## IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA

TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF CHIPPEWA INDIANS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,
Civil No. 3:22-cv-00022-PDW-ARS
v.

MICHAEL HOWE, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of the State of North Dakota,

Defendant.

## PLAINTIFFS' TRIAL MEMORANDUM

## I. Statement of the Case

The 2020 Census revealed that North Dakota Legislative District 9, which had for decades been wholly contained within heavily Native American Rolette County and had for decades elected three Native American-preferred candidates to the state legislature, needed to geographically expand to satisfy population equality requirements. The configuration the legislature selected in its 2021 Redistricting Plan violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act ("VRA") in two ways.

First, the legislature added parts of two counties to the east, Towner and Cavalier Counties, that are nearly $100 \%$ white and whose voters cast ballots in the polar opposite direction of Rolette County's Native American voters. This choice reduced District 9's Native American voting age population ("NVAP") by twenty points and nearly doubled its white VAP, resulting in a district with a bare majority of Native American eligible voters. Among actual voters in usual electoral conditions, however, white voters constitute a sizeable majority of the newly enacted District 9 . The legislature chose this configuration over one that would expand District 9 south to include

Benson County-home to the Spirit Lake Tribe and with a VAP closely split between Native American and white voters.

Second, having dramatically reconfigured District 9 and its racial demographics, the legislature then subdivided the district into two state house districts-something the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians ("Turtle Mountain") never requested-with District 9A packed with Native American voters, having a nearly $80 \%$ NVAP, and leaving a sizeable population of Native American voters cracked apart in two neighboring districts (District 9B and District 15) in which their voting strength is overwhelmed by a white majority.

As Plaintiffs' demonstrative plans show, the Native American population on and around the Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake Reservations is sufficiently large and geographically compact to form an effective majority in a single state-Senate district and a multi-member at-large House District. Moreover, as Defendant concedes, voting in North Dakota and in this particular region of the state is racially polarized, with white voters preferring one candidate and Native American voters preferring a different candidate. As a result of this polarization, and the cracking of Native voters into House and Senate Districts where white bloc voting usually defeats the Native American candidate of choice, Native Americans in the region saw their opportunity to elect preferred candidates decrease from two state house members and one state senator to just a single representative in the state house. The dilutive effects of the plan are evidenced most notably by the most recent election results from 2022, in which the majority white voting populations in Senate Districts 9 and 15 and House Subdistrict 9B overwhelmingly defeated Native American-preferred candidates.

The discriminatory effects of the 2021 Redistricting Plan interact with social and historical conditions in North Dakota to create an unequal opportunity for Native American voters to elect
their preferred candidates. This includes North Dakota's well-established history of official discrimination against Native Americans, including discrimination in the electoral process, as well as the wide-ranging socioeconomic disparities between Native American and white citizens in North Dakota. Moreover, the dilutive effect of the plan was the product of a lack of responsiveness to Native American voters. Indeed, the legislative record of the redistricting process shows that the legislature failed to honor Tribal Leaders' requests to hold redistricting committee hearings on Tribal Lands, and utilized a blunt, one-size fits all subdistrict policy to address concerns about litigation over Native vote dilution, despite the fact that doing so substantially degraded the Native voters' opportunity to elect candidates of their choice in northeast North Dakota. Whatever the legislature's intent, the enacted plan minimizes Native American voting strength such that for the first time since 1990, not a single member of the North Dakota state senate is Native American. This is so despite the fact that the Native Americans share of the population increased since the last decennial census to nearly six percent of the State's total population. Under these circumstances, the 2021 Redistricting Plan's configuration of districts 9, 9A, 9B, and 15 violates Section 2 of the VRA.

## II. Procedural History

On February 7, 2022, Plaintiffs Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Spirit Lake Tribe, Wesley Davis, Zachary S. King, and Collette Brown filed this lawsuit against the Secretary of State of North Dakota, alleging that the 2021 Redistricting Plan violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. § 10301. See ECF No. 1, Compl. at 29-31. Defendant Jaeger moved to dismiss Plaintiffs' complaint, see ECF No. 17, Mot. to Dismiss, Apr. 15, 2022, and on July 7, 2022, the Court denied Defendant's motion. See ECF No. 30, Order Denying Mot. to Dismiss, Jul. 7, 2022. Plaintiffs supplemented their complaint on December 7, 2022, to add allegations relating to
the 2022 elections for the state legislature. See ECF No. 44, Supp. Compl., Dec. 7, 2022. Defendant subsequently moved for summary judgment, asking the Court to find that Plaintiffs had failed to establish two of the three necessary preconditions for a Section 2 claim. See ECF No. 59, Mot. for Summary Judgment, Feb. 1, 2023; ECF No. 60, Mem. in Support of Mot. for Summary Judgment, Feb. 1, 2023. The Court denied the motion on April 11, 2023. See ECF No. 89, Order Denying Mot. for Summary Judgment, Apr. 10, 2023.

## III. Citation to Authority for Legal Issues

Aside from pending motions in limine, the only unresolved legal issue is the ultimate question of vote dilution. The following are the principal authorities on that issue: Thornburg $v$. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30 (1986); League of United Latin Am. Citizens v. Perry, 548 U.S. 399 (2006); and Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine, 461 F.3d 1011 (8th Cir. 2006). The Supreme Court's pending decision in Allen v. Milligan, expected to be released by the end of June, may bear on the case as well.

Section 2 of the VRA prohibits states from enacting a redistricting plan that results in an "inequality in the opportunities enjoyed by [minority] and white voters to elect their preferred candidates." Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine, 461 F.3d 1011, 1018 (8th Cir. 2006) (quoting Cottier v. City of Martin, 445 F.3d 1113, 1116 (8th Cir. 2006)). A Section 2 violation "occurs when: 'based on the totality of circumstances, it is shown that the political processes leading to nomination or election ... are not equally open to participation by members of a [a racial group] in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice."" Bone Shirt, 461 F.3d at 1018 (quoting League of United Latin Am. Citizens v. Perry, 548 U.S. 399, 425 (2006)).

To establish a Section 2 violation, Plaintiffs must "prove by a preponderance of the evidence three elements, often referred to as the 'Gingles preconditions': (1) [T]he racial group is
sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district; (2) the racial group is politically cohesive; and (3) the majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to enable it usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate." Id. Once the three Gingles Preconditions are established, the court must consider whether "the totality of the circumstances indicates minority voters ha[ve] 'less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice[.]" Id. at 1021 (quoting 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b)). To determine whether the totality of the circumstances are met, courts may consider "the extent to which members of the [racial minority group] have been elected to office in the State," 52 U.S.C. § 10301(b), as well as the following factors (referred to as the "Senate Factors"):

1. the extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the right of the members of the minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process;
2. the extent to which voting in the elections of the state or political subdivision is racially polarized;
3. the extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election districts, majority vote requirements, anti-single shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group;
4. if there is a candidate slating process, whether the members of the minority group have been denied access to that process;
5. the extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;
6. whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals;
7. the extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction.
[8.] whether there is a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group.
[9.] whether the policy underlying the state or political subdivision's use of such voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice or procedure is tenuous.

Thornburg v. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30, 36-37 (1986) (quoting S. Rep. No. 97-417 at 28-29 (1982)); see also Bone Shirt, 461 F.3d at 1021-22. "There is no requirement that any particular number of factors be proved, or that a majority of them point one way or the other." United States v. Marengo Cnty. Comm'n, 731 F.2d 1546, 1566 n. 33 (11th Cir. 1984) (quoting S. Rep. No. 97-417, at 29 (1982)). Finally, while "proportionality is not dispositive" in a Section 2 claim "it is a relevant fact in the totality of circumstances to be analyzed when determining whether members of a minority group have 'less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice." Johnson v. De Grandy, 512 U.S. 997, 1000 (1994).

## IV. General Statement of Evidence

Plaintiffs will offer expert and lay testimony as well as video and documentary evidence to establish that the 2021 Redistricting Plan violates Section 2 of the VRA, in that all three Gingles factors are satisfied and the totality of circumstances shows that the plan unlawfully dilutes Native American voting strength in northeastern North Dakota.

## A. Gingles 1: Native American voters in the region are geographically compact so as to constitute a majority of eligible voters in an alternative district configuration.

Plaintiffs submitted two demonstrative maps showing that it is possible to draw a reasonably compact majority Native legislative district in northeast North Dakota. P105 (Plaintiffs'

Demonstrative Plan 1 Map); P106 (Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 2 Map). Both plans satisfy Gingles prong 1, but Plaintiffs will focus their presentation on Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1. ${ }^{1}$ Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 creates a new District 9 centered primarily in Rolette and Benson Counties. This district is shown in both a regional view and set into the enacted plan:

## Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 Regional View



P045 (L. Collingwood Rebuttal Report Map 1 - Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 District 9)

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## Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 Statewide View



P105 (Pls. Demonstrative Plan 1 Map).
Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 contains a proposed District 9 with a NVAP of $66.1 \%$. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The NVAP of District 9 is almost precisely the median NVAP of the 31 Native American majority state legislative districts nationwide, and lower than the NVAP of District 9 in the 2012-2020 state legislative plan ("benchmark plan"). P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

As Dr. Collingwood will testify, Demonstrative Plan 1 performs substantially better for Native Americans in northeast North Dakota than enacted Districts 9 and 15, winning all but three contests. P001 at 32 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

Under Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1, District 9 does not split any voting precincts or municipalities. P042 at 16 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). As Dr. Collingwood will testify, although the water boundaries of Devil's Lake and the Sheyenne River have a distortionary lowering effect on Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9's mathematical compactness scores, see P042 at 10 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood), the district still scores as more compact
than several other state legislative districts in the 2021 enacted plan, P042 at 9-11 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

Dr. Collingwood's testimony will also establish that Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 scores higher on mathematical compactness metrics than several congressional districts the Supreme Court has held to be "reasonably compact" for purposes of Gingles prong one. P042 at 12 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Even Defendant's expert, Dr. M.V. "Trey" Hood, testified at his deposition that under the methodology he had previously used to evaluate compactness in a Virginia redistricting case, all of the enacted North Dakota districts and Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 are "reasonably compact." Ex. A at 143:25-144:8 (Hood Dep.); see id. at 189:2-6 ("Q: [U]nder your own metric from Virginia and applied here, . . . [Plaintiffs' demonstrative] district is sufficiently or reasonably compact, correct? A: Correct."); see also P124 (Virginia 2012-2020 State Senate Plan).

Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 adheres to other traditional districting criteria as well. As Dr. Collingwood will explain, the district splits the same number of counties (three) as does enacted District 15 and the enacted state house version of District 9 (9A and 9B). P042 at 19-20 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Demonstrative District 9 has the same Eddy County split as the enacted map to follow the Spirit Lake Reservation boundary-a principle the legislature declared important. P042 at 20 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Demonstrative District 9 spans about the same distance north-to-south as the enacted District 9 does east-to-west. P042 at 18 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). And a number of North Dakota's legislative districts are geographically large-including many that are larger than Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9-because of the sparse population in rural areas of the state. P042 at 18 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

A whole Pierce County voting precinct links Rolette to Benson County in Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 1. P120 (Precinct Maps for Benson, Eddy, Pierce, and Rolette Counties). This precinct is larger than a number of connecting points in other enacted districts in the state. P042 at 14-16 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Indeed, as Dr. Collingwood explains, the Pierce County precinct included in Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 "spans 180 square miles and is itself larger than a majority of the other districts in the plan." P042 at 13 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Moreover, Rolette and Benson Counties, which are linked in Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1, are geographically closer to one another than Rolette and Cavalier Counties, which were linked together in the enacted plan. Ex. A at 177:3-20 (Hood Dep.).

Unlike the enacted plan, which splits the Turtle Mountain Reservation and its trust lands between Districts 9A and 9B, Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 keeps the Reservation and the trust lands together-a feature Dr. Hood agreed at his deposition was important and could be a community of interest consideration. Ex. A at 169:5-24 (Hood Dep.). Below is the map illustrating how the enacted plan splits the Reservation from the trust lands (shown in tan):


## P042 at 21 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

Finally, Plaintiffs' demonstrative districts comply with the traditional redistricting criteria of preserving communities of interest by reuniting the Turtle Mountain Reservation with the Turtle Mountain Trust Lands, and uniting Native American voters living on and around the Turtle Mountain Reservation with Native American voters living on and around the Spirit Lake Reservation. Spirit Lake and Turtle Mountain-as well as their members and voting public-share many common characteristics and interests that relate to their common representational needs in the state legislature. The two reservations are just 55 miles apart. P042 at 17 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Chairman Azure of Turtle Mountain and former Chairman Yankton of Spirit Lake will testify at trial about the shared values and beliefs of their Tribes, the "similar socioeconomic statuses" of their members, and the similar representational needs from the state legislature related to economic investment, state-sponsored services, and legislative appropriations that differ from other North Dakota rural communities, where agricultural and energy interests predominate, and from the state's urban areas. They will likewise testify to the joint ventures the Tribes have engaged in, including funding for tribal colleges, negotiating the tribal-state gaming compact, taxation on tribal lands, hunting and fishing regulation, tribal and state law enforcement, and funding for education, foster care, and health care.

Defendant will likely contend that a district that includes both Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake is a "racial gerrymander." But this is a baseless claim. A party alleging a racial gerrymander must show that race was the "predominant factor" in the decision to "place a significant number of voters within or without a particular district. Cooper v. Harris, 581 U.S. 285, 291 (2017). This requires a showing that other factors, like compactness, respect for political subdivisions, and others, were "subordinated . . . to racial considerations." Id. (internal quotation marks omitted).

Defendant cannot meet this burden. Moreover, even if race does predominate in the drawing of a district, compliance with Section 2 of the VRA is a compelling interest sufficient to justify the use of race, which precludes such a district from being deemed an Equal Protection violation. Id. at 292.

As the above discussion regarding Gingles prong one shows, Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 satisfies the traditional redistricting criteria as well or better than enacted Districts 9, 9A, 9B, and 15, and many other enacted districts. It also beats out districts that the Supreme Court has found to comply with traditional districting principles for VRA purposes. Dr. Hood testified at his deposition that Plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 9 is reasonably compact and satisfies a host of traditional districting criteria. He likewise testified he has no evidence to suggest the proposed district is a racial gerrymander, and that enacted District 9 might just as easily be a racial gerrymander given that the legislature added so many white voters to the district. Moreover, Spirit Lake and Turtle Mountain have a host of shared needs and interests having nothing to do with race, and thus are properly combined in a VRA district. See LULAC, 548 U.S. at 434-35. In addition, a Gingles 1 demonstration plan merely shows that a discriminatory result may be afoot. Such a plan shows that there is the potential to draw a district in which Native American voters will constitute a sufficient majority to elect their preferred candidates-unlike in the enacted plan. The legislature will have the first opportunity to draw a remedial plan, and need not even look at race to draw a district that combines Rolette and Benson Counties-which Dr. Hood acknowledged are closer in proximity than are Rolette and Cavalier Counties, which the enacted plan joins.

## B. Gingles 2: Native American Voters in North Dakota and in Districts 9 and 15 are politically cohesive.

As Dr. Collingwood will testify, voting in North Dakota and in Districts 9 and 15 is racially polarized, meaning that Native American voters vote cohesively for one set of candidates while
white voters vote cohesively against those candidates. P001 at 4-16 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Defendant's expert, Dr. Hood, agrees. P080 at 4-6 (Expert Report of Dr. M.V. Hood III) (Walen v. Burgum)); P081 at 2, 4 (Expert Report of Dr. M.V. Hood III (Turtle Mountain)).

## C. Gingles 3: White Bloc voting usually defeats the Native American candidate of choice in enacted Senate Districts 9 and 15 and House District 9B.

