.00%	13.09%	26.65%	826	146	0.84	0.49	0.47	0	2	5	1	7%	51%	39%	6%
16	0	0.00%	14.94%	23.21%	2,198	255	0.92	0.42	0.52	1	1	17	1	2%	84%	2%	26%
17	0	0.00%	7.55%	14.25%	1,953	207	0.92	0.57	0.50	1	2	7	0	72%	57%	5%	51%
18	0	0.00%	7.69%	15.79%	5,827	404	0.82	0.45	0.48	6	2	12	1	13%	74%	6%	29%
19	0	0.00%	5.58%	15.79%	1,867	247	0.78	0.38	0.33	0	2	7	1	13%	62%	14%	61%
20	0	0.00%	50.11%	22.88%	2,397	330	0.77	0.28	0.50	0	2	13	8	28%	37%	15%	13%
21	0	0.00%	12.48%	15.14%	1,888	219	0.82	0.49	0.50	2	1	16	2	9%	68%	7%	48%
22	-1	0.00%	15.88%	24.68%	345	102	0.74	0.42	0.44	0	1	19	1	36%	24%	18%	36%
23	0	0.00%	13.17%	20.51%	254	105	0.79	0.29	0.50	0	2	11	5	29%	28%	16%	36%
24	0	0.00%	40.11%	38.46%	163	89	0.90	0.48	0.48	0	2	18	2	36%	36%	37%	46%
25	0	0.00%	17.52%	42.26%	237	88	0.81	0.38	0.42	0	1	8	3	64%	29%	12%	20%
26	0	0.00%	7.11%	75.41%	3,684	365	0.67	0.35	0.40	1	2	10	1	9%	69%	20%	19%
27	0	0.00%	7.07%	74.43%	281	70	0.95	0.73	0.71	0	1	7	1	10%	18%	34%	59%
28	0	0.00%	10.37%	77.59%	6,710	591	0.55	0.74	0.72	1	1	8	0	1%	88%	3%	86%

District lines and City and County Boundaries	In Plan H000C8015
Number of Counties	67
Counties with only one district	47
Districts with only one county	6
Counties split into more than one district	20
Counties with all population in a single district	47
Aggregate number of county splits	52
Aggregate number of splits with population	52
Number of Cities	412
Cities with only one district	393
Cities split into more than one district	19
Cities with all population in only one district	394
Aggregate number of city splits	42
Aggregate number of splits with population	41

Overall numbers
of county and city splits:

Page 3

Plan H000C8015

County	Counties included in more than one district				County	Counties included in more than one district				County	Counties included in more than one district						
	Dist.	Total Pop.	%Pop.	Total Area		Dist.	Total Pop.	%Pop.	Total Area		Dist.	Total Pop.	%Pop.	Total Area			
Broward	23	551,332	27.5%	89.04	68.0%	Broward	23	551,332	27.5%	89.04	68.0%	Broward	23	551,332	27.5%	89.04	68.0%
Broward	24	751,159	4.0%	109	0.8%	Broward	24	751,159	4.0%	109	0.8%	Broward	24	751,159	4.0%	109	0.8%
Broward	25	769,221	59.6%	256.7	18.1%	Broward	25	769,221	59.6%	256.7	18.1%	Broward	25	769,221	59.6%	256.7	18.1%
Citrus	11	55,356	62.0%	246.2	26.0%	Citrus	11	55,356	62.0%	246.2	26.0%	Citrus	11	55,356	62.0%	246.2	26.0%
Citrus	12	58,557	58.0%	614.5	64.0%	Citrus	12	58,557	58.0%	614.5	64.0%	Citrus	12	58,557	58.0%	614.5	64.0%
Collier	19	201,747	55.6%	65.65	74.1%	Collier	19	201,747	55.6%	65.65	74.1%	Collier	19	201,747	55.6%	65.65	74.1%
Collier	75	172,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%	Collier	75	172,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%	Collier	75	172,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%
Columbia	2	65,574	94.5%	44.5	96.0%	Columbia	2	65,574	94.5%	44.5	96.0%	Columbia	2	65,574	94.5%	44.5	96.0%
Columbia	5	3,894	5.5%	552.8	44.0%	Columbia	5	3,894	5.5%	552.8	44.0%	Columbia	5	3,894	5.5%	552.8	44.0%
Duval	4	465,854	48.8%	458.2	67.3%	Duval	4	465,854	48.8%	458.2	67.3%	Duval	4	465,854	48.8%	458.2	67.3%
Duval	5	550,733	53.2%	480.2	52.3%	Duval	5	550,733	53.2%	480.2	52.3%	Duval	5	550,733	53.2%	480.2	52.3%
Hillbrough	14	768,321	53.7%	456.3	34.5%	Hillbrough	14	768,321	53.7%	456.3	34.5%	Hillbrough	14	768,321	53.7%	456.3	34.5%
Hillbrough	15	538,543	56.6%	331.4	25.6%	Hillbrough	15	538,543	56.6%	331.4	25.6%	Hillbrough	15	538,543	56.6%	331.4	25.6%
Hillbrough	16	44,175	3.0%	188.0	14.1%	Hillbrough	16	44,175	3.0%	188.0	14.1%	Hillbrough	16	44,175	3.0%	188.0	14.1%
Jefferson	17	112,722	7.3%	315.2	25.3%	Jefferson	17	112,722	7.3%	315.2	25.3%	Jefferson	17	112,722	7.3%	315.2	25.3%
Jefferson	2	4,410	30.4%	400.1	59.5%	Jefferson	2	4,410	30.4%	400.1	59.5%	Jefferson	2	4,410	30.4%	400.1	59.5%
Lake	5	10,100	69.6%	27.2	40.3%	Lake	5	10,100	69.6%	27.2	40.3%	Lake	5	10,100	69.6%	27.2	40.3%
Lake	6	151,635	39.5%	588.4	65.3%	Lake	6	151,635	39.5%	588.4	65.3%	Lake	6	151,635	39.5%	588.4	65.3%
Lake	11	282,357	60.5%	598.4	51.7%	Lake	11	282,357	60.5%	598.4	51.7%	Lake	11	282,357	60.5%	598.4	51.7%
Lee	13	192,848	74.4%	275.0	18.3%	Lee	13	192,848	74.4%	275.0	18.3%	Lee	13	192,848	74.4%	275.0	18.3%
Lee	19	97,974	74.4%	3,239.5	81.5%	Lee	19	97,974	74.4%	3,239.5	81.5%	Lee	19	97,974	74.4%	3,239.5	81.5%
Leon	2	170,711	58.4%	511.5	72.5%	Leon	2	170,711	58.4%	511.5	72.5%	Leon	2	170,711	58.4%	511.5	72.5%
Leon	5	121,487	41.6%	190.3	27.1%	Leon	5	121,487	41.6%	190.3	27.1%	Leon	5	121,487	41.6%	190.3	27.1%
Madison	6	152,757	42.3%	761.7	45.8%	Madison	6	152,757	42.3%	761.7	45.8%	Madison	6	152,757	42.3%	761.7	45.8%
Madison	11	102,795	27.6%	542.1	51.6%	Madison	11	102,795	27.6%	542.1	51.6%	Madison	11	102,795	27.6%	542.1	51.6%
Madison	13	117,588	31.2%	346.8	21.8%	Madison	13	117,588	31.2%	346.8	21.8%	Madison	13	117,588	31.2%	346.8	21.8%
Manatee	24	691,162	24.6%	172.0	7.3%	Manatee	24	691,162	24.6%	172.0	7.3%	Manatee	24	691,162	24.6%	172.0	7.3%
Manatee	25	555,067	20.6%	516.6	21.6%	Manatee	25	555,067	20.6%	516.6	21.6%	Manatee	25	555,067	20.6%	516.6	21.6%
Manatee	27	769,221	28.5%	280.7	11.8%	Manatee	27	769,221	28.5%	280.7	11.8%	Manatee	27	769,221	28.5%	280.7	11.8%
Marion	28	686,347	13.6%	4,420.1	2.9%	Marion	28	686,347	13.6%	4,420.1	2.9%	Marion	28	686,347	13.6%	4,420.1	2.9%
Marion	7	85,712	6.0%	19.2	2.9%	Marion	7	85,712	6.0%	19.2	2.9%	Marion	7	85,712	6.0%	19.2	2.9%
Ocala	9	580,965	26.6%	450.0	44.8%	Ocala	9	580,965	26.6%	450.0	44.8%	Ocala	9	580,965	26.6%	450.0	44.8%
Ocala	10	769,271	55.8%	517.0	57.6%	Ocala	10	769,271	55.8%	517.0	57.6%	Ocala	10	769,271	55.8%	517.0	57.6%
Ocala	13	194,410	13.6%	147.5	14.7%	Ocala	13	194,410	13.6%	147.5	14.7%	Ocala	13	194,410	13.6%	147.5	14.7%
Palm Beach	20	223,859	13.7%	1,597.8	63.3%	Palm Beach	20	223,859	13.7%	1,597.8	63.3%	Palm Beach	20	223,859	13.7%	1,597.8	63.3%
Palm Beach	21	281,564	18.9%	447.3	18.8%	Palm Beach	21	281,564	18.9%	447.3	18.8%	Palm Beach	21	281,564	18.9%	447.3	18.8%
Palm Beach	22	769,220	51.6%	345.3	14.3%	Palm Beach	22	769,220	51.6%	345.3	14.3%	Palm Beach	22	769,220	51.6%	345.3	14.3%
Palm Beach	23	267,508	13.9%	82.6	3.3%	Palm Beach	23	267,508	13.9%	82.6	3.3%	Palm Beach	23	267,508	13.9%	82.6	3.3%
Pasco	32	226,313	58.1%	52.4	51.4%	Pasco	32	226,313	58.1%	52.4	51.4%	Pasco	32	226,313	58.1%	52.4	51.4%
Pasco	35	225,978	41.9%	493.8	48.6%	Pasco	35	225,978	41.9%	493.8	48.6%	Pasco	35	225,978	41.9%	493.8	48.6%
Pinellas	12	188,986	19.8%	237.7	27.6%	Pinellas	12	188,986	19.8%	237.7	27.6%	Pinellas	12	188,986	19.8%	237.7	27.6%
Pinellas	13	769,221	80.2%	624.8	72.0%	Pinellas	13	769,221	80.2%	624.8	72.0%	Pinellas	13	769,221	80.2%	624.8	72.0%
Pinellas	17	216,788	59.2%	634.1	65.0%	Pinellas	17	216,788	59.2%	634.1	65.0%	Pinellas	17	216,788	59.2%	634.1	65.0%
Sarasota	18	177,418	40.8%	541.5	55.0%	Sarasota	18	177,418	40.8%	541.5	55.0%	Sarasota	18	177,418	40.8%	541.5	55.0%
Sarasota	4	213,925	71.8%	564.5	68.3%	Sarasota	4	213,925	71.8%	564.5	68.3%	Sarasota	4	213,925	71.8%	564.5	68.3%
St. Johns	6	60,370	22.1%	784.1	31.8%	St. Johns	6	60,370	22.1%	784.1	31.8%	St. Johns	6	60,370	22.1%	784.1	31.8%
Volusia	5	538,969	61.1%	804.4	56.7%	Volusia	5	538,969	61.1%	804.4	56.7%	Volusia	5	538,969	61.1%	804.4	56.7%
Volusia	7	212,551	56.4%	559.0	57.6%	Volusia	7	212,551	56.4%	559.0	57.6%	Volusia	7	212,551	56.4%	559.0	57.6%
Volusia	8	2,821	0.5%	89.0	6.3%	Volusia	8	2,821	0.5%	89.0	6.3%	Volusia	8	2,821	0.5%	89.0	6.3%
Washington	1	47,945	63.3%	82.1	28.3%	Washington	1	47,945	63.3%	82.1	28.3%	Washington	1	47,945	63.3%	82.1	28.3%
Washington	2	27,657	36.7%	587.9	42.7%	Washington	2	27,657	36.7%	587.9	42.7%	Washington	2	27,657	36.7%	587.9	42.7%