Under the benchmark plan, Native American voters in northeastern North Dakota elected their candidate of choice to all three seats in District 9. P042 at 7 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Under the enacted plan, Native American voters in the region were able to elect just one candidate of choice-Jayme Davis-to the state house in District 9A. P001 at 14-15 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Notably, the total NVAP share of the statewide population grew from $5.1 \%$ to $5.9 \%$ from the 2010 to 2020 census. Dr. Collingwood will testify that if Native Americans elected candidates to the state legislature in proportion to their share of the overall statewide population, that would equate to three state senate seats and six state house seats. Because of the configuration of districts in the new redistricting plan, for the first time in over thirty years, no member of a North Dakota Native American Tribe serves in the state senate today, and just two Native American representatives are currently serving in the state house. P042 at 6 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

This is because white bloc voting defeats Native American voters' candidates of choice in Districts $9,9 \mathrm{~B}$, and 15 . At the outset, it is important to note that there no longer is any dispute between Plaintiffs and Defendant on this score. Defendant has always acknowledged that Gingles 3 is satisfied in Districts 9B and 15. P081 (Expert Report of M.V. Hood III). When Defendant filed his motion for summary judgment in this case, he disputed whether Gingles 3 was satisfied as to Senate District 9. But after Defendant's expert Dr. Hood was deposed (during which he acknowledged that his own analysis would establish Gingles 3 is present in Senate District 9),

Defendant reversed course, and filed a summary judgment brief in the Walen case contending that the removal of the subdistrict lines would result in a VRA violation because, in the full District 9, white voters would usually defeat Native American voters' preferred candidates. P098 (Walen Summ. J. Brief). That is, Defendant agrees Gingles 3 is present in District 9, he just thinks the solution is a subdistrict that reduces Native American voters' opportunity to elect their preferred candidates to a single state house seat, rather than maintaining Native American voters' opportunity to elect in three legislative seats, as in the 2012-2020 plan.

In any event, even if there remained some factual dispute as to Gingles prong 3, Plaintiffs will establish the precondition is satisfied at trial. As Dr. Collingwood (and Dr. Hood) will testify, three categories of elections are most probative for determining whether the white majority block votes against Native American voters’ candidates of choice: (1) "endogenous" elections, or elections for the office that is at issue (here state legislative elections as opposed to statewide, or "exogenous" elections), (2) more recent elections, and (3) elections featuring a Native American candidate. P042 at 5-7 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood); P001 at 21 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Dr. Collingwood will testify that white bloc voting defeats the Native American preferred candidates in $100 \%$ of the endogenous elections in District $9, \mathrm{in} 100 \%$ of the most recent (2022) elections in District 9, 71\% of elections in the most recent two cycles 2022 and $2020,57 \%$ of elections in the most recent three election cycles that lack special circumstances making them nonprobative (2022, 2020, and 2016), and in $60 \%$ of elections in District 9 featuring a Native American candidate. P042 at 7 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Dr. Collingwood will also testify that across 30 contests between 2014 and 2022, the block rate by which white voters prevent the Native American preferred candidate from prevailing in District 15 is $97 \%$. P001 at 26 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). And in District 9B, Dr. Collingwood
will testify that the block rate by which white voters prevent the Native American preferred candidate from winning is $81 \%$. P001 at 16-21.

Dr. Collingwood will further testify that the 2018 elections exhibited "special circumstances" and "it would be appropriate to entirely disregard the 2018 elections" or at least give them "very little weight" in assessing white bloc voting. P042 at 8 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The special circumstances of the 2018 Election are most evident when analyzing Native American voter turnout rates. Although the redrawn District 9 has a small majority NVAP (down twenty percentage points from the benchmark district), its voting electorate is, under usual circumstances, substantially majority white. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The chart below shows the demographic composition of the voting electorate in District 9 for the past five election cycles:

## Enacted District 9 Electorate Demographic Composition

| Election | White Electorate <br> Share | Native American <br> Electorate Share |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2014 | $67 \%$ | $33 \%$ |
| 2016 | $63 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| 2018 | $50 \%$ | $50 \%$ |
| 2020 | $63 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| 2022 | $60 \%$ | $40 \%$ |

P042 at 4-5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). As Dr. Collingwood will testify, Native American voter turnout nationwide, in North Dakota, and specifically in District 9 , is typically substantially lower than white voter turnout. P042 at 3-4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). In District 9, Native American voter turnout is "usually in the neighborhood of 2030 percentage points" lower than white turnout. P042 at 4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). For all categories of voters, turnout in presidential election cycles exceeds turnout in midterm election cycles as a general rule. P042 at 4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

As the graph below shows, however, Native American turnout in 2018 skyrocketed to $57.6 \%$ in District 9, exceeding statewide overall turnout and approaching (but not reaching) white turnout in the district. P042 at 4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

Estimated Turnout by Race Over Time
Average Turnout by Year LD-9 Subset


P042 at 4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).
As Dr. Collingwood explained in his rebuttal report and will explain at trial, "[i]n all the many elections in different jurisdictions that I have studied, I have never seen a Native American turnout number begin to approach $60 \%$ in a federal, state, or local contest. Rather, the figures often hover around $30 \%$ - which is in line with my estimates in every other election year in LD-9." P042 at 4 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Furthermore, the general pattern of lower turnout for midterm versus presidential cycles is "strikingly inverted" with respect to Native American turnout in the 2018 election. Id.

Chairman Azure of Turtle Mountain and Chairman Yankton of Spirit Lake will testify that the 2018 election featured unique circumstances. The state's voter ID law, which required proof of residential street addresses-something many Native American voters lacked-had previously been enjoined by this Court but was permitted to go in effect by the U.S. Supreme Court just before
the 2018 election. The Chairmen will testify to the resulting substantial amounts of money spent by national, local, and regional organizations focused on educating and turning out Native voters. In addition, national celebrities like Dave Matthews Band and Mark Ruffalo toured North Dakota Reservations and held get-out-the-vote events. As the Chairmen will testify, this type of sustained spending and electoral education focused on Native American voters had never occurred prior to the 2018 election and has not happened since.

Defendant may contend that Gingles prong 3 in the full District 9 is not satisfied, as he did in his summary judgment motion (while conceding it is satisfied in District 9B and 15). But this would be contrary to the litigation position Defendant has taken in the Walen case and would be contrary to Dr. Hood's own testimony. At his deposition, Dr. Hood conceded that his own analysis in his Walen expert report with respect to District 9, if updated to include the 2022 elections he viewed most probative, would show the presence of Gingles prong 3 with respect to District 9, with a $60 \%$ block rate for Native American preferred candidates.
4. An analysis of the Senate Factors indicates that Native American voters have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process.

Plaintiffs will present the following evidence demonstrating that an analysis of the Senate Factors shows that Native Americans are denied an equal opportunity to participate in the electoral process in North Dakota.

## i. There is a history of official voting-related discrimination against Native Americans in North Dakota.

Dr. Daniel McCool will testify about the extensive history of official voting-related discrimination against Native Americans in North Dakota, which continues to this day. P064 at 727, 33-35 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). As Dr. McCool will explain, this history is rooted in a broader history of discrimination against Native Americans in North Dakota that dates back
to its days as a territory, and stems in large part from the conflict over land between white settlers and Native peoples. P064 at 7-10 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). After statehood, Native Americans were openly and explicitly denied the right to vote unless they qualified as "civilized persons" who had "severed their tribal relations two years next preceding" the election in which they sought to vote. P064 at 10 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Dr. McCool will testify that the demand that Native people give up their culture as a condition of voting was unique in American history. P064 at 10 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Dr. McCool will also testify about how the long history of generalized discrimination against Native Americans in North Dakota affects their ability to participate in the electoral process. P064 at 21 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Finally, Dr. McCool will testify about the well documented contemporary history of voting-related discrimination against Native Americans in North Dakota, which has forced Native voters and Tribes to regularly appeal to the courts to vindicate their fundamental right to vote. P064 at 21-27 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool).

## ii. The legislature's exercise of its discretionary authority to create House subdistricts enhanced the opportunity for discrimination against Native Americans in northeast North Dakota.

Plaintiffs will present substantial evidence showing that the legislature's discretionary authority to create House subdistricts enhanced the opportunity for discrimination against Native Americans in northeast North Dakota.

The 2021 Redistricting plan enacted by the legislature substantially changed the districts in northeastern North Dakota and in particular the districts in which the Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake reservations are located. Parts of Towner and Cavalier Counties-the VAP of which are $96.0 \%$ and $95.6 \%$ white respectively—were added to District 9. P100 (2021 Enacted N.D. State Senate Map); P103 (2012-2020 N.D. Legislative Plan Map); P001 at 16 (Expert Report of Dr.

Loren Collingwood). By extending District 9 east into overwhelmingly white counties, the enacted plan dramatically changed the demographic makeup of the district, reducing its NVAP by twenty percentage points, from $74.4 \%$ to $54.5 \%$. P001 at 31 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). Among the 31 Native American-majority state legislative districts in the country, the enacted version of District 9 has the second lowest NVAP share nationwide. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The average NVAP of a majority-Native American legislative district nationwide is $68.1 \%$ and the median is $66.7 \%$. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The Spirit Lake Reservation was separated from all of the counties with which it previously shared a district and placed in District 15, which neighbors District 9. P100 (2021 Enacted N.D. State Senate Map); P103 (2012-2020 N.D. Legislative Plan Map).

Citing the VRA the legislature divided District 9 into two subdistricts that each elect one state representative seat, Districts 9A and 9B, D431 at 17:16-18:23 (Nov. 9, 2021, Redistricting Comm. Hr'g Tr.). Presumably this was because, as Defendant asserted in the Walen matter, the full District 9 violated the VRA. Walen MSJ at 40. District 9A has a Native American VAP of 79.8\%. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). This is the fifth highest NVAP among the 31 Native American-majority state legislative districts nationwide. P042 at 5 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood); D491 (Native American Majority State Legislative Districts). The remaining Native American population in northeastern North Dakota is split across Districts 9B and 15. District 9B has a NVAP of $29.4 \%$. P143 (Maptitude Report for District 9B). District 15 has a NVAP of 20.39\%. P145 (Maptitude Report for District 15).

A map illustrating the fragmenting of northeastern North Dakota's Native American voters among Districts 9A, 9B, and 15 is shown below, with concentrations of Native Americans shown in blue and the district lines shown in red.

## Enacted Plan Fragmenting of Native American Population



P059 (L. Collingwood Rebuttal Report Appendix A - 2021 Enacted Plan Native American VAP Shading).

The first election under the new legislative redistricting plan was held on November 8, 2022. Native American preferred candidates lost every state legislative contest in Districts 9 and 15 except for District 9A’s state house seat. The Native American incumbent state senator Richard Marcellais lost his contest for the state senate seat in District 9. Native American candidates Collette Brown and Heather Lawrence-Skadsem lost their contests for state senate and state house in District 15. And incumbent Native American preferred candidate Marvin Nelson lost his contest for state house in District 9B. P001 at 17 (Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

In addition to quantitative evidence of the discriminatory impact of the legislature's linedrawing, Plaintiffs will present testimony from Dr. Daniel McCool about the differences between how the legislature effectively utilized its discretionary authority to create subdistricts to ensure the 2021 Plan did not discriminate against Native voters on the MHA Reservation but failed
to do the same for Native voters living on and near the Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake Reservations. P064 at 33-35 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool).
> iii. Native Americans in North Dakota generally and in Rolette, Ramsey, and Benson Counties specifically bear the effects of discrimination in the areas of income, poverty, education, health insurance coverage, computer ownership and access, housing, employment, and mortality, which hinders their ability to effectively participate in the political process.

Dr. Weston McCool will testify that he reviewed data from the Census Bureau's 2015-2019 five-year American Community Survey on seven socioeconomic variables-income, poverty, education, computer ownership and access, homeownership, and employment. P073 at 1-3 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool). He will further testify that he looked at how Native Americans and white North Dakotans in Rolette, Ramsey, and Benson Counties compare on each of these variables, and found that the Native American population is at a statistically significant disadvantage when compared to the white population on each of these factors, across all three counties. P073 at 5-13 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool). Dr. Weston McCool will further testify that he reviewed data from the Kaiser Family Foundation on the rates at which white residents and Native American residents in North Dakota avoid health care due to costs. P073 at 3 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool). He will testify that Native Americans in North Dakota are more than three times as likely as white residents to report avoiding seeking medical care because of cost. P073 at 8, 10, 13 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool). Based on these findings, Dr. Weston McCool will testify that there is a systemic and statistically significant race-based bias that disadvantages the Native American population when compared with the white population in northeast North Dakota. P073 at 13 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool). Dr. Weston McCool will further testify that, when combined with evidence of depressed participation by Native Americans in the political process, a reasonable expert would conclude that the socioeconomic
disadvantage suffered by Native Americans in North Dakota hinder their ability to participate in the political process. P073 at 13 (Expert Report of Dr. Weston McCool).

## iv. It is rare to find Native Americans holding any kind of elected office in North Dakota outside of tribal government.

Plaintiffs will offer testimony from Dr. Daniel McCool that "it is very rare to find American Indians holding any kind of public office in the state other than in tribal government." P064 at 50-57 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Dr. McCool reviewed data from the North Dakota Indian Affairs Committee and found that prior to the 2022 election, Senator Richard Marcellais was the only Native American state legislator representing a "Tribal District" in North Dakota. P064 at 50 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). He further found that all seven members of the Tribal State Relations Committee are white. P067 at 51 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Of the twenty members of the Governor's cabinet, Dr. McCool identified just two individuals who are Native American. P064 at 51 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Dr. McCool will testify that it is similarly rare to find Native Americans serving in elected office at the county and local levels, particularly in urban areas and even where there is a substantial Native population. P064 at 52-53, 54-57 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool).

## v. The North Dakota legislature is not responsive to the needs of Native Americans.

Plaintiffs will offer expert testimony from Dr. Daniel McCool demonstrating that there is a consistent pattern of state and local officials failing to respond to the needs of Native Americans and Tribal Members in North Dakota. P064 at 50-57 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Dr. McCool will testify about the Redistricting Committee's refusal to hold hearings in Indian Country, and the impact this had on Native participation in the process. P064 at 58-59 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). He will also offer testimony about the legislature's imposition of a subdistrict

Turtle Mountain did not request and its rejection of the joint request by Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake to be placed in a unified district, as well as the impact of these decision on Tribal members. P064 at 60-61 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). And he will testify that the legislature took these actions despite warnings that they would be detrimental to Native voters in the region. P064 at 61 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool).

In addition to testifying about the legislature's lack of responsiveness during the redistricting process, Dr. McCool will offer testimony about the legislature's reaction to the conflict over the DAPL pipeline, and its impact on tribal-state relations in North Dakota. P064 at 50-57 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool). Plaintiffs will also offer testimony by Chairman Azure, Chairman Yankton, and Collette Brown about the legislature's failure to respond to the needs of the Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake, and the respective Tribes' members during the redistricting process.

Finally, Plaintiffs intend to present evidence from the Legislative record that demonstrates the legislature's lack of responsiveness during the redistricting process, including with respect to the Plaintiffs, and their members.

Defendant may contend that the legislature was responsive to Native Americans during the 2021 redistricting process because some Native Americans and Native American Tribes (i.e., MHA, Standing Rock, and Spirit Lake) requested (prior the release of Census data) that subdistricts be considered, and the legislature then drew two subdistricts-one for MHA (which had requested one) and one for Turtle Mountain (which had not). But this does not evince a responsive legislature, particularly considering the legislature's rejection of Turtle Mountain and Spirit Lake's request for a unified legislative district in which they could retain the opportunity to elect three Native American preferred candidates. Moreover, Defendant may contend that

Governor Burgum has sought to improve upon prior administrations' relations with North Dakota's Tribes. But any such efforts are recent and do not overcome the totality of circumstances, historical and contemporaneous discrimination and disparate statuses, that together with the districting configuration here provide less opportunity for Native American voters to participate equally in the political process. Moreover, evidence of increased responsiveness by the executive branch has little to no bearing on whether the state legislature is adequately responsive to Native Americans.

## vi. The policy underlying Districts 9 and 15 is tenuous.

In addition to the evidence summarized above, which demonstrates that the enactment of Districts $9,9 \mathrm{~A}, 9 \mathrm{~B}$, and 15 bears no functional relationship to the Legislature's stated policy of creating subdistricts around Native populations to avoid VRA litigation, Plaintiffs will offer testimony from Dr. Daniel McCool that the enacted plan is tenuous policy that makes it more difficult for Native Americans to elect candidates of their choice. P064 at 67-69 (Expert Report of Dr. Daniel McCool).

## V. Evidentiary and Procedural Issues

## A. Plaintiffs' Motion in Limine

Plaintiffs have moved to exclude the testimony of attorney Matt Campbell, who serves as counsel of record for the Plaintiffs in this case. ECF 96. The motion is fully briefed and ripe for resolution. The Court should grant the motion for the reasons stated in Plaintiffs' Memorandum and Reply in support of the same. ECF 97; ECF 101. See also Shelton v. Am. Motors Corp., 805 F.2d 1323 (8th Cir. 1986).

## B. Defendant's Motion in Limine

Defendant has moved to exclude the expert reports submitted by the parties' retained experts in this case, to exclude certain data relied on by Plaintiffs' experts Dr. Loren Collingwood
and Dr. Weston McCool, to exclude the conclusion made by Dr. McCool that socioeconomic disparities hinder North Dakota Native Americans' ability to participate effectively in the political process, and to limit the scope of testimony that may be offered by Chairwoman Lonna Jackson Street. ECF 93, ECF 94. The motion is fully briefed and ripe for resolution. The Court should deny the motion for the reasons stated in Plaintiffs' Response in Opposition to the motion and the authority cited therein. ECF 98.

## C. Erika White, Bryan Nybakken, and Bryan Newby

Defendant listed current and former Secretary of State employees Erika White, Bryan Nybakken, and Bryan Newby as expert witnesses on the witness list he submitted to the Court and disclosed to Plaintiffs on May 24, 2023. Ex. B (Def. Exhibit List). While Defendant identified these individuals as potential non-retained expert witnesses on his initial and supplemental disclosures, to date he has not complied with his obligation under Rule 26 to provide a "summary of the facts and opinions to which" any of these witnesses are "expected to testify." Fed. R. Civ. P. 26(a)(2)(C); see also ECF 97-2 (Defs' Initial Rule 26(a)(1) Disclosures); ECF 97-1 (Defs' Supp. Rule 26(a)(1) Disclosures). Plaintiffs noted this omission in their motion in limine, see ECF 97 at 10 n.6, and subsequently brought the omission to Defendant's attention again during a meet and confer on May 24, prior to Defendant's submission of his witness list to the Court. Defendant has not supplemented his disclosures or otherwise provided the required information. As such, Plaintiffs object to Defendant's tender of these witnesses as experts and ask that the Court preclude them from offering opinion testimony. See Fed. R. Civ. P. 37(c)(1); see, also e.g., Vanderberg v. Petco Animal Supplies Store, Inc., 906 F.3d 698, 703 (8th Cir. 2018).

## D. Representative William "Bill" Devlin

Plaintiffs served Representative Devlin with both document and deposition subpoenas during the discovery period in this case. Representative Devlin moved to quash the subpoenas, and after this Court denied the motion in a well-reasoned decision, Representative Devlin filed a petition for mandamus with the Eighth Circuit and sought a stay of this Court's order setting a deadline for him to comply with the subpoenas. On the same day that Plaintiffs filed their response to the petition, and without waiting for Plaintiffs' response to the request for a stay, the Circuit Court issued an administrative stay of the deadline to comply. The matter remains pending before the Eighth Circuit, and as such Plaintiffs have not obtained any of the responsive documents, nor have they had the opportunity to depose Representative Devlin.

At this late hour, even if the Eighth Circuit denies the petition for mandamus and affirms this Court's orders, Plaintiffs do not expect to be able to obtain and review the relevant documents and to subsequently depose Representative Devlin before trial begins, especially without disrupting trial preparation. As such, Plaintiffs request that the Court make time at the end of trial to discuss the status of Representative Devlin's petition and its relation to the trial record.

## D. Allen v. Milligan

The Supreme Court will soon release its decision in Allen v. Milligan, an appeal from an Alabama district court's decision concluding that the Alabama legislature violated Section 2 of the VRA by failing to draw a second majority Black congressional district. The state in that case has made a number of arguments challenging various aspects of Section 2 precedent regarding Gingles prong 1. The Milligan decision, which is expected to be announced by the end of June, may bear on this case and require supplemental post-trial briefing or further proceedings.

## VI. Plaintiffs' Objections to Defendant's Exhibits

While the parties are still conferring on exhibits, Plaintiffs intend to stipulate to the admission of the vast majority of Defendant's exhibits, a large portion of which consists of the legislative record of the 2021 redistricting process, upon which Plaintiffs also intend to rely. Plaintiffs intend to stipulate as to foundation with respect to Defendants' remaining exhibits. Consistent with the Court's pretrial order, see ECF 34 at 3, Plaintiffs reserve the right to object under Fed. R. Evid. 402 and 403 with respect to these exhibits based on the purpose for which they are offered. Plaintiffs do not intend to object to any of Defendant's exhibits on other grounds.

June 5, 2023
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## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I certify that the foregoing was served on all counsel of record via the Court's CM/ECF system.
/s/ Mark P. Gaber
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EXHIBIT A

We Make It Happen" ${ }^{\text {" }}$

# Transcript of M.V. Hood, Ph.D. 

Date: February 13, 2023
Case: Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, et al. -v- Howe, et al.

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February 13, 2023




| 13 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 work? | 1 A Yes. It was a very, very specific kind |
| 2 A The state. | 2 of case. |
| 3 Q And that was after your retention -- | $3 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Have you testified in any case in which |
| 4 A Yes. | 4 the plaintiff was a minority group alleging a |
| 5 Q -- last spring? | 5 violation of Section 2? |
| 6 A Yes. | 6 A Yes. I mean, not -- again, if you |
| $7 \quad$ Q Were you involved at all in advising the | 7 include a larger set of cases, yes. |
| 8 North Dakota legislature about redistricting? | $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And what do you mean by that? |
| 9 A No. | 9 A Well, outside of redistricting. |
| 10 Q And how many times have you testified, | 10 Q Okay. In the context of redistricting, |
| 11 would you say, in redistricting cases? | 11 when the claim has been on behalf of racial |
| 12 A I really don't know. Maybe half the | 12 minority groups, you've always been on the side of |
| 13 times I've testified in court involved | 13 the defendants in your expert work. |
| 14 redistricting, which would include Section 2 | 14 Is that right? |
| 15 cases, or I would include Section 2 cases. So... | 15 A From what I recall, yes. |
| 16 Q And as your expert testimony work | 16 Q Now, I gather from your CV that the bulk |
| 17 generally been on behalf of governmental entities | 17 of your scholarship has been about -- or the |
| 18 or defendants defending maps? | 18 specialty has been about politics in the south and |
| 19 A Typically, although I have testified for | 19 vote dilution in the context of southern states. |
| 20 plaintiffs. And I've testified for both | 20 Is that a fair assessment? |
| 21 Democratic and Republican administrations. So... | 21 A Well, I would say big picture, I do |
| 22 Q And in terms of your plaintiff work, | 22 southern politics and election administration are |
| 23 what were some examples of that? | 23 two of the sort of topical areas under American |
| 24 A There was a case in Dallas, a Section 2 | 24 politics that I study. |
| 25 case, involving the county court, which are like | 25 Q And to the extent you focus in, it's |
| 14 | 16 |
| 1 county commissioners other places. So Dallas | 1 mostly in the south. |
| 2 County. I remember that case. | 2 Is that correct? |
| 3 I worked for the Democratic | 3 A Well, sometimes -- election |
| 4 administration in the state of Virginia on a | 4 administration is not necessarily in the south. |
| 5 redistricting matter. | 5 But, you know, I mean, obviously southern politics |
| 6 Q Any others that come to mind? | 6 is in the south. So... |
| $7 \quad$ A Not that are jumping out at me right | $7 \quad$ Q It doesn't appear to me, and correct me |
| 8 now. | 8 if I'm wrong, that you've written any articles, |
| 9 Q The Dallas case, that was the Harding | 9 books, or other scholarly works about Native |
| 10 versus Dallas County case? | 10 American voting patterns. |
| 11 A Correct, that sounds familiar. | 11 A That would be fair, yes. |
| 12 Q And the claim in that case was on behalf | 12 Q And is the same true with respect to |
| 13 of white voters who were alleging a Section 2 | 13 tribal and state relations? |
| 14 violation, that the minority voters were diluting | 14 A Yes. |
| 15 the white voters' vote. | 15 Q And Native American voting rights? |
| 16 Is that correct? | 16 A Correct. |
| 17 A Yeah. In a nutshell, yes. | 17 Q And I don't think I saw anything in |
| 18 Q And in Virginia, is that the Vesilind | 18 particular about North Dakota or the Great Plains |
| 19 case? | 19 states in terms of their voting patterns or |
| 20 A Yes. | 20 political behavior. |
| 21 Q And one of the main topics of that case | 21 Is that right? |
| 22 was whether or not the Virginia 2011 state senate | 22 A Correct. |
| 23 districts complied with the compactness | 23 Q So I gather you don't consider yourself |
| 24 requirement of the state constitution. | 24 an expert in Native American politics? |
| 25 Is that right? | 25 A No. I've never claimed that. |


|  | 17 |  | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 Q And topics such as anthropology or |  | 1 A Yes. |  |
| 2 sociology or history related to Native Americans? |  | 2 Q You don't anticipate giving any opinions |  |
| $3 \quad A \quad$ No. No. I'm a political scientist. |  | 3 that are not set forth in the report? |  |
| 4 Q Do you have any expertise related to the |  | 4 A I don't anticipate, you know, unless I'm |  |
| 5 Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa Indians? |  | 5 asked to perform some additional work, perhaps. |  |
| 6 A Not specifically. |  | 6 Q At this time, you haven't done. |  |
| $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And the same is true with respect to |  | 7 Is that right? |  |
| 8 Spirit Lake Nation? |  | 8 A That's correct. |  |
| 9 A Correct. |  | $9 \quad$ Q And you didn't do any additional |  |
| 10 Q Have you ever been to North Dakota? |  | 10 analysis in this case after submitting your |  |
| 11 A No. |  | 11 report? |  |
| 12 Q Have you ever spoken to a member of the |  | 12 A Correct. |  |
| 13 Turtle Mountain or Spirit Lake tribes? |  | 13 Q I might, during today's deposition, ask |  |
| 14 A No. |  | 14 you to do a little math, too. |  |
| 15 Q And so you're not opining on anything |  | 15 Do you have a calculator in your office? |  |
| 16 related to those two tribes with respect to their |  | $16 \text { A I do. }$ |  |
| 17 shared interests or common interests or |  | 17 Q Okay. Good. Keep that nearby. I |  |
| 18 socioeconomic status or anything of the like. |  | 18 promise it won't be too taxing. Nothing more than |  |
| 19 Is that right? |  | 19 I can do. So it's not going to be too hard. |  |
| 20 A Correct. |  | 20 A Okay. |  |
| 21 Q And you wouldn't have any knowledge or |  | 21 Q So let's start, and I'm going to kind of |  |
| 22 basis to do that, right? |  | 22 walk through -- we're going to bounce back and |  |
| 23 A Correct. |  | 23 forth between your report and some other exhibits, |  |
| 24 Q You're also not providing any opinion |  | 24 but let's start on page 2 of your report, if you |  |
| 25 with respect to the totality of the circumstances |  | 25 don't mind. And I want to ask you about section 3 |  |
|  | 18 |  | 20 |
| 1 factors for this case. |  | 1 at the top. |  |
| 2 Is that right? |  | 2 You set forth the Gingles factors there. |  |
| 3 A That's correct. |  | 3 Is that right? |  |
| 4 Q And you have no opinion on that? |  | 4 A Correct. |  |
| 5 A I didn't offer an opinion in my report, |  | 5 Q And I have it, so I don't need to see |  |
| 6 so no. |  | 6 it. But I think, LaVar, it's page 2, the numbered |  |
| 7 MR. GABER: I am going to mark as |  | 7 page 2, which is probably the third page of the |  |
| 8 Exhibit 1 the document Hood TM Expert Report. |  | 8 PDF . In case anyone in the audience here wants to |  |
| $9 \quad$ (Exhibit Hood-1 marked for |  | 9 follow along. |  |
| 10 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  | 10 So in this section, you just set forth |  |
| 11 BY MR. GABER: |  | 11 the test under Thornburg versus Gingles for a |  |
| 12 Q Do you have a copy? |  | 12 Section 2 claim. |  |
| 13 A I do want to disclose I do have an |  | 13 Is that right? |  |
| 14 unwritten-on copy of my expert report so I can |  | 14 A Yes. |  |
| 15 look at that. |  | 15 Q And with respect to the first |  |
| 16 Q That's good. I'm happy about that. |  | 16 precondition, the requirement is that the minority |  |
| 17 We'll pull it up as well on the screen, but it |  | 17 group be sufficiently large and geographically |  |
| 18 will be easier for you if you have it with you. |  | 18 compact to form a majority in a new single-member |  |
| 19 So we've pulled up on the screen your |  | 19 district. |  |
| 20 expert report. |  | 20 Is that fair? |  |
| 21 Do you recognize this as your expert |  | 21 A Yes, yes. |  |
| 22 report in this case? |  | 22 Q Now, with respect to the first prong of |  |
| 23 A Yes. |  | 23 Gingles, the focus of the analysis is on a |  |
| 24 Q Now, are all of your opinions in this |  | 24 potential alternative district. |  |
| 25 matter contained in your expert report? |  | 25 Is that correct? |  |