Split Counties and Cities

Plan H000C8015

City	Electricity used in major time zone (all day)				Electricity used in major time zone (all day)				Electricity used in major time zone (all day)				
	City	Dist.	Total Pop.	Total Area	City	Dist.	Total Pop.	Total Area	City	Dist.	Total Pop.	Total Area	
Cape Cod	18	5,422	4.3%	11.5	9.3%	18	5,422	4.3%	11.5	9.3%	18	5,422	4.3%
Cherryfield Beach	19	185,594	93.7%	1,083	90.7%	19	185,594	93.7%	1,083	90.7%	19	185,594	93.7%
Cherryfield Beach	20	17,968	37.2%	3.2	23.3%	20	17,968	37.2%	3.2	23.3%	20	17,968	37.2%
Fort Lauderdale	21	58,891	67.8%	12.4	76.3%	21	58,891	67.8%	12.4	76.3%	21	58,891	67.8%
Fort Lauderdale	22	56,418	33.0%	12.4	34.1%	22	56,418	33.0%	12.4	34.1%	22	56,418	33.0%
Fort Lauderdale	23	119,401	57.8%	18.6	51.7%	23	119,401	57.8%	18.6	51.7%	23	119,401	57.8%
Jacksonville	24	21,731	11.9%	4.3	14.7%	24	21,731	11.9%	4.3	14.7%	24	21,731	11.9%
Jacksonville	25	471,344	44.4%	396.2	41.3%	25	471,344	44.4%	396.2	41.3%	25	471,344	44.4%
Marietta	26	338,337	33.6%	478.3	34.7%	26	338,337	33.6%	478.3	34.7%	26	338,337	33.6%
Marietta	27	11,080	18.9%	1.6	17.8%	27	11,080	18.9%	1.6	17.8%	27	11,080	18.9%
Marietta	28	47,632	81.1%	7.4	82.2%	28	47,632	81.1%	7.4	82.2%	28	47,632	81.1%
Marietta	29	86,644	19.0%	14.1	25.1%	29	86,644	19.0%	14.1	25.1%	29	86,644	19.0%
Marietta	30	56,430	15.0%	5.7	10.1%	30	56,430	15.0%	5.7	10.1%	30	56,430	15.0%
Marietta	31	280,167	65.4%	36.3	54.8%	31	280,167	65.4%	36.3	54.8%	31	280,167	65.4%
Marietta	32	58,729	42.1%	6.9	22.3%	32	58,729	42.1%	6.9	22.3%	32	58,729	42.1%
Marietta	33	77,992	57.9%	24.2	77.7%	33	77,992	57.9%	24.2	77.7%	33	77,992	57.9%
Oakland Park	34	15,087	34.0%	3.5	19.0%	34	15,087	34.0%	3.5	19.0%	34	15,087	34.0%
Oakland Park	35	24,192	66.0%	4.7	57.0%	35	24,192	66.0%	4.7	57.0%	35	24,192	66.0%
Oakland Park	36	14,887	99.9%	10.2	100.0%	36	14,887	99.9%	10.2	100.0%	36	14,887	99.9%
Oakland Park	37	11	0.1%	0.0	0.0%	37	11	0.1%	0.0	0.0%	37	11	0.1%
Orange City	38	12,637	100.0%	7.9	100.0%	38	12,637	100.0%	7.9	100.0%	38	12,637	100.0%
Orange City	39	0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	39	0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	39	0	0.0%
Orlando	40	73,796	25.9%	60.6	51.0%	40	73,796	25.9%	60.6	51.0%	40	73,796	25.9%
Orlando	41	221,340	72.0%	55.4	46.6%	41	221,340	72.0%	55.4	46.6%	41	221,340	72.0%
Orlando	42	6,375	2.0%	2.4%	2.4%	42	6,375	2.0%	2.4%	2.4%	42	6,375	2.0%
Plant City	43	16,635	41.9%	7.8	27.5%	43	16,635	41.9%	7.8	27.5%	43	16,635	41.9%
Plant City	44	23,109	54.1%	20.7	72.5%	44	23,109	54.1%	20.7	72.5%	44	23,109	54.1%
Plant City	45	44,315	48.3%	9.3	42.0%	45	44,315	48.3%	9.3	42.0%	45	44,315	48.3%
Pensacola	46	47,415	51.7%	12.8	58.0%	46	47,415	51.7%	12.8	58.0%	46	47,415	51.7%
Pensacola	47	49,611	44.5%	10.9	44.1%	47	49,611	44.5%	10.9	44.1%	47	49,611	44.5%
Pensacola	48	62,285	55.5%	14.8	55.9%	48	62,285	55.5%	14.8	55.9%	48	62,285	55.5%
Pensacola	49	67,208	76.4%	18.8	65.3%	49	67,208	76.4%	18.8	65.3%	49	67,208	76.4%
Pine County	50	14,795	73.6%	17.0	34.7%	50	14,795	73.6%	17.0	34.7%	50	14,795	73.6%
Pine County	51	29,304	77.7%	6.8	70.7%	51	29,304	77.7%	6.8	70.7%	51	29,304	77.7%
Riviera Beach	52	8,400	22.3%	2.8	79.3%	52	8,400	22.3%	2.8	79.3%	52	8,400	22.3%
Riviera Beach	53	150,205	54.1%	72.8	70.1%	53	150,205	54.1%	72.8	70.1%	53	150,205	54.1%
Tallahassee	54	88,965	45.9%	31.0	29.9%	54	88,965	45.9%	31.0	29.9%	54	88,965	45.9%
Tallahassee	55	285,631	74.5%	137.5	78.2%	55	285,631	74.5%	137.5	78.2%	55	285,631	74.5%
Tampa	56	98,318	23.5%	38.4	21.8%	56	98,318	23.5%	38.4	21.8%	56	98,318	23.5%
Tampa	57	50,919	51.0%	15.1	26.0%	57	50,919	51.0%	15.1	26.0%	57	50,919	51.0%
West Palm Beach	58	21,937	13.7%	34.9	80.2%	58	21,937	13.7%	34.9	80.2%	58	21,937	13.7%
West Palm Beach	59	35,359	30.3%	8.0	13.8%	59	35,359	30.3%	8.0	13.8%	59	35,359	30.3%