## February 13, 2023

|  | 29 |  | 31 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 percent, but... |  | 1 A Yes, that's correct. |  |
| 2 (Cross-talk.) |  | 2 Q And then the turnout rate among white |  |
| 3 A Certainly more often than not. So... |  | 3 voters was 69.7 percent. |  |
| 4 Q I'll just represent, in the six |  | 4 Is that right? |  |
| 5 elections you looked at, the Gingles prong 2, it |  | 5 A Correct, correct. |  |
| 6 appears, at least to me, was your opinion that it |  | 6 Q And among other voters, it was 50.0 |  |
| 7 was established. |  | 7 percent? |  |
| 8 Does that sound right? |  | 8 A Yes, correct. |  |
| 9 A Yes. I mean, yeah, that's fair. |  | $9 \quad$ Q And so this is where I'm going to ask |  |
| 10 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark two more |  | 10 you to do a little math. I have already done it, |  |
| 11 exhibits that relate to this. I'll mark as |  | 11 but if you want to check my work, I would |  |
| 12 Exhibit 3 the file LD 9 Hypothetical 2020 |  | 12 encourage that. |  |
| 13 President. |  | 13 So you show the number of voters, and so |  |
| 14 (Exhibit Hood-3 marked for |  | 14 then we can calculate by dividing by the total the |  |
| 15 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  | 15 percentage of the electorate that was of each |  |
| 16 BY MR. GABER: |  | 16 racial group. |  |
| 17 Q And I'll represent to you, Dr. Hood, |  | 17 Is that fair enough? |  |
| 18 this is one of the Excel spreadsheets for |  | 18 A That's fair, yes. |  |
| 19 District 9 for the 2020 presidential race. |  | 19 Q And so I have calculated that if we take |  |
| 20 I did -- because the spreadsheet didn't |  | 20 the 2250 for Native American voters and divide it |  |
| 21 have any title within it, it was just a file name |  | 21 by the total of 5955, that yields 37.8 percent of |  |
| 22 and, like, the folder it was saved in that was |  | 22 the electorate in enacted District 9 for the 2020 |  |
| 23 titled, I did add that title you see at the top of |  | 23 presidential race as being Native American. |  |
| 24 the page and then converted this to a PDF. |  | 24 Does that sound right? |  |
| 25 But otherwise, does this look like the |  | 25 A Correct. That's what I'm getting, yes. |  |
|  | 30 |  | 32 |
| 1 spreadsheet you produced with data related to the |  | 1 Q And then if we do the same for white |  |
| 22020 presidential election for District 9? |  | 2 voters, that yields 57.7 percent of the electorate |  |
| $3 \quad$ A Yes. |  | 3 in the district being white voters. |  |
| $4 \quad$ Q And in the first column -- the first |  | 4 Is that correct? |  |
| 5 column is about District 9; the second column is |  | 5 A Correct. |  |
| 6 Subdistrict 9A; and the third column is |  | 6 Q And so in the presidential election, |  |
| 7 Subdistrict 9B, correct? |  | 7 despite the fact that the district has 51.7 |  |
| 8 A Correct. |  | 8 percent Native VAP, voting age population, a |  |
| $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And in column 1 for the full district, I |  | 9 substantial majority of the electorate was |  |
| 10 guess two sort of sections down, you report the |  | 10 actually white voters, right? |  |
| 11 turnout percentage and then the number of voters |  | 11 A In this scenario, yes. |  |
| 12 by Native American, white, and other. |  | 12 Q And this is the type of information that |  |
| 13 Is that right? |  | 13 is important to consider in whether or not a |  |
| 14 A Yes, correct. |  | 14 district actually performs to elect -- or to |  |
| 15 Q And so your analysis showed that in the |  | 15 provide an opportunity for Native American, or |  |
| 162020 presidential election, within the boundaries |  | 16 whatever the minority group is, to elect their |  |
| 17 of the new District $9,38.8$ or 38.9 percent of the |  | 17 candidate of choice, right? |  |
| 18 electorate was Native American. |  | 18 A Well, there has to be some information |  |
| 19 Is that right? |  | 19 like this. I mean, I guess different people may |  |
| 20 A Yes, correct. |  | 20 measure this factor in different ways. I mean, |  |
| 21 Q And -- I'm sorry. |  | 21 Prof. Collingwood doesn't do this. |  |
| 22 (Cross-talk.) |  | 22 But yes, there has to be some |  |
| 23 Q That's wrong. The turnout among Native |  | 23 information related to this. |  |
| 24 Americans was 38.9 percent. |  | 24 MR. GABER: And I'm going to mark as |  |
| $25 \quad$ Is that right? |  | 25 well, as Exhibit 4, LD 9 Hypothetical 2018 U.S. |  |




|  | 41 |  | 43 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 page 3, and then it's section E towards the bottom |  | 1 It's possible. I mean, certainly, there is a |  |
| 2 part of the document. |  | 2 distinction, I've agreed, between exogenous and |  |
| 3 And then in the first paragraph, you |  | 3 endogenous elections. |  |
| 4 talk a bit about endogenous and exogenous |  | $4 \quad$ Q So another example would be that more |  |
| 5 elections. |  | 5 recent elections are generally considered more |  |
| 6 Do you see the second sentence says, |  | 6 probative than elections that are further in time? |  |
| 7 Endogenous elections examine contexts from the |  | $7 \quad$ A True. |  |
| 8 same office as those under legal scrutiny and, |  | $8 \quad$ Q And elections that have a candidate who |  |
| 9 because of their relevance, should be given more |  | 9 is a member of the same minority group of the |  |
| 10 probative value? |  | 10 group that is challenging the district are more |  |
| 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just -- I'm sorry. |  | 11 probative than elections that are between, say, |  |
| 12 Go ahead and finish your question, then I'll |  | 12 two white candidates. |  |
| 13 insert my objection. |  | 13 Is that also true? |  |
| 14 Q Do you still agree with that statement? |  | 14 A Yes, that can be true. |  |
| 15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it's |  | 15 Q So in this case, elections where there |  |
| 16 outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work |  | 16 is a Native American candidate are more probative |  |
| 17 in this case. And can we just agree to have a |  | 17 to determine whether Gingles prong 3 exists than |  |
| 18 standing objection to this line of questioning |  | 18 elections where both of the candidates are white, |  |
| 19 about this report? |  | 19 correct? |  |
| 20 MR. GABER: Sure. |  | 20 A Correct. |  |
| 21 MR. PHILLIPS: You can go ahead and |  | 21 Q So with respect to the elections that |  |
| 22 answer. |  | 22 Dr. Collingwood reported, the most probative |  |
| 23 A I certainly seem to have written that |  | 23 contests would be the most recent for endogenous |  |
| 24 statement. |  | 24 elections in which there was a Native American |  |
| 25 Q And then we'll skip the next sentence. |  | 25 candidate. |  |
|  | 42 |  | 44 |
| 1 But the sentence after that, you say, Exogenous |  | 1 Is that right? |  |
| 2 elections, on the other hand, could include almost |  | 2 A Correct. |  |
| 3 any other contest from local boards to |  | $3 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And that sort of combination is about as |  |
| 4 presidential elections. As these elections are |  | 4 probative as you can get because it ticks off all |  |
| 5 not as directly relevant to the question at hand, |  | 5 three of those factors that are considered more |  |
| 6 they should be accorded far less weight in |  | 6 probative than other types of elections. |  |
| 7 reaching a conclusion concerning vote dilution |  | 7 Is that right? |  |
| 8 claims. |  | 8 A Correct. |  |
| 9 Do you recall having that opinion here? |  | $9 \quad$ Q And is it your -- I gather it's your |  |
| 10 A Yes. |  | 10 understanding that incumbency adds another benefit |  |
| 11 Q And does that remain your opinion today |  | 11 to a candidate and their likelihood of success. |  |
| 12 methodologically, that exogenous elections have |  | 12 Is that a fair statement, sort of |  |
| 13 far less weight in reaching conclusions for vote |  | 13 generally, as a political science proposition? |  |
| 14 dilution? |  | 14 A So we're talking about another topic |  |
| 15 A I've written this more than once, I'm |  | 15 here, right? |  |
| 16 sure, in academic work. So yes, I have to stand |  | 16 Q Yeah, yeah. |  |
| 17 by that statement. |  | 17 A Okay. Yes, incumbency typically |  |
| 18 MR. GABER: Okay. We can take down that |  | 18 benefits the incumbent officeholder, although in |  |
| 19 exhibit. |  | 19 more recent history, what we call the incumbency |  |
| 20 Q Now, in addition to endogenous elections |  | 20 advantage has diminished to some degree. This is |  |
| 21 being more probative than exogenous elections, |  | 21 an ongoing debate in political science. So... |  |
| 22 there are other considerations that might make an |  | 22 Q But if you -- so moving back to looking |  |
| 23 election more or less probative. |  | 23 at analyzing vote dilution, if you have an |  |
| 24 Is that right? |  | 24 election that's an endogenous election, that is |  |
| 25 A Well, let's -- I guess let's discuss it. |  | 25 the most recent election, features a candidate of |  |


| 45 | 47 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 the minority group that's challenging the | 1 2022? |
| 2 district, and that candidate is also an existing | 2 A I don't remember that as being part of |
| 3 incumbent, then if that candidate loses, that | 3 his report. I'm just not recalling. |
| 4 would be even more indicative of the effect of | 4 MR. GABER: Okay. Let's mark as -- |
| 5 white bloc voting. | 5 well, I'm not going to mark it yet because I don't |
| 6 Is that a fair statement? | 6 want to get my numbers out of order. But let's |
| 7 A Well, I don't know that I would include | 7 pull up, if we can, the file -- I think it's |
| 8 incumbency in that list necessarily. Again, it's | 8 probably TM Collingwood report, or -- yeah, TM |
| 9 something that we're seeing some changes related | 9 Collingwood Expert Report. And we won't mark it |
| 10 to in terms of, you know, how much of an advantage | 10 as an exhibit for now. We may not mark it. |
| 11 it is or isn't in more recent history. So... | 11 THE WITNESS: Okay. |
| 12 Q Okay. But the other three, you agree | 12 Q All right. And let me just find it in |
| 13 with? | 13 my copy. |
| 14 A Yes, as we've discussed. | 14 So if we can go to page 15 of the PDF. |
| 15 Q So in the context of the elections that | 15 Do you see here that Dr. Collingwood reports the |
| 16 Dr. Collingwood analyzed, would you agree that the | 16 racially polarized voting assessment for all the |
| 17 single most probative contest would be the 2022 | 17 statewide and the endogenous 2022 elections for |
| 18 election -- at least with respect to District 9, | 18 District 9? |
| 19 the 2022 election for the state senate in | 19 A Yes, I see that, yes. |
| 20 District 9, that's the most probative under | 20 Q And would you agree that from this |
| 21 Gingles prong 3 because it features an endogenous | 21 table, you can identify who the candidates of |
| 22 election with a Native American candidate and it's | 22 choice were for Native American voters? |
| 23 the most recent election? | 23 A Yes, that's fair. |
| 24 A Yes. | 24 Q And do you see in -- and this is for the |
| 25 Q And in District 9B, that -- for the 2022 | 25 full District 9. You see that Richard Marcellais |
| 46 | 48 |
| 1 election for the U.S. -- sorry -- for the state | 1 is the candidate of choice for Native American |
| 2 house, is also -- that's an endogenous context, | 2 voters in the state senate race in 2022? |
| 3 right? | $3 \quad$ A Yes, I do. |
| 4 A 2022? | 4 Q And then do you understand -- I don't |
| $5 \quad$ Q 2022. | 5 know if it says it on this page, but the asterisk |
| 6 A Yes, yes. | 6 next to his name indicates that he is himself a |
| $7 \quad$ Q And that is the most recent contest for | 7 Native American. |
| 8 the state house in District 9B? | 8 Do you understand that? |
| 9 A Yes, correct. | $9 \quad$ A Yes. |
| 10 Q And the difference between that election | 10 Q And then -- |
| 11 and the state senate is, the Native American | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Mark, it's been about an |
| 12 preferred candidate was a white incumbent. | 12 hour. If we could take a small break when it |
| 13 Is that your understanding? | 13 makes sense in the near future. |
| 14 A I don't recall, just sitting here. I'm | 14 MR. GABER: Okay. |
| 15 not saying that's incorrect. | 15 Q And then if we pull up page 21 of the |
| 16 Q The candidate was Marvin Nelson. | 16 PDF and go to the paragraph underneath -- scroll |
| 17 Does that sound right? | 17 down just a little bit. In that paragraph under |
| 18 A Well, I guess what I'm saying is, I | 18 the table, towards the bottom of that paragraph, |
| 19 don't -- in order to infer who the Native American | 19 do you see where Dr. Collingwood refers to the |
| 20 preferred candidate is, there would have to be | 20 defeat of Marvin Nelson, the Native American |
| 21 some analysis performed. I did not do that | 21 preferred candidate, in Subdistrict 9B in 2022? |
| 22 analysis in 2022. | 22 A Yes, I see that. |
| 23 Q You didn't have any reason to disagree | 23 Q Do you have any reason to disagree with |
| 24 or criticize Dr. Collingwood's determinations as 25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in | 24 Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that Marvin Nelson or <br> 25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice |
| 25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in | 25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice |


| 49 | 51 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 of Native American voters in those two elections? | 1 Q So the -- for the most part, the only |
| 2 A Well, Ithink this is what I was | 2 Native Americans in District 9B are all |
| 3 remembering. I mean, so in terms of Marcellais, I | 3 concentrated in the area that's in 9B but close to |
| 4 mean, a statistical analysis was conducted that | 4 the border of 9A. |
| 5 showed that he was the Native American preferred | $5 \quad$ Is that your understanding? |
| 6 candidate of choice. The same statistical | 6 A From what I remember, yes. |
| 7 analysis was not conducted for Nelson. It's just | $7 \quad$ Q And so to the extent those voting |
| 8 being inferred. | 8 precincts have a high concentration of Native |
| 9 That's what I was remembering, yeah. | 9 American voters and is also the precinct in which |
| 10 Q And part of the reason for that is that | 10 Marvin Nelson prevailed, and if Marvin Nelson lost |
| 11 the subdistricts don't have a sufficient number of | 11 by large margins, the precinct in the white |
| 12 precincts to do a complete -- or at least the same | 12 counties, there is a fair inference that can be |
| 13 type of RPV analysis that you would do in the | 13 drawn as to who the candidate of choice is in |
| 14 district as a whole. | 14 those -- in that race. |
| 15 Is that right? | 15 Wouldn't you agree? |
| 16 A I would agree with that. | 16 A Well, I would respectfully, I guess, |
| 17 Q But what you can do is look at the | 17 disagree. I mean, you know, there are different |
| 18 election returns within the precincts and | 18 methods you can use to uncover racially polarized |
| 19 correlate them with the demographic data from that | 19 voting, one of those being homogeneous precinct |
| 20 precinct and can make a reasonable inference as to | 20 analysis, which is a very old method. |
| 21 who the candidates of choice are | 21 I didn't detect, from my memory at least |
| 22 Is that fair? | 22 sitting here, any precincts in the area where |
| 23 A Well, again, you know, that's why we | 23 you're describing that had a high enough |
| 24 test for these things, and that's not the | 24 percentage of Native American population to make |
| 25 procedure that we use to test to determine whether | 25 that kind of inference using, say, homogeneous |
| 50 | 52 |
| 1 or not racially polarized voting exists or not. | 1 precinct analysis. |
| 2 So that's not the typical procedure. | 2 Q With respect to the white voters, there |
| 3 If there's not enough statistical power, | 3 is homogeneous precincts -- |
| 4 there's just not enough statistical power. And I | 4 (Cross-talk.) |
| 5 probably would agree there's not. | 5 A That's true, yes. But there has to be |
| 6 Q With respect to the Subdistrict 9B, it | 6 homogeneous precincts for both groups or however |
| 7 covers part of Rolette County and then parts of | 7 many groups you're analyzing. So... |
| 8 Towner and Cavalier County to the east of Turtle | $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ So to the extent -- so do you understand |
| 9 Mountain. | 9 that Marvin Nelson was the incumbent state house |
| 10 Is that your understanding? | 10 rep from the prior District 9 ? |
| 11 A So B is the one to the east, if I'm | 11 A Yes, I recall that. |
| 12 remembering right, yes. | 12 Q And so one way to test whether he's the |
| 13 Q Right. And so the Native American -- | 13 candidate of choice of Native American voters, to |
| 14 are you familiar with the demographic makeup of | 14 the extent you have a dispute over the correlation |
| 15 District 9B geographically? | 15 method, is to look in the past elections in which |
| 16 A Alittle bit, yes. | 16 he's been elected to determine whether he was the |
| 17 Q So is it your understanding that the | 17 candidate of choice using the more traditional |
| 18 populations of Cavalier and Towner counties are | 18 statistical analysis. |
| 19 close to 100 percent white? | 19 Is that fair? |
| 20 A Well, from my memory, this is what I | 20 A If it's possible. You know, I would |
| 21 would say, you know, outside of the reservation in | 21 have to see if it were possible in the past. |
| 22 that particular legislative district, in the areas | 22 Q And if there's a consistent pattern of |
| 23 right around the reservation, the rest of the | 23 him being the Native American voters' candidate of |
| 24 district does not contain many, if any, Native 25 Americans. | 24 choice, then you would expect that to be the case 25 for 2022 as well, right? |


|  | 53 | 55 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Well, again, I'm going to just have to |  | 1 Q Okay. If all the Native American voters |
| 2 push back on that. I mean, that's why we test |  | 2 are essentially in one county, then we can look at |
| 3 things. |  | 3 that county, and if it's possible, perform an |
| 4 So it would make logical sense perhaps |  | 4 analysis to try and make that determination. |
| 5 if that were the case. But again, we -- we don't |  | 5 Is that right? |
| 6 just make inferences without testing for things. |  | 6 A Well, again, if the data are present to |
| 7 So... |  | 7 make that determination, I don't know. You know, |
| $8 \quad$ Q If we combined that data showing that he |  | 8 there would have to be -- even if we were looking |
| 9 was the candidate of choice in the prior state |  | 9 at a single county, there would have to be enough |
| 10 representative elections for District 9 Native |  | 10 precincts within the county to make a proper |
| 11 American voters with the inferences that can be |  | 11 inference, I guess. So... |
| 12 drawn from the demographics and the election |  | 12 Q You haven't done that analysis in your |
| 13 results for the 2022 election, that would provide |  | 13 report. |
| 14 at least a preponderance of evidence that he was, |  | 14 Is that right? |
| 15 in fact, the candidate of choice in 2022 as well. |  | 15 A That's correct. |
| 16 Wouldn't you agree with that? |  | 16 Q And you don't have any -- you don't |
| 17 A I don't -- I mean, I'm not trying to be |  | 17 opine anything with respect to Dr. Collingwood's |
| 18 flippant. I don't know that what you just said is |  | 18 selection of who the candidates of choice of white |
| 19 all that much different from what we just talked |  | 19 or Native American voters are in his report, |
| 20 about previously. So... |  | 20 correct? |
| 21 Q Are you aware that former Representative |  | 21 A Well, except for this example we're |
| 22 Nelson was the Democratic candidate for governor |  | 22 talking about where he's making an inference about |
| 24 A No, I was not aware of that. |  | 24 testing that's been performed. Otherwise, no. |
| 25 Q And Dr. Collingwood reports that he was |  | 25 Q Okay. But for your report, you don't, |
|  | 54 | 56 |
| 1 the candidate of choice of Native American voters |  | 1 in your report, make any criticism of |
| 2 in the region. |  | 2 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of Subdistricts 9A or |
| 3 Do you have any reason to disagree with |  | 3 9B, right? |
| 4 that? |  | 4 A I don't believe I do specifically, no. |
| 5 A Not on its face. |  | 5 Q And you haven't done any analysis to |
| $6 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And it's your view that in the entire |  | 6 show that he's incorrect in his conclusions? |
| 7 District 9, there's a clear pattern of the |  | 7 A No. |
| 8 Democratic candidate being the candidate of choice |  | 8 Q Sorry, I missed that. What was that |
| 9 of Native American voters, right? |  | 9 answer? |
| 10 A That's true, yes. |  | $10 \quad$ A No. It was just "no." |
| 11 Q And so -- and that's true regardless of |  | 11 Q And you don't dispute in your report |
| 12 where they are -- where the Native American voters |  | 12 that Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that in the |
| 13 reside in District 9. There's no evidence to |  | 13 endogenous elections in District 9, there is a |
| 14 suggest that there's a difference among candidates |  | 14100 percent defeat rate for the Native American |
| 15 of choice. |  | 15 candidates of choice? |
| 16 Is that right? |  | 16 A Well, again, with the caveat that if we |
| 17 A I'm not following -- I didn't follow |  | 17 can determine specifically who the Native American |
| 18 what you just said. |  | 18 candidate of choice is, then yes. |
| 19 Q Well, if Native American voters are -- |  | 19 Q And for District 9 as a whole, you agree |
| 20 have a clear candidate of choice in District 9, |  | 20 with Dr. Collingwood's analysis that Richard |
| 21 then there is not a basis to conclude that that |  | 21 Marcellais is the candidate of choice of Native |
| 22 fact varies depending on where in District 9 |  | 22 American voters in the 2022 election? |
| 23 you're looking? |  | 23 A I didn't dispute that. So yes. |
| 24 A Well, I don't know that that's the case |  | 24 Q And so that is -- that's a 100 percent |
| 25 or not. I just don't know. |  | 25 defeat rate for that -- for endogenous elections |


| 57 | 5 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 in District 9? | 1 Q Okay. |
| 2 A Well, that's, yes, one race, yes. | 2 (Cross-talk.) |
| 3 Q And in your report, you don't dispute | 3 A But I've fiddled around with it. |
| 4 Dr. Collingwood's similar analysis for endogenous | 4 Q And you understand that they import the |
| 5 elections in District 9B? | 5 demographic data from the census bureau? |
| 6 A Well, again, I don't think he did the | 6 A That's my understanding, yes. |
| 7 testing for racially polarized voting in either | $7 \quad$ Q And then they combine that together with |
| 8 subdistrict. | 8 the precinct boundaries as set by the local |
| $9 \quad$ Q But if he's correct in identifying who | 9 jurisdictions or the state? |
| 10 the candidate of choice is in those elections, | 10 A Well, this is where things can get a |
| 11 then he would also be correct that there was a | 11 little fuzzy. Sometimes I believe they're using |
| 12100 percent defeat rate in District 9B for the | 12 precinct boundaries that have been identified by |
| 13 endogenous election? | 13 the census bureau as VTD boundaries, which at |
| 14 A Well, if he's correct, yes. But, you | 14 times may or may not be congruent with present |
| 15 know, I guess I would argue we don't know if he's | 15 precinct boundaries, if I'm making sense. So... |
| 16 correct or not without testing. | 16 Q So the precinct, according to Dave's, is |
| 17 Q So is it your view, then, that it's not | 1793.7 percent Native VAP. |
| 18 possible to determine who the Native American | 18 If that's correct or roughly correct, |
| 19 preferred candidate in District 9A is either? | 19 that would count as a homogeneous Native American |
| 20 A From what I recall, I don't believe -- | 20 precinct under your understanding of that. |
| 21 and again, I think Prof. Collingwood said this as | 21 Is that true? |
| 22 well -- that there are enough precincts to yield a | 22 A Yes. But it would just be one. And we |
| 23 useable analysis in the subdistricts, in either | 23 usually want more than one precinct to do some |
| 24 subdistrict. | 24 analysis with. So... |
| 25 Q Well, to do a racially polarized voting | 25 Q Okay. So is it your opinion that |
| 58 | 60 |
| 1 analysis using ecological inference, right? | 1 there's no way to determine whether the Native |
| 2 A Correct. Or even homogeneous precinct | 2 American who won the state representative race in |
| 3 analysis, perhaps. | 3 Subdistrict 9A is the candidate of choice of the |
| $4 \quad$ Q In District 9A, do you agree that there | 4 Native American voters in the district? |
| 5 is homogeneous Native American precincts? | 5 A Well, given conventional methods, I'm |
| 6 A Yes, although I have typically defined | 6 not sure how it would be done, I guess is what I |
| 7 homogeneous as being 90 percent of a single racial | 7 would say. |
| 8 group. So I don't know -- I don't recall -- I | $8 \quad$ Q That's important information to |
| 9 don't believe that any of the precincts reached | 9 determine whether the candidate of choice is being |
| 10 that level for Native Americans, that I can recall | 10 elected in District 9A? |
| 11 sitting here. And that's the typical sort of | 11 A That's true. I mean, that's how we |
| 12 cutoff I've used. | 12 would make that determination. |
| 13 Q We'll take a break in a moment. I just | 13 Q But in the absence of enough precincts, |
| 14 want to check something. | 14 you can certainly make inferences that may not |
| 15 And I'm just representing this to you. | 15 have the same high level of rigor as the EI |
| 16 The Belcourt, which is the city that is contained | 16 analysis would, but at some point, it just is |
| 17 within the Turtle Mountain reservation or | 17 common sense, right? |
| 18 precinct, has a 2022 Native voting age population, | 18 If there's essentially only one |
| 19 according to Dave's Redistricting App -- | 19 demographic group in the district, then the |
| 20 Are you familiar with that website? | 20 candidate who wins by a large majority would |
| 21 A I am. | 21 necessarily be that group's candidate of choice. |
| 22 Q Have you used it before? | 22 Does that seem fair? |
| 23 A Yes. | 23 A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to |
| 24 Q And do you -- | 24 differentiate between common sense or what may |
| 25 A I've not used it for a court case. | 25 appear on the face to be something versus, again, |



| 65 | 67 |
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| 1 pattern uncovered at the district level. That's | 1 to really make an inference from that. So... |
| 2 true. I can say that. | 2 Q But nevertheless, you would give greater |
| 3 Q Okay. And would you agree with me that | 3 weight to that -- when you're looking individually |
| 4 it would be unlikely that the subdistricts would | 4 at each election, you would give significantly |
| 5 have a different voting pattern than the district | 5 greater weight to the endogenous election, to the |
| 6 as a whole? | 6 extent it points in a different direction than the |
| 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for | 7 exogenous election? |
| 8 speculation. | 8 A I think someone like the Court would be |
| 9 A Again, I guess this is where I -- you | 9 better positioned to do that than I would, |
| 10 know, it's difficult to make inferences without | 10 necessarily. So... |
| 11 testing. | 11 Q And so the Court would need to be the |
| 12 Q But that is -- and we've agreed, that is | 12 one to make those determinations about probative |
| 13 the inference that you found reliable to make in | 13 value between the elections? |
| 14 the Walen report? | 14 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 15 A I made that inference, yes. | 15 legal conclusion. |
| 16 Q Now, given that endogenous elections, | 16 A Well, yes, and again, to the extent of |
| 17 more recent elections, and elections featuring a | 17 which how many elections are -- how many |
| 18 Native American candidate are more probative than | 18 endogenous elections do we have versus exogenous, |
| 19 other elections -- exogenous elections, more | 19 what type of exogenous elections, you know, what |
| 20 distant elections, and elections featuring only | 20 time period. I mean, there's a lot of factors to |
| 21 white candidates -- would you agree with me that | 21 weigh here. |
| 22 equally weighing them in an analysis is not | 22 So I typically don't -- I guess what I'm |
| 23 methodologically correct? | 23 saying is, as a political scientist, I typically |
| 24 A Well, again, I freely admit endogenous | 24 am looking for a pattern, not for, you know, a |
| 25 elections are more probative, certainly. I mean, | 25 detailed dive into a single election, per se. |
| 66 | 68 |
| 1 Prof. Collingwood provided these same sort of | 1 Q If there's a limit to the number of |
| 2 global stats that I do in this report that I | 2 endogenous elections and there are more recent |
| 3 turnedin. So... | 3 exogenous elections available, you would agree |
| $4 \quad$ Q But in terms of interpreting the | 4 that the better approach -- or a good approach |
| 5 election results, the proper methodology is to | 5 would be to go to those first because they have |
| 6 accord greater weight to the endogenous elections, | 6 more probative value than more distant exogenous |
| 7 the elections featuring Native American | 7 elections, correct? |
| 8 candidates, and the more recent elections. | 8 A Yeah. I mean, typically, in these kinds |
| 9 Do you agree with that? | 9 of analyses -- and I've written about this |
| 10 A Yes, as we've discussed. | 10 academically -- I typically don't go back more |
| 11 Q And so when we get to the point of | 11 than ten years, just as sort of a general rule. I |
| 12 reaching a conclusion about Gingles prong 3, | 12 mean, that's not -- there's no principle on that. |
| 13 either an academic or a court should not weigh the | 13 But I typically don't go back further than ten |
| 14 elections equally? | 14 years. So... |
| 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection to the | 15 Q And you would agree, within that ten |
| 16 extent -- I'll say speculation and calls for a | 16 years, the probative value increases as you get |
| 17 legal conclusion. | 17 closer to today? |
| 18 A Well, I can't speak for the Court, | 18 A Yes, as we've discussed, yes. I think |
| 19 but -- and again, this sort of gets into another | 19 that's fair. |
| 20 issue we have sometimes in vote dilution cases of | 20 Q Now, if the endogenous election and the |
| 21 how many, you know, endogenous elections there are | 21 more recent exogenous elections and the elections |
| 22 to compare with the rest of the elections out | 22 in which there are Native American candidates of |
| 23 there. | 23 choice point in favor of a Gingles prong 3 |
| 24 If there's -- I'm just saying | 24 finding, and the less probative elections point in |
| 25 hypothetically, if there's two, then that's hard | 25 the opposite direction, then the Court would need |


| 69 | 71 |
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| 1 to consider more probative, in your view, or | 1 cases more or less weight, then yes. But at that |
| 2 academics would need to consider more probative | 2 point, that's the Court making that determination, |
| 3 the elections pointing in favor of a Gingles | 3 not a research |
| 4 prong 3 conclusion. | 4 Q And the Court, in doing so, would be |
| 5 Is that a fair statement? | 5 following, however, the generally accepted |
| 6 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation, | 6 methodology, which, as we've discussed, involves |
| 7 calls for a legal conclusion, and object to form. | 7 placing, I think in your words, far greater weight |
| 8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I | 8 on endogenous elections and more probative value |
| 9 would say. As a researcher, you know, looking | 9 to more recent elections and to racially contested |
| 10 into a vote dilution matter, I would make a | 10 elections, right? |
| 11 determination of what elections I'm going to | 11 A Yeah. I don't disagree with those |
| 12 analyze up front. | 12 points, as we've discussed. I've written about |
| 13 And, you know, I don't disagree, legally | 13 that academically, in fact. So... |
| 14 speaking, that some elections may be more | 14 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood, in his report, |
| 15 probative than others. But a researcher has | 15 though he presented the -- all of the election |
| 16 chosen a set of elections, and you can't just pick | 16 results from 2014 to 2022 for the statewide |
| 17 and choose at that point which ones are going to | 17 contests reconstituted in the new districts, did |
| 18 be included or not. | 18 provide opinion and discussion about how to |
| 19 So if -- we have to, like -- you know, | 19 interpret that for purposes of Gingles prong 3, |
| 20 if we're going to make an argument not to include | 20 given the differences in the probative value of |
| 21 certain elections in our analysis that we've | 21 different types of elections. |
| 22 already analyzed, or we're saying that they're | 22 Do you recall reading that? |
| 23 less probative for whatever, I mean, that's really <br> 24 a matter for the Court to weigh, if that makes | 23 A He provided some -- he provided some 24 context, yes. |
| 25 sense. | 25 Q And you don't -- in your report, you |
| 70 | 72 |
| 1 Q So another way of saying that is that | 1 didn't dispute any of that, correct? |
| 2 that's a factual determination about how much | 2 A I don't think I disputed it directly. I |
| 3 probative value to give each particular election? | 3 may have disputed it indirectly in the way that I |
| 4 A Yes. That's not something I think I can | 4 treated that set of races that he analyzed. |
| 5 do or any other researcher can do necessarily. I | 5 Q And that was by equally weighing the |
| 6 mean, Prof. Collingwood chose these races to | 6 races that he analyzed, correct? |
| 7 analyze, and yes, within that subset, some may be | 7 A That's correct. |
| 8 more probative than others, as we've discussed. I | 8 Q But as we've discussed, the Court will |
| 9 don't disagree with that. | 9 have to ferret out what probative value to give |
| 10 But nevertheless, he analyzed all these | 10 those races to make a Gingles prong 3 conclusion, |
| 11 races, and so they should be included in the | 11 right? |
| 12 prong 3 component of the Gingles analysis. I | 12 A Yes. |
| 13 guess that's what I would say. So... | 13 Q And it's your view that, given the |
| 14 Q And the question then is how much weight | 14 differing probative values that should be afforded |
| 15 to give each particular election in terms of what | 15 different types of elections, you can't make that |
| 16 it says about whether white voters are usually | 16 Gingles prong 3 determination for the Court, |
| 17 defeating the Native preferred candidates. | 17 correct? |
| 18 A Yes. Which is, I think, outside the | 18 A Well, I mean, yes, that's correct. |
| 19 scope of what I normally would do personally. | 19 So, you know, a similar example would be |
| 20 Q But in order to make a determination | 20 hypothetically, and I'm speaking just |
| 21 about whether Gingles prong 3 is satisfied or not, | 21 hypothetically here, if we had two experts in a |
| 22 that's a necessary part of that determination, | 22 particular vote dilution case like this present |
| 23 right, how much probative value to give the | 23 the Court with two different sets of elections |
| 24 individual elections? | 24 they had analyzed, maybe some overlap in a Venn |
| 25 A Well, if a court decided to give certain | 25 diagram, but some don't, same thing. The Court |