3/3/2022

Functional Analysis - Summary

Plan H000C8015

Page 5

Circ	2020 Census				2021 General Election Registered Voters											
	Black	White	Hispanic	Other	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP
5	13.4%	86.6%	0.2%	0.2%	53.76%	26.68%	13.56%	44.22%	4.80%	13.09%	2.78%	13.21%	43.44%	20.43%	35.05%	67.53%
9	13.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.0%	41.74%	23.21%	33.03%	9.40%	17.97%	3.98%	3.20%	18.97%	45.53%	13.90%	39.64%	67.1%
10	13.4%	86.6%	0.0%	0.0%	46.56%	25.41%	28.23%	24.53%	17.36%	77.83%	3.20%	18.97%	45.53%	13.90%	39.64%	67.1%
20	13.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.0%	61.33%	19.75%	24.85%	44.82%	15.27%	51.47%	2.53%	15.08%	45.07%	17.38%	36.51%	62.70%
24	13.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.0%	60.64%	23.53%	27.37%	44.82%	22.87%	52.62%	2.44%	14.98%	42.13%	20.07%	37.19%	62.70%
26	13.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.0%	50.63%	37.67%	32.13%	5.61%	17.70%	77.83%	4.05%	17.62%	29.05%	36.02%	36.77%	60.56%
27	13.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.0%	54.57%	33.93%	32.04%	6.14%	17.70%	77.83%	3.69%	17.62%	28.05%	38.90%	35.00%	60.56%
28	10.32%	89.68%	0.0%	0.0%	53.02%	32.58%	34.51%	8.08%	17.70%	77.83%	3.48%	18.87%	28.78%	35.18%	35.75%	60.56%

3/3/2022

Functional Analysis - Summary

Page 6

Plan H000C8015

Dist	2023 Census				Average Primary Election District				Voter who are				DEM who are				Average General Election District				High Voters who are				General Election Performance by Statewide Election 2013-2020			
	White	Black	DEM	REP	White	Black	DEM	REP	White	Black	DEM	REP	White	Black	DEM	REP	White	Black	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP	DEM	REP		
5	43.48%	9.24%	66.19%	1.13%	2.72%	1.51%	57.37%	29.38%	13.25%	66.06%	2.50%	3.25%	2.67%	25.84%	6.54%	89.62%	2.25%	8.10%	45.17%	25.04%	28.23%	57.66%	40.0%	14	0	D +40.9%	D -15.3%	D -17.2%
9	31.15%	24.60%	19.07%	36.32%	1.06%	1.75%	43.53%	29.04%	27.43%	17.82%	13.40%	1.33%	15.04%	0.20%	42.85%	78.60%	3.91%	17.42%	52.61%	15.52%	31.64%	57.2%	41.0%	12	2	D +14.0%	D +0.5%	D +16.6%
10	24.81%	24.60%	44.80%	8.28%	1.75%	4.80%	45.65%	31.63%	21.72%	42.47%	13.40%	2.08%	7.11%	13.84%	17.55%	84.33%	2.79%	12.94%	50.78%	18.74%	30.87%	58.3%	40.0%	11	2	D +31%	D +0.3%	D +19.8%
20	46.11%	27.90%	84.90%	4.45%	6.38%	10.02%	66.45%	14.54%	18.97%	62.40%	8.78%	6.96%	14.88%	28.23%	19.00%	86.64%	7.11%	11.18%	49.92%	18.74%	31.05%	78.4%	20.9%	14	0	D +65.7%	D +51%	D +57.8%
24	40.13%	28.62%	68.02%	10.67%	5.87%	10.02%	65.57%	12.25%	21.17%	64.27%	15.70%	7.35%	13.92%	21.00%	34.66%	87.54%	1.88%	10.54%	44.74%	23.50%	31.60%	80.3%	18.9%	14	0	D +65%	D +48.9%	D +61.5%
26	7.11%	2.40%	20.85%	46.24%	0.07%	0.39%	31.55%	42.55%	25.91%	16.84%	54.40%	0.52%	38.42%	2.88%	65.42%	81.43%	3.55%	12.06%	29.02%	42.50%	28.67%	43.5%	55.2%	7	0	R +21.2%	R +0.5%	R +11.0%
27	7.07%	2.40%	17.86%	36.74%	0.39%	0.50%	35.72%	38.10%	26.18%	15.24%	45.47%	0.53%	72.01%	5.40%	63.12%	83.81%	3.12%	12.96%	26.84%	49.71%	27.44%	50.6%	48.3%	9	5	O +17.3%	R +0.5%	D +1.7%
28	10.32%	2.56%	22.56%	36.21%	0.50%	0.50%	33.69%	38.7%	27.55%	21.17%	47.57%	0.76%	66.17%	4.66%	64.29%	82.78%	3.05%	14.07%	28.65%	41.31%	30.00%	50.7%	48.0%	9	5	D +15.7%	R +2.2%	D -3%