|  | 89 |  | 91 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Yes. |  | 1 A I believe so. |  |
| 2 Q It would be the second to the last page |  | 2 Q You would agree that's a larger sample |  |
| 3 of the PDF, which is going to be 13, that's Bates |  | 3 size than the six that you analyzed for your Walen |  |
| 4 stamped HOOD-0256. |  | 4 report? |  |
| 5 Now, is this the sort of underlying work |  | 5 A That's true, yes. |  |
| 6 that you did to create the table for your report |  | 6 Q And, in fact, just the 2022 contests |  |
| 7 that is on page 3? |  | 7 alone would be a larger sample size than what you |  |
| $8 \quad$ A It should be, yes. |  | 8 looked at in the -- in your Walen report? |  |
| $9 \quad$ Q So what you show here is that -- and |  | 9 A Correct. |  |
| 10 this is, again, LD 9, LD 9A, LD 9B, and the total, |  | 10 Q And as a general matter, the more |  |
| 11 the total being the number of elections that were |  | 11 elections -- looking at more elections is better |  |
| 12 available statewide or for endogenous in that |  | 12 than looking at fewer elections. |  |
| 13 given election year? |  | 13 Is that a generally fair statement? |  |
| 14 A Yes, yes. |  | 14 A Typically. Again, you know, as long as |  |
| 15 Q And so just looking at LD 9, there's |  | 15 they're somewhat probative. |  |
| 16 eight elections available to be analyzed in 2022, |  | 16 Q Well, in fact, if you're looking at -- |  |
| 17 correct? |  | 17 A I'm not saying 2022 wasn't. I'm just |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 adding that qualifier to that general statement. |  |
| 19 Q And the Native American preferred |  | 19 (Inaudible) any election at any time, you know. |  |
| 20 candidate lost all eight of those, right? |  | 20 So... |  |
| 21 A Yes. |  | 21 Q Yeah. And, in fact, as we discussed, |  |
| 22 Q If we add the 2020 elections to the 2022 |  | 22 the more probative elections would be the more |  |
| 23 elections, then we have 14 total contests. |  | 23 recent, endogenous, and those featuring a minority |  |
| 24 Is that right? |  | 24 candidate of the minority group challenging the |  |
| 25 A Yes, correct. |  | 25 map? |  |
|  | 90 |  | 92 |
| 1 Q And that would include a mix of at least |  | 1 A Yes. |  |
| 2 one endogenous race and then the most recent two |  | 2 Q Now, both in these notes but also in |  |
| 3 election cycles of statewide contests? |  | 3 your report on page 3, Table 1 on page 3 -- so I |  |
| 4 A Correct. |  | 4 guess what you've done here is, you have combined |  |
| $5 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And so if the time period we're looking |  | 5 District 9, District 9A, and District 9B and |  |
| 6 at is 2022 and 2020, then the Native preferred |  | 6 summed up all the elections in those three |  |
| 7 candidate would have won 4 out of the 14 contests. |  | 7 districts to report the defeat rate for Native |  |
| 8 Is that correct? |  | 8 American preferred candidates across these five |  |
| $9 \quad A \quad$ Based on these notes, yes. |  | 9 election cycles. |  |
| 10 Q And then if we skip over 2018 but add in |  | 10 Is that right? |  |
| 11 the 2016 to the 2020 and the 2022, then there are |  | 11 A In Table 1, yes. That's correct. |  |
| 12 nine contests for those three election cycles in |  | 12 Q So there's 108 elections where there's a |  |
| 13 which the Native preferred candidate prevailed. |  | 13 clear Native American candidate of choice. |  |
| 14 Am I right? |  | 14 Is that right? |  |
| 15 A Yes, that's correct. |  | 15 A Yes. |  |
| 16 Q And that's 9 out of 21 contests, right? |  | 16 Q And that's -- you get there by adding up |  |
| 17 A Yes. |  | 17 District 9, District 9A, and District 9B, right? |  |
| 18 Q So setting aside 2018, for the other |  | 18 A Correct. |  |
| 19 most recent three election cycles, the white |  | 19 Q Now, we've discussed a bit that |  |
| 20 candidate prevailed in District 9 in the majority |  | 20 District 9A has a very high Native American voting |  |
| 21 of the elections in those three election cycles, |  | 21 age population. |  |
| 22 correct? |  | 22 Would you agree with that? |  |
| 23 A That would be correct. |  | 23 A Yes. |  |
| 24 Q And that's -- we said -- is that 21 |  | 24 Q It's nearly 80 -- |  |
| 25 contests, right? |  | 25 (Reporter interruption.) |  |


| 93 | 95 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 Q It's nearly 80 percent. | 1 surrounding voters. |
| 2 Is that your understanding? | 2 Does that make sense? |
| 3 A It's high. I don't remember the | 3 A Yes, yes. |
| 4 exact -- I mean, unless I put it in my report | $4 \quad$ Q So you would not -- the Gingles prong 3 |
| 5 somewhere, I don't remember the exact number. But | 5 doesn't get at whether white voters are defeating |
| 6 it's high. | 6 the Native candidate of choice in a packed |
| 7 Q Okay. | 7 district, right? The purpose is to look at the |
| 8 A Subdistrict 9A is 77.0 percent Native | 8 districts where there's allegedly too few Native |
| 9 American VAP. That's what I wrote. | 9 American voters, given the way that the lines were |
| 10 Q Okay. Now, we talked a bit earlier when | 10 drawn? |
| 11 we were talking about sort of your presentation of | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 12 the three Gingles factors that one typically would | 12 legal conclusion. |
| 13 not include a district with such a high minority | 13 A Well, again, I mean, I guess I would say |
| 14 population in the Gingles prong 3 analysis because | 14 it's just something that can be analyzed. That's |
| 15 the purpose of the Gingles prong 3 analysis is to | 15 probably not going to be the case where the Native |
| 16 determine whether white voters are blocking Native | 16 American preferred candidate of choice is losing |
| 17 preferred candidates in an area where there aren't | 17 in a district that's packed in a hypothetical |
| 18 enough Native voters. | 18 sense, no. |
| 19 Is that correct? | 19 Q And, in fact, when we look at your notes |
| 20 A Well, I mean, I included this because I | 20 here that are on the screen, which I think is |
| 21 was responding to Prof. Collingwood, and he | 21 Exhibit 6, on page 13 of the notes, you show that |
| 22 included it. | 22 the Native preferred candidate wins 100 percent of |
| 23 Q But Dr. Collingwood didn't add 9A, 9B, | 23 the tested elections in District 9A, right? |
| 24 and 9 together, right? You did that. | 24 A Yes. |
| 25 A I did that, yes. | 25 Q And so that doesn't tell us what's |
| 94 | 96 |
| 1 Q Okay. And so do you agree with me, | 1 happening in the cracked -- the allegedly cracked |
| 2 though, that in a district with a large minority | 2 populations outside of District 9A, right? |
| 3 population, well above a majority and over | 3 A That's correct. |
| 4 three-quarters of the population of voters, that | $4 \quad$ Q And so if we're trying to determine |
| 5 conducting a Gingles prong 3 analysis doesn't even | 5 whether or not white voters usually defeat Native |
| 6 make sense for that district? | 6 preferred candidates in those areas outside of the |
| 7 A Well, it makes sense insofar as it | 7 packed district, we would most appropriately |
| 8 confirms that where there's racially polarized | 8 confine our Gingles prong 3 analysis to those |
| 9 voting and the district contains that many of a | 9 areas outside the packed district. |
| 10 racial group, the time their preferred candidate | 10 Do you agree with that? |
| 11 of choice should win. | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 12 Q Do you understand the plaintiffs to be | 12 legal conclusion. |
| 13 alleging that District 9A is packed with Native | 13 A Again, I don't disagree necessarily. |
| 14 American voters, and the surrounding districts, | 14 But to the extent to which 9A is part of this set |
| 15 there's cracked Native American voting population? | 15 of districts that's being analyzed, I included it. |
| 16 A I mean, are you representing that that | 16 Q Yeah, I get that. |
| 17 is the case? | 17 And it is being challenged insofar as |
| 18 Q Yes. So the allegation is that | 18 the allegation is that it's been packed so heavily |
| 19 District 9A is packed; there is cracked population | 19 that that's the only district in which a Native |
| 20 in District 9B and in neighboring District 15. | 20 preferred candidate would win. |
| 21 A So it's not District 9 is packed, then. | 21 But to examine whether white bloc voting |
| 22 Q The allegation is that District 9 is | 22 is usually defeating the candidates of choice in |
| 23 dilutive because it has an insufficient effective | 23 more districts than what was drawn, you would not |
| 24 Native population, but the allegation is that 9A | 24 look at the allegedly packed district for Gingles |
| 25 is packed and Native voters are cracked in the | 25 prong 3? |


| 97 | 99 |
| :---: | :---: |
| MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection. <br> A Well, I would just say that the district under challenge, I did look at it. <br> Q Okay. But let's take my proposition and assume that's true. And I think you've said you didn't necessarily disagree with that, right? <br> A Correct. <br> Q And if we exclude District 9A, the allegedly packed district, and look just at District 9 and District 9B in combination, then there are -- across the five analyzed years, there are -- is it 72 total elections? <br> A I guess it would be. <br> Q And among those 72 elections, the Native preferred candidate wins 30 , and the white 6 preferred candidate wins 40. <br> Is that correct? Or 42, rather. <br> A Yes. 40, right? If I'm looking at this right. <br> Q Maybe it's 40. So it's -- I'm just trying to help myself do math here. <br> So there's 23 Native -- you counted 23 <br> Native victories in LD 9. And is that 7 in 9B? <br> A Yes, looks like 7 to me. <br> Q So that's 30 for the Native preferred | Gingles prong 3 being present that the white preferred candidate is usually defeating the Native preferred candidate? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a legal conclusion. <br> A In 9 and 9B added together, yes. <br> Q Okay. Now, you understand, based on our discussion earlier -- did you review the Complaint and the supplemental Complaint that were filed by 10 plaintiffs in this case? <br> A I probably did. I can't tell you that I can remember much from it. <br> Q But you understand and you did some 4 analysis -- or rather, you reviewed <br> 5 Dr. Collingwood's analysis and understand that 16 District 15, the neighboring district, is also part of the claim in this case, right? <br> A Yes, yes. <br> Q And to the extent that plaintiffs claim, which I can represent it is, is about vote dilution as a regional matter, and not with regard 22 to, you know, the particular district lines, 23 because the challenge is to the lines, one could 24 also add in District 15's results to District 9 <br> 25 and District 9B to get a full picture of the |
| candidates. And there's -- there are 72 <br> elections. Maybe it's the case -- we're trying to <br> get at whether it's 40 or 42 victories for the <br> white preferred candidate. It's possible that <br> those are the two elections that didn't feature a <br> racially polarized voting, perhaps. But -- <br> (Cross-talk.) <br> A I don't think those two races are being <br> counted in this table I drew out by hand. <br> Q Okay. So then it would be 42 contests <br> in which the white preferred candidate prevailed <br> when we sum up District 9 and District 9B, and 30 <br> in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed? <br> A I believe that's correct, yes. <br> Q So that would be 58 percent of the time 6 when we look at the districts that are alleged to <br> have too little Native population to provide an <br> equal opportunity to elect; 58 percent of the <br> time, the white preferred candidate is winning, <br> and 42 percent of the time, the Native preferred <br> candidate is winning. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Based on those calculations, that would <br> be correct, yes. <br> 25 Q And that would be indicative of a | racially polarized voting and the Gingles prong 3 <br> factors for the whole challenged area, correct? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form, <br> compound question. <br> Q That was very compound. Let me break it down. <br> So to the extent -- given that <br> plaintiffs are challenging the regional drawing of <br> the districts, then it would be -- it would make <br> 0 sense to -- as you did to some extent, to add <br> together the challenged election results from both <br> 2 Districts 9 and 15 ? <br> A Well, I mean, one could make that <br> argument. I don't know that two -- I mean, we're <br> using this term "region." I don't know that two <br> legislative districts are a region, per se. <br> I mean, you can do what you're saying, <br> certainly. I mean, it's just a matter of <br> arithmetic. <br> Q And given the results that you saw in -given what we just saw with respect to District 9 and District 9B, if we add in the results in <br> District 15 , there's an even stronger indication <br> 24 of the presence of Gingles prong 3 using that 25 approach, correct? |





| 113 | 115 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 elections, then the evidence in favor of white | 1 trying to discern what, you know, a group of |
| 2 bloc voting would be even higher than the 42 out | 2 people were thinking exactly. So... |
| 3 of 72 that we see including those elections, | 3 Q Doesn't that just -- isn't it just |
| 4 right? | 4 purely logical? So if what you did glean was that |
| 5 A If we took out 2018, there would be | 5 they believed they needed to draw the subdistrict |
| 6 fewer Native preferred candidates who would have | 6 to comply with the Voting Rights Act and the |
| 7 won under those criteria, so yes. | 7 subdistricts are a portion of the full districts, |
| 8 MR. GABER: I think this is a good time | 8 the only reason to do that would be because there |
| 9 for us to break. | 9 was concern that the full district would not |
| 10 (Recess from 1:25 p.m. until 2:02 p.m.) | 10 provide an opportunity and, therefore, there |
| 11 MR. GABER: Back on the record. | 11 needed to be at least one state house seat, or |
| 12 BY MR. GABER: | 12 there was that opportunity. |
| 13 Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from lunch. Did | 13 Is there any other reason why one would |
| 14 you have a chance to get something to eat? | 14 do that to comply with the Voting Rights Act? |
| 15 A I did. Thank you. | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it |
| 16 Q So I'm going to shift gears this | 16 misstates his testimony and that it's a compound |
| 17 afternoon, but just a couple more points on the | 17 question and calls for speculation. |
| 18 racially polarized voting topic. | 18 A Well, you know, splitting the |
| 19 Is it your understanding that the state | 19 legislative district as a whole into subdistricts |
| 20 legislature adopted subdistricts in District 9 and | 20 in this case does provide for two single-member |
| 21 in District 4 because of its belief that the | 21 house districts, as we know. |
| 22 Voting Rights Act would have required -- or might | 22 And given the fact that the Native |
| 23 have been violated had elections occurred with the | 23 American population is geographically sort of |
| 24 full district? | 24 close to each other in terms of where they're |
| 25 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for | 25 located, you know, if you draw a subdistrict -- in |
| 114 | 116 |
| 1 speculation and outside the scope of Dr. Hood's | 1 a lot of cases, I guess there are many different |
| 2 opinion and work on this case. | 2 possibilities or permutations. |
| 3 A Well, I mean, all I have to rely on in | 3 But if you draw a subdistrict like the |
| 4 regard to that particular question is the | 4 legislature did or the redistricting committee |
| 5 legislative record and the transcripts I read from | 5 did, then you're certainly going to increase the |
| 6 meetings that were held with the redistricting | 6 odds that a Native American candidate of choice |
| 7 committee and various groups around the state. | 7 can be elected from a subdistrict. |
| 8 And I mean, again, this is just my | $8 \quad$ Q But if it's the case that the rationale |
| 9 opinion, obviously, from the outside looking in. | 9 was to comply with the Voting Rights Act, then the |
| 10 But yes, I believe that the redistricting | 10 belief would have to be that there's a problem |
| 11 committee thought they were complying with the | 11 under the Voting Rights Act with the full |
| 12 Voting Rights Act by creating these subdistricts. | 12 district, right? There's no other explanation, at |
| 13 Q And the reason for that is, the concern | 13 least with respect to the VRA rationale? |
| 14 that in the absence of the subdistricts, if the | 14 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent |
| 15 state house elections were conducted in the full | 15 it misstates his testimony. |
| 16 district, the Native American voters in the full | 16 I believe his testimony was that it did |
| 17 district would not have the opportunity to elect | 17 comply with the Voting Rights Act and that the |
| 18 their candidate of choice? | 18 legislature thought it was in compliance with the |
| 19 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. You're asking | 19 Voting Rights Act. I think you've sort of |
| 20 him to just speculate about what the legislature | 20 misstated his testimony. |
| 21 did and why. The question is pure speculation. | 21 So that's my objection. |
| 22 A I'm not sure if I can answer the second | 22 Q I'm not trying to state your testimony |
| 23 question as to what they believed. I was able to | 23 at all. What I'm trying to ask is, to the extent |
| 24 glean enough from the records I read on the first 25 point, but I honestly am not very comfortable with | 24 the VRA is the reason that the legislature adopted 25 the subdistricts, then it follows that the concern |



|  | 121 | 123 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 in the compactness of these particular districts |  | 1 that's an appropriate, reliable methodology for |
| 2 from the prior plan to the 2011 plan? |  | 2 determining whether an enacted district satisfies |
| 3 A That's correct. |  | 3 a compactness requirement? |
| 4 Q Now, the Reock -- so you report the |  | 4 A Well, I mean, if that scenario exists. |
| 5 Reock scores, the Polsby-Popper scores, and the |  | 5 Sometimes that scenario would not exist. But if a |
| 6 Schwartzberg scores. |  | 6 court in a particular state has spoken to this |
| 7 Is that right? |  | 7 question, then yes, I think that's probative. |
| 8 A Correct. |  | $8 \quad$ Q And that's with respect to a state law |
| 9 Q And am I correct that Reock compares the |  | 9 requirement of compactness, so you'd look to that |
| 10 area of the district to the -- basically the |  | 10 state's courts to see what it had previously |
| 11 smallest circle that will encompass the district? |  | 11 approved, right? |
| 12 Is that a fair -- |  | 12 A Well, I mean, this particular case was a |
| 13 A Certainly, cliff note version, yeah. |  | 13 state case. |
| 14 That's fine. |  | 14 Q Right. |
| 15 Q And Polsby-Popper does the same thing |  | 15 A So yes. |
| 16 except it compares the length of the perimeter of |  | 16 Q And along a similar vein, if the -- if |
| 17 the district to the area of the circle that |  | 17 federal courts or if the U.S. Supreme Court has |
| 18 encompasses it? |  | 18 deemed a particular district to be reasonably |
| 19 A Yes. |  | 19 compact for purposes of the Voting Rights Act, |
| 20 Q And the Schwartzberg one, I'm not going |  | 20 then that would be a probative comparison to make |
| 21 to remember. |  | 21 in determining whether a proposed district, under |
| 22 What is that? |  | 22 the VRA, is reasonably compact? |
| 23 A It's a perimeter to perimeter, compares |  | 23 A Well, yes, I think, but with the caveat |
| 24 the perimeter of the district to the perimeter of |  | 24 that in this particular case, a court had spoken |
| 25 a circle with equal area. |  |  |
|  | 122 | 124 |
| $1 \quad$ Q Okay. With respect to the six districts |  | 1 being compact, but, you know, what is compactness. |
| 2 that were challenged in this case, the 2011 |  | 2 What's compact and what's not compact. |
| 3 versions, the Reock scores ranged from 0.15 to |  | 3 Again, I'm trying to remember what I did |
| $4 \quad 0.22$. |  | 4 here. This was a while ago. But Ithink there |
| 5 Is that correct? |  | 5 was some particular numbers that were actually |
| 6 A Looks like it, yes. |  | 6 laid out by a court. |
| $7 \quad$ Q And the Polsby-Popper scores ranged from |  | $7 \quad$ Q Okay. And the second sort of |
| $8 \quad 0.08$ to 0.14. |  | 8 methodology that you employed was to compare the |
| 9 Is that right? |  | 9 challenged districts to see whether there were |
| 10 A Yes. |  | 10 other districts in the plan that had similar or in |
| 11 Q And the Schwartzberg scores ranged from |  | 11 some cases lower compactness scores. |
| 120.1 to 0.16. |  | 12 Is that right? |
| 13 Is that right? |  | 13 A Yes, correct. |
| 14 A Yes. Yes. |  | 14 Q And then third methodology was to apply |
| 15 Q Now, one of the -- there were three |  | 15 a metric that was from the scholarship from |
| 16 basic methodologies that I gathered that you |  | 16 Profs. Pildes and is it Niemi? |
| 17 followed in reaching the conclusion that these |  | 17 A "Niemi." |
| 18 districts were compact. |  | 18 Q "Niemi." |
| 19 The first is that you compared the -- |  | 19 Do you recall that? |
| 20 each of the districts to previous districts that |  | 20 A Yes. |
| 21 courts had upheld as compact, and then compared |  | 21 Q And since it's kind of specific, I want |
| 22 their compactness scores. |  | 22 to just draw your attention to the Pildes and |
| 23 Do you recall that? |  | 23 Niemi method, and that's on page 13 of the |
| 24 A Yes. |  | 24 Vesilind report. And then so we can see the |
| 25 Q And that would be -- in your view, |  | 25 bottom paragraph, please. |


| 125 | 127 |
| :---: | :---: |
| And I'll let you take a look at those. <br> A Okay. <br> Okay. <br> Q The methodology that you applied here <br> and that's written about in the Profs. Niemi and <br> Pildes report is in response to the racial <br> gerrymandering line of cases, right? <br> A Correct, correct. <br> Q And the methodology here is that if the <br> 10 Reock score is above 0.16 , or if the Polsby-Popper <br> score is above 0.06 , or if the sum of those two is above 0.22 , then the district is considered <br> compact. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Well, that's not how I would term it. I <br> would term it as what these two political <br> scientists are saying is that if it's below -- if <br> it's at this level or below, it's certainly <br> non-compact. I guess that's how I would phrase it. <br> Q The conclusion you reached -- an example <br> here is Senate District 28 from Virginia. You <br> 23 noted that it had a Reock score of 0.15 , which was <br> 24 below the cutoff for compactness for the Reock <br> 25 measure alone, but you concluded that it was, in | composite score, that that alone allowed you to opine, with respect to this methodology, that it was a compact district, because if you'd just looked at the Reock cutoff point, it would have been in the non-compact category, right? <br> A Yes, yes, yes. Using these various cutoff points that are provided for this particular methodology, yes. <br> MR. GABER: I'm going to introduce as <br> 10 Exhibit 8. Exhibit 8 will be the file Virginia <br> 2012 to 2020 Maps. <br> And David, I will send that to you now. <br> (Exhibit Hood-8 marked for <br> 4 identification and attached to the transcript.) <br> BY MR. GABER: <br> Q Dr. Hood, in the appendix to your <br> Vesilind report, you included sort of composite 8 maps that showed in that case the plaintiffs' 9 alternative plans overwritten over the enacted ones. And we can look at those, too, if it's 1 necessary. But I've pulled the 2011 enacted plan without that alternative map mapped onto it so we could see it better. <br> 24 <br> Do you recognize this as -- we can zoom <br> 25 in if you need to -- but as the 2011 Virginia |
| fact, compact because it satisfied the composite index that they propose. <br> Is that right? <br> A I'm reading. <br> Q Sure. <br> A Well, again, it's -- compactness is hard <br> to judge. We know it ranges on a lot of these <br> measures from 0 to 1. <br> So what's being said here is that this <br> particular district, at least under a composite <br> score, didn't reach a point to where these <br> researchers, Pildes and Niemi, would say that it <br> was not compact. So it was above that threshold. <br> It doesn't mean that it's compact, I <br> mean, because you can go quite further up the <br> scale, right. But it doesn't meet this threshold <br> that they're talking about here. <br> Q And you considered this threshold and <br> this article by these professors to be a reliable <br> methodology that you used in your -- as one of the <br> bases for your conclusion in the Vesilind case, <br> right? <br> A I did make use of it, yes. <br> Q And, in fact, with respect to that <br> 25 Senate District 28, it was only through the | state senate plan? <br> A From what I remember. I mean, again, it's not -- I haven't looked at this lately. <br> Q Okay. I assume you spent a fair bit of time with it at the time. <br> A Well, yeah, at the time. <br> Q Okay. <br> A There's been many maps drawn since then. <br> So... <br> Q Yeah. So the -- let's scroll down to <br> the second page of this, please. And Districts 19 <br> 12 and 21 were among the maps -- or among the <br> 3 districts that were challenged by the plaintiff in 14 the case. <br> Is that right? <br> A From what I remember, yes. <br> Q And your opinion was that Districts 19 8 and 21 were compact districts. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Well, I don't know exactly what I said about them without looking at the report. <br> Q We can come back to it, but -- give me one second. <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Just to be clear, my <br> standing objection relating to this prior case |


|  | 129 |  | 131 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 applies to this exhibit as well as any others |  | 1 A Correct. |  |
| 2 related to this former case. |  | 2 Q And do you see District 30? |  |
| 3 Q For the moment -- we're going to come |  | 3 A Yes. |  |
| 4 back to this in a second, but can you go back to |  | $4 \quad$ Q And that one, you can see it swings |  |
| 5 the Vesilind report, which is the previous |  | 5 around -- what is that -- District 36. |  |
| 6 exhibit. And then if you can go to page 24 and |  | 6 That's a district that you also opined |  |
| 7 scroll down so the whole -- to the bottom part of |  | 7 was sufficiently compact? |  |
| 8 this page in the overall opinion, the last |  | 8 A Yes. |  |
| 9 sentence there. |  | $9 \quad$ Q What word would you use to describe how |  |
| 10 So Dr. Hood, your ultimate opinion was |  | 10 the southernmost part of that district is |  |
| 11 that after conducting your own analysis, it was |  | 11 connected to its northernmost part? |  |
| 12 your opinion that the 2011 Senate plan creates |  | 12 A Possibly duck continuity. But I don't |  |
| 13 districts which are sufficiently compact and |  | 13 know, and I don't remember specifically. |  |
| 14 contiguous as required by the Virginia |  | 14 Q Would you characterize that as a narrow |  |
| 15 constitution. |  | 15 connecting point? |  |
| 16 Is that your opinion? |  | 16 A Yes, it is. |  |
| 17 A Okay. I'm not saying it wasn't; I |  | 17 Q And is the same true with respect to |  |
| 18 just -- I don't remember what I said. |  | 18 District 28 where it -- where 29 has a finger that |  |
| 19 Q Sure, sure. And this was 2017, it looks |  | 19 comes into it? |  |
| 20 like. |  | 20 A Yes. |  |
| 21 Does that sound right? |  | 21 Q Nevertheless, that wasn't too much of an |  |
| 22 A I know it was pre-pandemic. So... |  | 22 incursion or a thinness of connection for you to |  |
| 23 Q Yeah. The next page says it was |  | 23 conclude that the districts were sufficiently |  |
| 24 executed on January 12th, 2017. |  | 24 compact, right? |  |
| 25 Okay. So let's go back -- now that |  | 25 A Correct. I mean, that was my conclusion |  |
|  | 130 |  | 132 |
| 1 we've seen that, let's go back to the maps. |  | 1 in this case. |  |
| 2 So as part of your opinion, given that |  | 2 Q And then do you see District 37 here as |  |
| 3 Districts 19 and 21 were among the six that were |  | 3 well? |  |
| 4 being challenged, your opinion was that they were |  | 4 A Yes. |  |
| 5 sufficiently compact? |  | 5 Q And your conclusion there was that |  |
| 6 A They would have had to have been, yes, |  | 6 District 37 was sufficiently compact as well, |  |
| 7 based on what we just read. |  | 7 correct? |  |
| 8 Q And if we could scroll down to the next |  | $8 \quad A \quad$ Yes. |  |
| 9 page, please. This is getting close to where I am |  | $9 \quad$ Q And I think there -- is this the last |  |
| 10 right now, to the D.C. area, and this view shows |  | 10 page? Yeah. So that's the four were on this |  |
| 11 Districts 28, 29, 30, and 37, among others, but |  | 11 page, and the two were on the previous page. |  |
| 12 all four of those were among the ones that were |  | 12 And all six of these districts were ones |  |
| 13 challenged by the plaintiffs in the district as |  | 13 that you opined to be sufficiently compact? |  |
| 14 non-compact. |  | 14 A Correct. |  |
| 15 Is that correct? |  | 15 Q And you haven't changed that opinion |  |
| 16 A Yes. |  | 16 since you testified to that in court at the time? |  |
| 17 Q And do you see District 28 there? |  | 17 A No. |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as |  |
| 19 Q That is a district that you opined was |  | 19 Exhibit 9 the document titled Fargo Close Up |  |
| 20 sufficiently compact, correct? |  | 20 Enacted Plan. |  |
| 21 A Correct. |  | 21 And I will send that to you now, David. |  |
| 22 Q And do you see District 29? |  | 22 (Exhibit Hood-9 marked for |  |
| 23 A Yes, yes. |  | 23 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  |
| 24 Q That's also a district that you opined |  | 24 BYMR. GABER: |  |
| 25 was sufficiently compact, correct? |  | 25 Q Now, Dr. Hood, one of the North Dakota |  |





| 145 | 147 |
| :---: | :---: |
| MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a <br> legal conclusion, calls for speculation. <br> A Based on that Virginia comparison I did, yes. Again, that was in Virginia. So it was a state-specific comparison. <br> Q Although part of that was not <br> state-specific; it was looking at -- one of the <br> three methods you employed was to use the paper <br> that Prof. Pildes and Niemi had written, correct? <br> A That's correct. I did look at that. <br> Q And all of the North Dakota enacted <br> state legislative plans are reasonably compact under that metric, correct? <br> A Virginia? <br> Q All of the North Dakota -- <br> A All the North Dakota -- well, they're <br> all higher than that, yes. <br> Q And so employing that methodology, which you have in the past, would lead you to conclude that all of the enacted North Dakota state <br> legislative districts are reasonably compact? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the <br> scope of his opinion. <br> 24 A Well, I think it was, quote, <br> 25 sufficiently compact, unquote, but... | all of the North Dakota enacted districts are sufficiently or reasonably compact? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form. <br> A Well, again, comparing it to that <br> Virginia case, they're above those threshold levels, yes. <br> Q And so the same would hold true for plaintiffs' demonstrative districts; they are both above the Virginia level that you found to be 10 compact, but they're also above other districts within the North Dakota plan that you also find to be sufficiently compact. <br> Is that right? <br> A That's correct. None of the <br> demonstrative districts are at the -- are the 16 lowest -- literally the lowest in the state plan. <br> Q And with respect to your -- and they're higher than the Virginia plan as well, correct? <br> A Yes, that's correct. <br> Q Now, you spend a bit of time comparing <br> plaintiffs' demonstrative districts to the enacted version of District 9 in terms of compactness, correct? <br> A Yes. <br> Q And in terms of the other districting |
| Q Okay. Do you see a different between <br> sufficiently compact and reasonably compact? <br> A I don't know. I mean, for some reason, <br> I chose to use that qualifier, so I'll stick with it. <br> Q So in your expert report, when you were assessing District 9 -- or rather plaintiffs' demonstrative versions of District 9, you compared it to the other enacted legislative districts, and then you also narrowed and compared it to the enacted version of District 9 in terms of compactness. <br> Does that sound right to you? <br> A Yes, that's correct. That's fair. <br> Q And I take your point on the first score <br> 16 to be that when compared to other North Dakota <br> districts, the demonstrative districts were on the lower end of the statewide districts. <br> Is that fair? <br> A In terms of ranking, yes. <br> Q But they were not the lowest, right? <br> A I don't think -- I don't think any of <br> them were ever the lowest, no. <br> Q And we've established that, by your own <br> 25 methodology that you've employed in the past, that | principles that you looked at, that's your main <br> comparison is between the proposed District 9 by <br> the plaintiffs and the enacted version of <br> District 9, right? <br> A Yes. <br> Q The enacted version of District 9 is a rectangle, more or less, right? <br> A Fair, yes. <br> Q And do you understand the question, in 0 terms of compactness for Voting Rights Act 11 purposes, to be a comparison to a perfect 12 rectangle, or is it about whether or not the 3 district is reasonably compact standing alone? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form. <br> A My understanding is that it would be reasonably compact on its own. <br> Q And so the real comparison that we would 18 want to do is determine whether or not the 9 proposed district standing on its own is 0 reasonably compact? <br> A Well, and we can do that from my report. <br> Q Correct. <br> A It places the demonstrative districts <br> within the statewide plan as a whole. So... <br> Q Right. And I think we just established |