3/3/2022

Functional Analysis - Returns

Page 7

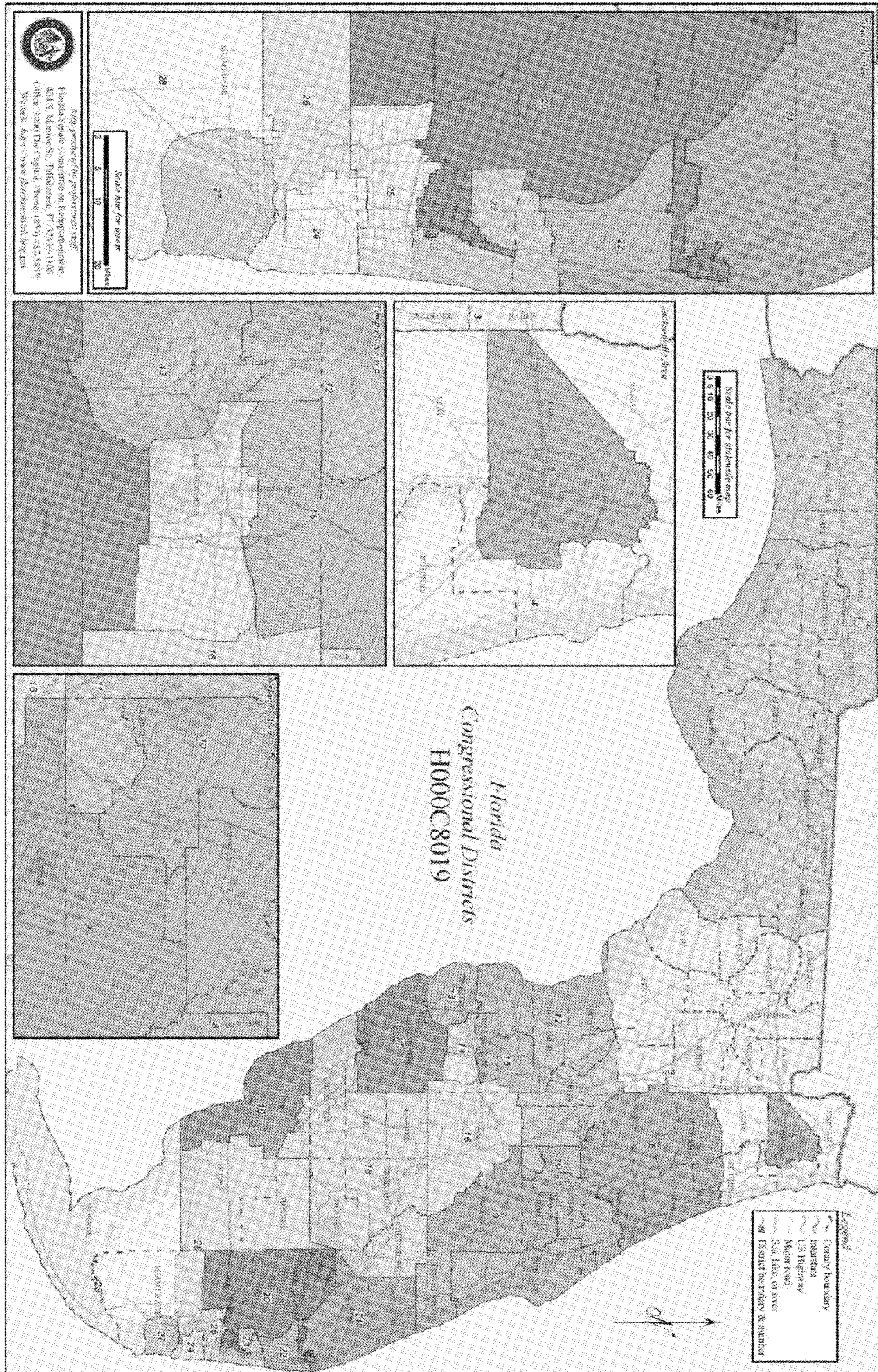
Plan H00000015		5	9	10	11	14	16	17	28
Primary Elections		BYAP 9.24%	13.13%	28.32%	50.11%	42.17%	7.11%	7.07%	10.31%
Governor (REP)	R. Balisat	0.73%	0.53%	0.70%	1.45%	1.93%	1.86%	1.51%	1.82%
	R. Desantis	20.16%	52.33%	49.98%	62.28%	66.34%	67.70%	67.70%	67.71%
	R. DeSantis	1.13%	1.97%	1.45%	2.05%	3.26%	2.81%	3.13%	3.31%
	R. Longford	1.13%	1.47%	1.87%	1.89%	1.99%	1.41%	1.56%	1.70%
	R. Mercadante	0.45%	1.29%	0.75%	1.53%	2.21%	1.86%	2.16%	2.03%
Governor (DEM)	R. Nathan	0.73%	0.91%	0.82%	1.52%	2.71%	1.10%	1.41%	1.41%
	R. Patram	40.80%	38.28%	42.16%	25.44%	16.79%	21.84%	18.87%	18.11%
	R. White	1.60%	2.65%	2.06%	2.84%	3.90%	2.58%	3.49%	3.51%
	D. Gilliam	58.22%	30.12%	43.54%	53.43%	50.66%	28.57%	28.97%	31.80%
	D. Graham	22.15%	28.52%	29.90%	13.31%	11.07%	20.77%	22.66%	21.12%
Attorney General (REP)	D. Greene	5.78%	14.13%	8.51%	10.21%	9.33%	9.95%	7.98%	10.56%
	D. King	1.44%	4.21%	4.78%	0.91%	0.76%	2.47%	1.56%	2.11%
	D. Levine	10.87%	19.02%	17.06%	21.28%	27.36%	34.05%	37.17%	36.26%
	D. Lundmark	0.48%	1.17%	0.43%	0.29%	0.38%	1.42%	0.79%	0.90%
	D. Veltrebeck	0.84%	1.63%	0.67%	0.37%	0.32%	1.37%	0.76%	0.96%
Attorney General (DEM)	R. Moody	57.29%	58.31%	36.10%	55.46%	59.14%	52.04%	54.81%	54.83%
	R. White	42.21%	45.68%	43.62%	44.16%	46.51%	47.93%	45.27%	45.11%
	D. Shaw	78.60%	60.80%	74.52%	81.41%	82.21%	85.09%	79.10%	69.58%
	D. Torres	21.48%	39.20%	25.40%	18.58%	17.77%	33.87%	25.97%	30.43%
	R. Galavotti	35.47%	38.31%	34.41%	43.07%	39.87%	43.31%	40.18%	41.08%
Agriculture Commissioner (REP)	R. Grimsley	20.72%	31.33%	31.13%	26.45%	31.49%	29.28%	32.66%	31.53%
	R. McCallister	8.64%	16.42%	15.37%	20.87%	16.88%	12.74%	16.76%	16.54%
	R. Troutman	34.98%	15.21%	19.04%	8.59%	11.33%	15.55%	10.38%	9.57%
	D. Fried	60.27%	55.02%	55.68%	63.96%	59.13%	51.02%	59.89%	53.23%
	D. Porter	19.99%	18.80%	16.95%	16.09%	17.30%	20.36%	15.15%	20.47%
Agriculture Commissioner (DEM)	D. Walker	18.99%	26.22%	27.41%	19.91%	23.59%	28.37%	24.89%	26.19%
	R. De La Puente	10.03%	9.94%	12.08%	15.12%	15.72%	9.61%	12.64%	11.23%
	R. Scott	88.92%	90.04%	87.88%	84.46%	84.02%	90.34%	87.34%	87.83%
	R. Beroff	22.63%	17.33%	17.72%	14.86%	8.89%	9.21%	5.63%	6.40%
	R. Rivera	3.62%	3.35%	2.39%	4.55%	3.20%	2.21%	1.52%	2.29%
US Senate (REP)	R. Rubio	67.77%	71.55%	74.24%	70.37%	80.78%	84.85%	88.89%	85.70%
	R. Young	5.77%	7.64%	3.46%	9.04%	7.31%	3.65%	3.50%	4.84%
	D. De La Puente	4.09%	15.35%	4.00%	3.13%	5.63%	19.80%	12.21%	13.69%
	D. Grayson	17.41%	45.21%	38.94%	10.08%	10.80%	11.46%	11.25%	11.07%
	D. Keith	15.22%	9.85%	11.54%	14.72%	13.76%	14.16%	17.89%	15.57%
US Senate (DEM)	D. Luster	12.35%	13.31%	2.11%	2.22%	2.70%	1.97%	1.53%	1.63%
	D. Murphy	50.72%	28.14%	41.23%	69.53%	65.98%	52.07%	56.92%	57.52%
	R. Adesina	1.29%	1.74%	1.86%	2.51%	2.89%	1.45%	1.82%	1.75%
	R. Cueva Norder	7.97%	12.33%	10.24%	14.70%	16.26%	10.38%	13.29%	15.11%
	R. Scott	90.59%	85.81%	87.79%	81.70%	87.99%	84.83%	84.83%	82.94%
Governor (DEM)	D. Crid	74.06%	76.41%	77.86%	82.45%	84.36%	76.00%	79.98%	78.45%
	D. Rich	25.83%	23.58%	22.27%	16.99%	15.62%	23.65%	25.94%	21.30%
	D. Sheldon	66.76%	60.80%	50.70%	38.33%	46.04%	61.45%	66.55%	61.36%
	D. Thurston	39.20%	39.06%	49.15%	61.50%	53.40%	38.12%	34.43%	38.41%
	R. Mack	57.94%	49.02%	58.53%	65.27%	71.89%	73.40%	77.15%	73.63%
Attorney General (DEM)	R. McCallister	18.40%	12.08%	10.13%	17.41%	6.67%	8.19%	5.27%	7.31%
	R. Stuart	5.99%	6.81%	4.77%	6.66%	13.36%	12.07%	13.08%	13.19%
	R. Weidman	17.27%	31.78%	26.25%	13.82%	7.69%	6.14%	4.50%	5.63%
	D. Burnett	22.15%	19.73%	13.70%	13.97%	14.22%	21.30%	14.82%	18.34%
	D. Nelson	77.78%	80.23%	86.25%	88.94%	85.75%	76.45%	83.13%	81.50%

3/3/2022

Functional Analysis - Returns

Page 8

Plan HQ/CB015		BVAP	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
General Electors		HVAP	9.24%	13.13%	28.82%	24.67%	22.90%	20.13%	42.17%	7.11%	7.07%	10.32%	7.07%
2000	President	D. Biden	59.69%	58.35%	62.76%	75.69%	74.38%	47.33%	49.45%	46.47%	46.47%	46.47%	46.47%
		R. Trump	39.14%	40.65%	38.13%	23.52%	25.28%	52.66%	50.01%	53.49%	53.49%	53.49%	53.49%
	Governor	D. Gillum	61.72%	61.57%	63.30%	79.93%	81.45%	44.85%	53.18%	52.49%	52.49%	52.49%	52.49%
		R. Desantis	37.39%	37.08%	35.67%	19.45%	17.83%	55.70%	45.75%	45.75%	45.75%	45.75%	45.75%
2012	Attorney General	D. Shaw	58.44%	58.23%	59.28%	78.44%	80.05%	43.09%	51.99%	50.86%	50.86%	50.86%	50.86%
		R. McAdy	40.00%	39.75%	38.97%	20.26%	18.30%	54.90%	48.10%	48.94%	48.94%	48.94%	48.94%
	Chief Financial Officer	D. Ring	59.81%	60.69%	61.24%	79.79%	81.52%	44.45%	52.59%	51.92%	51.92%	51.92%	51.92%
		R. Perrotis	40.35%	39.31%	38.75%	20.20%	18.46%	55.55%	47.41%	48.07%	48.07%	48.07%	48.07%
2013	Agriculture Commissioner	D. Fried	60.54%	62.07%	63.21%	80.09%	82.00%	45.64%	54.69%	53.44%	53.44%	53.44%	53.44%
		R. Caldwell	39.45%	37.93%	36.79%	19.89%	18.00%	54.35%	45.35%	46.56%	46.56%	46.56%	46.56%
	US Senate	K. Scott	38.55%	39.74%	36.69%	20.00%	18.64%	54.79%	45.53%	46.55%	46.55%	46.55%	46.55%
	President	D. Clinton	57.86%	61.80%	60.80%	77.83%	81.05%	53.27%	57.42%	56.46%	56.46%	56.46%	56.46%
2015	US Senate	R. Rubio	52.11%	54.98%	55.62%	75.64%	75.93%	41.07%	47.70%	47.69%	47.69%	47.69%	47.69%
		K. Rubio	44.58%	40.91%	40.45%	22.42%	21.59%	56.70%	50.17%	48.93%	48.93%	48.93%	48.93%
	Governor	D. Crist	55.04%	52.94%	55.47%	79.92%	82.18%	41.24%	50.00%	51.20%	51.20%	51.20%	51.20%
		R. Scott	40.89%	42.21%	39.64%	17.97%	16.24%	56.08%	47.55%	45.82%	45.82%	45.82%	45.82%
2014	Attorney General	D. Sheldon	52.20%	48.95%	52.75%	75.13%	79.80%	38.85%	46.03%	45.82%	45.82%	45.82%	45.82%
		R. Bondi	45.27%	48.12%	44.23%	22.43%	18.77%	60.82%	51.06%	51.75%	51.75%	51.75%	51.75%
	Chief Financial Officer	D. Rantini	52.64%	49.04%	49.58%	75.48%	79.06%	38.24%	43.49%	43.87%	43.87%	43.87%	43.87%
		R. Altavator	47.34%	50.95%	50.40%	24.50%	20.95%	61.75%	56.57%	54.11%	54.11%	54.11%	54.11%
2012	Agriculture Commissioner	D. Hamilton	54.74%	47.88%	49.85%	77.02%	79.70%	37.88%	44.30%	46.04%	46.04%	46.04%	46.04%
		K. Putnam	45.25%	52.11%	50.15%	22.99%	20.21%	62.11%	55.69%	53.95%	53.95%	53.95%	53.95%
	President	D. Obama	60.17%	61.57%	59.68%	80.63%	82.82%	49.53%	52.22%	54.83%	54.83%	54.83%	54.83%
		R. Romney	39.01%	37.59%	39.48%	19.06%	16.83%	49.98%	47.27%	44.61%	44.61%	44.61%	44.61%
2012	US Senate	D. Nelson	64.24%	65.05%	64.54%	81.97%	83.46%	51.33%	54.47%	56.33%	56.33%	56.33%	56.33%
		R. Mack	33.30%	31.47%	33.54%	16.52%	15.49%	45.57%	44.15%	47.03%	47.03%	47.03%	47.03%



3/1/2022

Census and Boundary Statistics

Plan H000C8019

Dist	Deviation		Voting Age Population			Permi	Convey			Counties		Cities		Political and Geographic Boundaries						
	Total	%	Black	Hisp	(sq mi)		All	Paper	Ratio	Whole	Parts	Whole	Parts	City	County	Road	Water	Rail	Non-Pol/Geo	
1	0	0.00%	13.54%	6.69%	4,416	341	0.87	0.48	0.54	3	1	16	0	8%	78%	10%	53%	0%	3%	
2	0	0.00%	23.09%	6.47%	12,839	578	0.82	0.48	0.46	14	2	50	0	5%	84%	7%	49%	0%	3%	
3	0	0.00%	15.61%	9.97%	8,230	443	0.91	0.53	0.53	10	2	41	0	5%	82%	3%	31%	0%	13%	
4	0	0.00%	8.91%	7.95%	2,190	408	0.68	0.17	0.40	2	2	12	1	25%	80%	5%	46%	0%	10%	
5	0	0.00%	35.33%	10.75%	620	131	0.90	0.45	0.52	0	1	1	1	65%	65%	10%	29%	1%	21%	
6	0	0.00%	10.89%	9.69%	3,856	312	0.92	0.50	0.71	2	4	21	2	14%	49%	14%	37%	0%	15%	
7	0	0.00%	11.42%	21.14%	914	169	0.82	0.40	0.50	1	2	12	2	26%	47%	19%	31%	0%	15%	
8	0	0.00%	9.69%	10.00%	2,263	272	0.81	0.38	0.29	2	1	22	0	3%	92%	1%	54%	0%	2%	
9	0	0.00%	13.13%	50.68%	1,956	270	0.86	0.34	0.48	1	1	2	1	2%	86%	10%	36%	0%	4%	
10	0	0.00%	28.80%	24.60%	377	110	0.77	0.39	0.50	0	1	9	1	20%	55%	23%	20%	0%	15%	
11	0	0.00%	8.53%	15.87%	1,923	274	0.79	0.32	0.36	1	4	22	1	12%	48%	15%	17%	1%	29%	
12	0	0.00%	4.53%	10.60%	2,089	312	0.61	0.27	0.40	1	3	7	1	10%	72%	6%	57%	0%	13%	
13	0	0.00%	11.61%	9.77%	675	112	0.91	0.63	0.68	0	1	21	1	44%	70%	0%	86%	0%	1%	
14	0	0.00%	20.26%	26.06%	466	104	0.87	0.53	0.45	0	1	0	2	23%	19%	28%	32%	1%	36%	
15	0	0.00%	13.09%	26.65%	816	146	0.84	0.49	0.47	0	2	5	1	7%	51%	39%	6%	7%	7%	
16	0	0.00%	14.94%	23.21%	2,198	255	0.92	0.42	0.52	1	1	17	1	2%	84%	2%	26%	3%	12%	
17	0	0.00%	7.55%	14.29%	1,953	207	0.92	0.57	0.50	1	2	7	0	22%	57%	5%	51%	0%	14%	
18	0	0.00%	7.67%	15.79%	5,827	404	0.82	0.45	0.48	6	2	12	1	13%	74%	6%	29%	0%	4%	
19	0	0.00%	5.55%	15.79%	1,867	247	0.78	0.38	0.33	0	2	7	1	13%	62%	14%	61%	0%	8%	
20	0	0.00%	30.11%	22.98%	2,297	330	0.77	0.28	0.50	0	2	13	8	28%	37%	15%	13%	3%	22%	
21	0	0.00%	12.46%	15.14%	1,888	219	0.82	0.49	0.50	2	1	16	2	9%	66%	7%	46%	0%	16%	
22	-1	0.00%	15.88%	24.65%	345	102	0.74	0.42	0.44	0	1	19	1	36%	24%	18%	36%	0%	24%	
23	0	0.00%	13.17%	20.51%	264	105	0.79	0.29	0.50	0	2	11	5	26%	28%	16%	38%	9%	20%	
24	0	0.00%	40.11%	38.46%	183	69	0.90	0.48	0.48	0	2	18	2	36%	36%	32%	46%	0%	10%	
25	0	0.00%	17.52%	42.26%	237	88	0.81	0.38	0.42	0	1	8	3	64%	29%	12%	20%	0%	15%	
26	0	0.00%	7.11%	7.43%	3,684	365	0.67	0.35	0.40	1	2	10	1	9%	69%	20%	19%	0%	4%	
27	0	0.00%	7.07%	4.43%	281	70	0.95	0.73	0.71	0	1	7	1	10%	18%	34%	59%	0%	7%	
28	0	0.00%	10.37%	4.43%	6,710	591	0.55	0.24	0.22	1	1	8	0	1%	88%	8%	85%	0%	1%	

District lines and City and County Boundaries	In Plan H000C8019
Number of Counties	67
Counties with only one district	49
Districts with only one county	7
Counties split into more than one district	18
Counties with all population in a single district	49
Aggregate number of county splits	48
Aggregate number of splits with population	48
Number of Cities	412
Cities with only one district	394
Cities split into more than one district	18
Cities with all population in only one district	395
Aggregate number of city splits	40
Aggregate number of splits with population	39

Overall numbers of county and city splits:

3/1/2022

Split Counties and Cities

Page 3

Plan H000C8019

Counties included in more than one district										Counties included in more than one district										Counties included in more than one district										
County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	County	Dist	
Broward	23	555,532	21.5%	899.4	62.0%	13.1%				Broward	23	555,532	21.5%	899.4	62.0%	13.1%				Broward	23	555,532	21.5%	899.4	62.0%	13.1%				
Broward	24	78,119	4.0%	10.9	0.8%					Broward	24	78,119	4.0%	10.9	0.8%					Broward	24	78,119	4.0%	10.9	0.8%					
Broward	25	789,321	39.0%	356.7	18.1%					Broward	25	789,321	39.0%	356.7	18.1%					Broward	25	789,321	39.0%	356.7	18.1%					
Citrus	11	55,536	62.0%	346.2	36.0%					Citrus	11	55,536	62.0%	346.2	36.0%					Citrus	11	55,536	62.0%	346.2	36.0%					
Citrus	12	58,507	38.0%	614.5	64.0%					Citrus	12	58,507	38.0%	614.5	64.0%					Citrus	12	58,507	38.0%	614.5	64.0%					
Collier	19	201,547	53.4%	67.68	3.4%					Collier	19	201,547	53.4%	67.68	3.4%					Collier	19	201,547	53.4%	67.68	3.4%					
Collier	26	170,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%					Collier	26	170,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%					Collier	26	170,505	46.4%	1,978.3	75.9%					
Duval	4	226,346	22.7%	296.6	31.2%					Duval	4	226,346	22.7%	296.6	31.2%					Duval	4	226,346	22.7%	296.6	31.2%					
Duval	5	789,321	77.2%	6,193	67.2%					Duval	5	789,321	77.2%	6,193	67.2%					Duval	5	789,321	77.2%	6,193	67.2%					
Halberton	14	555,542	52.7%	4,363	24.7%					Halberton	14	555,542	52.7%	4,363	24.7%					Halberton	14	555,542	52.7%	4,363	24.7%					
Halberton	15	44,175	3.0%	1,080	14.1%					Halberton	15	44,175	3.0%	1,080	14.1%					Halberton	15	44,175	3.0%	1,080	14.1%					
Halberton	17	112,772	7.7%	3,552	26.7%					Halberton	17	112,772	7.7%	3,552	26.7%					Halberton	17	112,772	7.7%	3,552	26.7%					
Lafayette	2	1,731	2.0%	433	7.2%					Lafayette	2	1,731	2.0%	433	7.2%					Lafayette	2	1,731	2.0%	433	7.2%					
Lake	6	6,495	79.0%	504.6	92.1%					Lake	6	6,495	79.0%	504.6	92.1%					Lake	6	6,495	79.0%	504.6	92.1%					
Lake	11	277,145	72.2%	2,750	42.1%					Lake	11	277,145	72.2%	2,750	42.1%					Lake	11	277,145	72.2%	2,750	42.1%					
Lee	18	154,348	15.4%	1,154	39.2%					Lee	18	154,348	15.4%	1,154	39.2%					Lee	18	154,348	15.4%	1,154	39.2%					
Lee	19	967,914	74.7%	1,219	81.9%					Lee	19	967,914	74.7%	1,219	81.9%					Lee	19	967,914	74.7%	1,219	81.9%					
Manatee	3	206,535	53.0%	6,156	97.0%					Manatee	3	206,535	53.0%	6,156	97.0%					Manatee	3	206,535	53.0%	6,156	97.0%					
Manatee	6	56,445	23.3%	863.7	32.1%					Manatee	6	56,445	23.3%	863.7	32.1%					Manatee	6	56,445	23.3%	863.7	32.1%					
Manatee	11	72,078	19.5%	1,004	10.5%					Manatee	11	72,078	19.5%	1,004	10.5%					Manatee	11	72,078	19.5%	1,004	10.5%					
Manatee	24	681,102	23.6%	172.0	7.2%					Manatee	24	681,102	23.6%	172.0	7.2%					Manatee	24	681,102	23.6%	172.0	7.2%					
Manatee	25	555,587	29.6%	516.5	11.8%					Manatee	25	555,587	29.6%	516.5	11.8%					Manatee	25	555,587	29.6%	516.5	11.8%					
Manatee	27	789,321	28.5%	2,807	99.4%					Manatee	27	789,321	28.5%	2,807	99.4%					Manatee	27	789,321	28.5%	2,807	99.4%					
Manatee	28	686,547	25.4%	2,420.1	99.4%					Manatee	28	686,547	25.4%	2,420.1	99.4%					Manatee	28	686,547	25.4%	2,420.1	99.4%					
Orange	7	85,712	6.0%	282	2.9%					Orange	7	85,712	6.0%	282	2.9%					Orange	7	85,712	6.0%	282	2.9%					
Orange	9	380,565	26.8%	4,500	44.8%					Orange	9	380,565	26.8%	4,500	44.8%					Orange	9	380,565	26.8%	4,500	44.8%					
Orange	10	789,321	50.8%	37.0	37.6%					Orange	10	789,321	50.8%	37.0	37.6%					Orange	10	789,321	50.8%	37.0	37.6%					
Orange	11	156,110	13.6%	147.3	14.7%					Orange	11	156,110	13.6%	147.3	14.7%					Orange	11	156,110	13.6%	147.3	14.7%					
Orange	21	245,895	15.2%	1,307.8	62.3%					Orange	21	245,895	15.2%	1,307.8	62.3%					Orange	21	245,895	15.2%	1,307.8	62.3%					
Orange	22	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	22	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	22	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	23	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	23	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	23	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	24	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	24	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	24	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	25	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	25	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	25	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	26	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	26	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	26	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	27	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	27	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	27	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	28	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	28	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	28	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	29	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	29	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	29	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	30	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	30	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	30	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	31	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	31	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	31	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	32	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	32	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	32	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	33	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	33	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	33	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	34	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	34	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	34	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	35	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	35	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	35	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	36	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	36	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	36	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	37	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	37	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	37	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	38	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	38	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	38	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	39	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	39	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	39	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	40	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	40	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	40	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	41	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	41	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	41	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	42	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	42	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	42	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	43	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	43	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	43	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					
Orange	44	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					Orange	44	789,321	18.9%	447.3	18.9%					4										

3/1/2022

Functional Analysis - Summary

Page 5

Plan H000C8019

Dist.	2020 Census										2020 Summary of Expected Budgeted Values										
	YAF who are:	DEM	REP	OTH	Black	White	Hispanic	Black/Asian who are:	DEM	REP	OTH	Hispanic	Black/Asian who are:	DEM	REP	OTH	Hispanic	Black/Asian who are:	DEM	REP	OTH
5	35.32%	10.75%	46.52%	31.48%	22.20%	9.40%	24.83%	5.87%	71.95%	3.39%	15.03%	40.04%	23.13%	36.85%	61.33%	5.07%	3.75%	4.31%	23.56%	51.41%	9.74%
9	13.13%	36.44%	41.24%	23.23%	32.03%	24.53%	27.16%	45.43%	77.85%	3.20%	18.97%	45.03%	13.80%	39.44%	16.21%	50.62%	1.61%	26.98%	6.46%	23.16%	16.47%
10	18.60%	24.60%	46.56%	25.41%	28.23%	24.53%	27.16%	45.43%	77.85%	3.20%	18.97%	45.03%	13.80%	39.44%	16.21%	50.62%	1.61%	26.98%	6.46%	23.16%	16.47%
20	8.11%	22.98%	61.33%	13.79%	24.88%	46.83%	15.27%	61.47%	2.53%	15.98%	45.07%	14.94%	38.11%	36.51%	62.07%	17.37%	3.09%	10.08%	16.47%	23.16%	16.47%
24	21.27%	28.46%	60.05%	12.50%	27.37%	46.83%	15.27%	61.47%	2.53%	15.98%	45.07%	14.94%	38.11%	36.51%	62.07%	17.37%	3.09%	10.08%	16.47%	23.16%	16.47%
26	7.11%	24.11%	30.43%	37.47%	34.10%	5.62%	22.83%	77.85%	4.40%	17.02%	39.03%	36.02%	36.77%	37.09%	60.56%	14.58%	0.66%	60.18%	3.09%	66.03%	66.03%
27	7.07%	24.11%	34.27%	33.59%	33.99%	6.10%	22.83%	77.85%	3.69%	17.02%	38.03%	35.00%	35.00%	35.00%	60.56%	14.58%	0.66%	60.18%	3.09%	66.03%	66.03%
28	10.42%	24.11%	33.52%	32.58%	33.51%	8.08%	22.83%	77.85%	3.44%	18.97%	28.76%	35.48%	35.75%	35.75%	60.56%	14.58%	0.92%	60.18%	3.09%	66.03%	66.03%

Functional Analysis - Summary

Plan H0000C8019

[illegible]

3/1/2022

Functional Analysis - Returns

Page 7

HISTORICAL		5	9	10	23	24	26	27	28
Primary Functions		HAAP	HAAP	HAAP	HAAP	HAAP	HAAP	HAAP	HAAP
2018	Attorney General (REP)	R. Baldeuf	0.71%	0.59%	0.70%	1.45%	1.93%	1.86%	1.52%
	R. Desantis	58.21%	52.35%	49.98%	62.28%	66.81%	60.34%	67.70%	67.72%
	R. Devine	1.18%	1.57%	1.44%	2.05%	3.26%	2.61%	3.13%	3.31%
	R. Langford	1.01%	1.47%	1.87%	1.87%	1.93%	1.41%	1.56%	1.70%
	R. Merchante	0.51%	1.29%	0.75%	1.53%	2.21%	1.65%	2.10%	2.03%
	R. Nathan	0.76%	0.51%	0.82%	1.52%	2.71%	1.10%	1.41%	1.41%
	R. Putnam	34.98%	38.28%	42.16%	25.44%	16.79%	21.84%	18.87%	18.11%
	R. White	1.57%	2.65%	2.06%	2.84%	3.00%	2.58%	3.49%	3.51%
	D. Gillum	54.23%	30.12%	43.54%	53.43%	30.66%	23.57%	28.97%	31.80%
	D. Greene	21.58%	29.52%	29.90%	13.31%	11.07%	20.77%	22.68%	21.13%
2017	Governor (DEM)	D. King	1.70%	4.25%	4.78%	0.91%	0.76%	2.47%	1.58%
	D. Levine	14.26%	13.02%	12.08%	21.28%	27.38%	34.05%	37.17%	32.46%
	D. Lundmark	0.48%	1.17%	0.43%	0.29%	0.38%	1.42%	0.79%	0.90%
	D. Weatherbee	0.76%	1.63%	0.67%	0.37%	0.32%	1.32%	0.70%	0.90%
	R. Moody	57.28%	54.31%	56.33%	55.46%	53.14%	52.04%	54.81%	54.83%
	R. White	42.75%	45.68%	43.67%	44.16%	46.91%	47.93%	45.20%	45.11%
	D. Shaw	75.06%	60.80%	74.52%	81.41%	82.23%	65.09%	74.10%	66.58%
	D. Torrens	24.04%	39.20%	25.49%	18.58%	17.77%	33.87%	25.90%	30.43%
	R. Caldwell	32.18%	36.31%	34.31%	43.02%	39.87%	44.31%	40.18%	47.08%
	R. Ginnley	16.70%	31.95%	31.13%	26.45%	31.49%	20.28%	32.68%	31.53%
2016	Agriculture Commissioner (REP)	R. McCalister	7.96%	16.42%	15.37%	20.87%	16.88%	12.74%	16.76%
	R. Troutman	43.14%	15.21%	19.04%	8.59%	11.33%	15.55%	10.38%	9.57%
	D. Fried	62.76%	55.00%	55.66%	63.96%	59.13%	51.02%	59.89%	53.25%
	D. Porter	20.10%	18.82%	16.93%	16.09%	17.30%	23.46%	15.13%	20.42%
	D. Walker	17.12%	26.22%	27.41%	19.91%	22.59%	23.37%	24.89%	26.19%
	R. De La Puente	9.48%	9.94%	12.04%	15.12%	15.71%	9.81%	12.84%	12.23%
	R. Scott	90.52%	90.04%	87.88%	84.68%	84.07%	90.24%	87.84%	87.65%
	US Senate (REP)	R. Benoit	23.79%	17.33%	17.72%	14.86%	8.38%	9.21%	5.65%
	R. Rivera	3.30%	3.35%	2.30%	4.55%	3.20%	2.21%	1.02%	2.95%
	R. Rubio	67.90%	71.55%	74.24%	70.37%	80.78%	84.85%	88.59%	85.70%
2015	US Senate (REP)	R. Young	5.02%	7.64%	5.44%	9.04%	7.31%	3.65%	3.50%
	D. De La Puente	3.44%	15.35%	4.00%	3.13%	5.63%	13.80%	12.21%	13.69%
	D. Grayson	11.84%	45.21%	39.94%	10.08%	10.80%	11.46%	11.26%	11.07%
	D. Keith	15.88%	9.85%	12.58%	14.72%	13.76%	14.16%	17.89%	15.57%
	D. Lister	17.28%	1.31%	2.13%	2.22%	2.70%	1.97%	1.55%	1.65%
	D. Murphy	51.70%	28.14%	41.29%	69.33%	66.98%	52.07%	58.90%	57.52%
	R. Adeshina	0.96%	1.74%	1.86%	2.51%	7.89%	1.45%	1.81%	1.75%
	R. Cuevas Neundor	6.83%	12.33%	10.24%	14.70%	16.26%	10.35%	13.29%	15.11%
	R. Scott	92.24%	85.81%	87.79%	81.70%	80.61%	87.99%	84.83%	82.94%
	D. Ciri	60.30%	76.41%	77.66%	81.88%	84.36%	76.00%	73.98%	78.45%
2014	Governor (DEM)	D. Rich	30.37%	23.59%	22.27%	16.99%	15.67%	23.65%	21.30%
	D. Sheldon	58.73%	60.90%	50.76%	38.39%	46.60%	61.45%	65.55%	61.36%
	D. Thurston	41.26%	59.06%	49.18%	49.18%	51.40%	38.12%	54.43%	58.41%
	Attorney General (DEM)	R. Mack	62.89%	49.02%	58.59%	65.27%	71.88%	73.40%	77.15%
	R. McCalister	16.59%	12.06%	10.13%	12.41%	6.67%	8.19%	5.22%	7.31%
	R. Stuart	5.77%	6.81%	4.77%	6.66%	13.36%	12.07%	13.00%	13.19%
	R. Walden	14.86%	31.78%	26.25%	13.82%	7.69%	6.14%	4.50%	5.63%
	D. Burkett	21.01%	19.73%	13.70%	13.92%	14.22%	21.30%	14.82%	18.34%
	D. Nelson	78.89%	80.25%	86.28%	85.94%	86.75%	78.65%	81.13%	81.50%
	US Senate (DEM)	D. Nelson	78.89%	80.25%	86.28%	85.94%	86.75%	78.65%	81.50%

3/1/2022

Functional Analysis - Returns

Page 8

	Plan H000C015											
	General Elections		BWAP	5	6	10	20	24	26	27	28	
2020	HAWAII		10.75%	10.34%	24.63%	22.99%	28.46%	75.41%	74.86%	70.33%	70.33%	
	President	D. Biden	55.58%	55.35%	61.78%	76.89%	74.18%	40.31%	49.45%	46.47%		
	Governor	D. Trump	43.11%	40.65%	36.18%	23.52%	25.28%	59.13%	50.18%	52.99%		
		D. Gillum	36.70%	61.55%	63.30%	73.93%	81.48%	44.85%	53.18%	52.49%		
		R. Desantis	42.37%	37.08%	35.67%	19.45%	17.83%	53.76%	45.75%	46.31%		
2018	Attorney General	D. Shaw	53.03%	58.22%	59.28%	78.44%	80.05%	43.09%	51.97%	50.88%		
	Chief Financial Officer	45.35%	39.76%	38.97%	20.6%	18.39%	54.96%	46.10%	46.95%			
		D. Ring	39.22%	60.69%	61.24%	79.79%	81.53%	44.45%	52.59%	51.98%		
		R. Patton	45.73%	39.31%	38.70%	20.20%	18.46%	55.53%	47.14%	48.07%		
	Agriculture Commissioner	D. Field	55.15%	62.07%	63.21%	80.09%	82.00%	45.64%	54.63%	53.44%		
2016	US Senate	R. Caldwell	44.96%	37.93%	36.73%	19.69%	18.00%	54.30%	45.38%	45.46%		
		D. Nelson	55.94%	60.28%	61.31%	80.00%	81.36%	45.70%	54.47%	53.46%		
		R. Scott	44.38%	39.79%	38.69%	20.00%	18.64%	54.76%	45.52%	46.59%		
	President	D. Clinton	52.28%	61.95%	60.80%	77.89%	81.05%	51.21%	57.42%	56.46%		
	2014	US Senate	R. Trump	44.38%	34.55%	35.68%	20.39%	17.28%	49.48%	40.05%	40.81%	
D. Murphy			44.51%	54.69%	55.63%	75.64%	75.93%	41.07%	47.76%	47.69%		
R. Rubio			51.92%	40.91%	40.43%	22.47%	21.99%	56.70%	50.17%	49.97%		
Governor		D. Crist	45.95%	33.88%	35.47%	79.92%	82.18%	41.24%	50.07%	51.20%		
Attorney General		R. Scott	49.59%	42.21%	39.64%	71.97%	76.80%	56.03%	47.55%	45.89%		
2012	Chief Financial Officer	R. Bondi	53.40%	48.12%	44.73%	22.47%	18.77%	60.02%	51.98%	51.75%		
		D. Ranch	44.48%	49.04%	49.58%	75.28%	79.06%	38.24%	43.49%	45.87%		
		R. Alvarado	55.52%	50.88%	50.42%	24.00%	20.95%	61.19%	46.52%	46.04%		
	Agriculture Commissioner	D. Johnston	47.42%	47.28%	49.83%	77.02%	79.78%	37.89%	44.33%	46.04%		
	President	R. Putnam	52.58%	52.11%	60.15%	72.99%	70.21%	62.11%	59.64%	59.99%		
2010	US Senate	D. Obama	53.99%	61.57%	59.66%	80.52%	80.52%	40.53%	52.22%	54.83%		
		R. Romney	46.20%	37.59%	39.48%	19.06%	16.83%	43.98%	47.77%	44.61%		
		D. Nelson	57.33%	66.05%	64.55%	81.07%	83.46%	54.47%	56.33%	56.33%		
	US Senate	R. Mack	39.83%	31.47%	33.54%	16.82%	15.49%	46.51%	44.15%	42.03%		