|  | 149 |  | 151 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 that compared -- given that the -- your conclusion |  | 1 in the Vesilind case -- or that's one of the types |  |
| 2 that all of the enacted districts are reasonably |  | 2 of analyses that you did in the Vesilind case, |  |
| 3 compact or sufficiently compact, whichever term we |  | 3 however, right? |  |
| 4 want to use, given that the demonstrative |  | 4 A Well, in that -- again, in that |  |
| 5 districts fall within that range, they too would |  | 5 particular case, there was a Virginia state court |  |
| 6 be characterized as sufficiently or reasonably |  | 6 that had made certain specific observations about |  |
| 7 compact? |  | 7 compactness in districts. So... |  |
| 8 A Again, with the caveat based on what I |  | 8 Q If the -- say the U.S. Supreme Court has |  |
| 9 said in the Virginia case, yes. |  | 9 determined a particular district to be reasonably |  |
| 10 Q On page 6 of your report -- and this is |  | 10 compact for VRA purposes, one thing that could be |  |
| 11 with respect to demonstrative District 1. In the |  | 11 done is to look at the compactness scores of that |  |
| 12 first paragraph under part A there, the last |  | 12 district and compare it to a proposed district to |  |
| 13 sentence, you note that the part of the boundary |  | 13 see whether it satisfies the test for reasonable |  |
| 14 for the Spirit Lake reservation is contiguous with |  | 14 compactness for VRA purposes, right? |  |
| 15 a portion of the demonstrative District 1 |  | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation, |  |
| 16 boundary. |  | 16 calls for a legal conclusion. |  |
| 17 Do you see that? |  | 17 A That comparison could be made, yes. |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 Q And that would be a similar type |  |
| 19 Q What is the salience of that |  | 19 comparison to what you did in Virginia except in |  |
| 20 observation? |  | 20 the context of the VRA rather than the state |  |
| 21 A I don't know that it's -- I don't know |  | 21 constitution, right? |  |
| 22 how important that is. That's just an |  | 22 A Yes. |  |
| 23 observation, which is the case, that part of the |  | 23 Q That's not something that you did here, |  |
| 24 reservation boundary is part of the boundary for |  | 24 right? |  |
| 25 the district. I'm just -- it's just a statement. |  | 25 A Correct. |  |
|  | 150 |  | 152 |
| 1 Q I just want to know what your -- I need |  | 1 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood noted in his report |  |
| 2 to know what your opinions are about it. So I |  | 2 that the overall compactness score for the plan as |  |
| 3 guess I didn't understand -- |  | 3 a whole in the enacted plan was the same as that |  |
| 4 A Right. I don't know that it means any |  | 4 in plaintiffs' demonstrative plans. |  |
| 5 more than literally what it says. |  | $5 \quad$ You don't dispute his report in that |  |
| 6 Q Okay. That actually -- one of the |  | 6 regard, correct? |  |
| 7 state's -- or one of the legislature's criteria |  | 7 A Yeah, I think he was just looking at |  |
| 8 from its report is respecting the boundaries of |  | 8 maybe the mean score for the state. |  |
| 9 the reservations in the state. |  | 9 Is that correct? |  |
| 10 Do you recall that? |  | 10 Q I think so. |  |
| 11 A Yes, that's correct. |  | 11 A Something like that. No, not |  |
| 12 Q And we'll bring up the map in a bit, or |  | 12 necessarily, no. |  |
| 13 we can do that now if you'd like. But the enacted |  | 13 Q And one of the things you noted in your |  |
| 14 plan, District 15 also follows the boundary of the |  | 14 Vesilind report -- and we can pull that back up, |  |
| 15 Spirit Lake reservation in the same manner that |  | 15 for you to see, page 22. |  |
| 16 plaintiffs' demonstrative plan does. |  | 16 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection on this |  |
| 17 Does that seem right to you? |  | 17 exhibit, that it's outside the scope. |  |
| 18 A Yeah. I do recall that, yes. |  | 18 Mark, maybe a short bio break whenever |  |
| 19 Q In your analysis of the compactness of |  | 19 it makes the most sense. |  |
| 20 plaintiffs' proposed demonstrative districts, you |  | 20 MR. GABER: Yep. |  |
| 21 did not seek to compare the scores to other |  | 21 Q So in this part of your report, |  |
| 22 districts that courts have upheld under the VRA as |  | 22 Dr. Hood, for Vesilind, for the Virginia case, you |  |
| 23 reasonably compact, correct? |  | 23 were responding to Prof. McDonald's analysis where |  |
| 24 A That's correct, yes. |  | 24 he had reported the degradation in compactness |  |
| 25 Q That's the type of analysis that you did |  | 25 scores from alternative districts that the |  |


| 153 | 155 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 plaintiffs were proposing to those same numbered | 1 A Yes, from what I recall, yes. |
| 2 districts in the enacted plan. | 2 Q And if you look at District 9 in this |
| 3 Does that sound familiar? | 3 plan, in Benson County, do you see that it is -- |
| 4 A Alittle bit, yes. | 4 the northern border of Benson County is a very |
| $5 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And the point you make here is that, you | 5 squiggly line that is the Devils Lake boundary? |
| 6 know, sometimes it doesn't make sense to compare a | 6 A Okay. I mean, I see what you're talking |
| 7 numbered district in one plan to a numbered | 7 about, yes. |
| 8 district in another plan because those district | $8 \quad$ Q And then just below that, do you see |
| 9 boundaries are different, and it might make sense | 9 another river boundary that's the Sheyenne River |
| 10 to look more at the statewide results for the map | 10 in Eddy County? |
| 11 as a whole. | 11 A Well, I'm just going to take your word |
| 12 Does that fairly describe the point | 12 for it. |
| 13 you're making here? | 13 Q You didn't look -- |
| 14 A Let me look at this for a second. | 14 A I couldn't tell you where the Sheyenne |
| 15 Q Sure. | 15 River was necessarily. So... |
| 16 A Yeah, I do say that here. | 16 Q So in looking at the map, you didn't |
| 17 Q So it does make sense, in this context | 17 look to any of the -- well, when you were doing |
| 18 as well where the similar situation is happening, | 18 the compactness analysis, did you look at the |
| 19 to -- where there's a numbered district compared | 19 visual -- did you have a visual look at the map? |
| 20 to another numbered district in a different plan | 20 A Sure, sure. |
| 21 that covers different territory, that looking as | 21 Q And did you notice the river and lake |
| 22 well at the plan as a whole is a useful piece of | 22 boundaries? |
| 23 information to help disentangle those differences. | 23 A Yes, I did. |
| 24 Is that fair? | 24 Q Did you do anything to determine whether |
| 25 A Well, I think that's fair. | 25 those natural boundaries were affecting the |
| 154 | 156 |
| 1 Again, I'm responding to a particular | 1 compactness scores? |
| 2 measure that Prof. McDonald has been utilizing in | 2 A Well, those boundaries, if they are |
| 3 this particular -- in that case that we've been | 3 affecting the scores, are going to get picked up |
| 4 talking about in Virginia. | 4 in the scores that I ran. So... |
| $5 \quad$ Q And that's the degradation from -- | 5 Q Right. But the effect wouldn't, right; |
| 6 A Yes, yes. | 6 you would just get the score? |
| 7 Q -- from the alternative map to -- | 7 A Well, to compare -- yeah, to compare an |
| 8 A Degradation measure. | 8 effect, though, you'd have to have some |
| MR. GABER: Well, let's go ahead and | 9 hypothetical to compare against it, I guess is |
| 10 take a break now. | 10 what I would say. |
| 11 (Recess from 3:08 p.m. until 3:19 p.m.) | 11 Q So as we discussed earlier, I think you |
| 12 BY MR. GABER: | 12 said in particular the Polsby-Popper and maybe the |
| 13 Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from the break. | 13 Schwartzberg, because those are based on |
| 14 Now, I am going to mark as an exhibit -- | 14 perimeter, those scores decreased as a result of |
| 15 I think we are on 13 -- a document that's titled | 15 these types of squiggly river boundaries? |
| 16 Plaintiffs Demonstrative Plan 1 Map. | 16 A More so than Reock would, yes. |
| 17 (A discussion was held off the record.) | 17 Q So if this were a straight line, the |
| 18 (Exhibit Hood-13 marked for | 18 compactness score for proposed District 9 here |
| 19 identification and attached to the transcript.) | 19 would be higher? |
| 20 BY MR. GABER: | 20 A Well, most likely -- I mean, this map is |
| 21 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as the | 21 not super detailed, but most likely, if this were |
| 22 enacted plan statewide view of -- I'm sorry. Let | 22 a straight line instead of following a river |
| 23 me start that over. | 23 boundary, then yes, the perimeter scores would |
| 24 Do you recognize this as Plaintiffs' | 24 probably be higher. |
| 25 Demonstrative Plan 1 for the entire state view? | 25 Q And this river -- sorry -- the Devils |




|  | 165 |  | 167 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 right? |  | 1 A Right. That's correct. |  |
| 2 A Right. |  | 2 Q So on this score of county splits, |  |
| 3 Q And that's to adhere to the boundaries |  | 3 plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 1 is |  |
| 4 of the Spirit Lake reservation, which is along the |  | 4 essentially the same on that score as the enacted |  |
| 5 Sheyenne River. |  | 5 Districts 9 and 15? |  |
| 6 Is that right? |  | 6 A Well, in 9, I guess if you go to the |  |
| 7 A Right. That's where the reservation |  | 7 house districts, if that's what we're talking |  |
| 8 boundary would be, yes. |  | 8 about, yes. |  |
| $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And that's one of the state's -- in its |  | $9 \quad$ Q And for the state senate, two-thirds of |  |
| 10 committee report, that's one of the criteria, |  | 10 the counties in District 9 are split, two of the |  |
| 11 adhering to the boundaries of reservations? |  | 11 three? |  |
| 12 A Yes, yes. |  | 12 A That's correct. |  |
| 13 Q So -- |  | 13 Q And it's the same entirely as |  |
| 14 (Cross-talk.) |  | 14 District 15, three split counties and one whole |  |
| 15 Q Sorry, go ahead. |  | 15 county, right? |  |
| 16 A I'm saying, that's correct, it was in |  | 16 A Correct. |  |
| 17 that report. |  | 17 Q And the plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 18 Q So one of the four splits -- sorry. One |  | 18 District 1 puts Benson County back together whole, |  |
| 20 plaintiffs' demonstrative plan, plan 1 , is to |  | 20 A I believe so, yes. |  |
| 21 adhere to the requirement of the legislature to |  | 21 Q And we can take a look at that if you'd |  |
| 22 follow the reservation boundary, and that's why |  | 22 like to see it. |  |
| 23 Eddy County is split? |  | 23 A Okay. I mean, I think that's correct. |  |
| 24 A Well, it certainly keeps the reservation 25 within 9 , yes. |  | 24 MR. GABER: That's Exhibit 13. The 25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you. |  |
| 25 within 9, yes. |  | 25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you. |  |
|  | 166 |  | 168 |
| 1 Q And by comparison to enacted plan's |  | 1 Q So you see Benson county is whole there? |  |
| 2 state house map, the same number of counties are |  | 2 A Yes, yes. |  |
| 3 split in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan for the |  | 3 Q Your Communities of Interest discussion |  |
| 4 state house, which is the whole district, as in |  | 4 in your report focuses on county splits, right? |  |
| 5 the enacted plan, correct? |  | 5 A Yes. |  |
| 6 A Three and three, yes. |  | $6 \quad$ Q That term means more than split |  |
| 7 Q Let's switch back to the enacted map, |  | 7 counties, right? |  |
| 8 please, which was Exhibit 15. And take a look at |  | 8 A Well, communities of interest can be |  |
| 9 District 15 here. |  | 9 more than counties, certainly. |  |
| 10 District 15 includes all of Ramsey |  | 10 Q Did you analyze any communities of |  |
| 11 County, but then part of Towner County, part of |  | 11 interest in your report other than counties? |  |
| 12 Benson County, and part of Eddy County, right? |  | 12 A No. |  |
| 13 A Right. |  | 13 Q Did you -- we've talked about how |  |
| 14 Q So District 15 has three split counties |  | 14 respecting reservation boundaries is a priority of |  |
| 15 and one whole county? |  | 15 the legislature, right? |  |
| 16 A Yes. |  | 16 A Correct, yeah. |  |
| 17 Q And that's the exact same count as |  | 17 Q And did you look to see whether the |  |
| 18 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1, correct, three |  | 18 enacted plan respected both the reservation |  |
| 19 counties that are split and one whole county? |  | 19 boundaries and the off-reservation trust land for |  |
| 20 A For demonstrative District 1, right? |  | 20 the Turtle Mountain tribe? |  |
| 21 Q Right. |  | 21 A Well, I believe it did. I'm not sure |  |
| 22 A Yes. |  | 22 about the trust land. But the reservation was |  |
| 23 Q And as we mentioned earlier, one of |  | 23 contained within the district. |  |
| 24 those boundaries is exactly the same. That's the |  | 24 Q And -- but you don't -- I guess earlier |  |
| 25 Eddy County split. |  | 25 we talked about how you don't have any particular |  |

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|  | 173 | 175 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A I don't know. I think it would be -- |  | 1 principle. |
| 2 it's difficult to come up with an adjective. |  | 2 Is that fair |
| 3 Q I think it looks like a dinosaur. |  | 3 A It's one of the things that can be |
| 4 A Okay. Well -- I don't know. That's not |  | 4 looked at, yes. I mean, precincts aren't |
| 5 what was coming to my mind. |  | 5 necessarily communities of interest. But |
| $6 \quad$ Q Or maybe a baby dinosaur. |  | 6 sometimes courts have looked at whether precincts |
| $7 \quad$ What about the -- you see the sort of |  | 7 are split or not. That's true. |
| 8 neck that connects its body to its head? |  | 8 I say they're not communities of |
| 9 A Yes, I see that. |  | 9 interest because most people don't think about, |
| 10 Q How would you characterize that? |  | 10 you know, a precinct as a community -- as a local |
| 11 A Well, a neck. I mean, I think that's |  | 11 community necessarily. They could be, but not |
| 12 probably a pretty good way to describe it. A |  | 12 necessarily. So... |
| 13 bridge. |  | 13 Q It eases the burden on election |
| 14 Q Would you describe that as a narrow |  | 14 administrators to not change the precincts. |
| 15 bridge? |  | 15 Is that fair? |
| 16 A Well, it's fairly narrow. I mean, the |  | 16 A It probably makes that part of things |
| 17 district itself is not huge geographically. But |  | 17 easier, yes. |
| 18 that's certainly -- I mean, I guess I could fairly |  | 18 Q And so to the extent -- Dr. Collingwood |
| 19 say that's probably the narrowest part of the |  | 19 noted in his report that demonstrative plan 1 |
| 20 district. |  | 20 adheres to all of the precinct lines -- the new |
| 21 Q And you describe in your report |  | 21 precinct lines that it touches. |
| 22 plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9 as having a |  | 22 Do you recall that? |
| 23 land bridge. |  | 23 A Not precisely, but... |
| 24 Do you recall that? |  | 24 Q You don't have any reason to dispute |
| 25 A Yes. |  | 25 that? |
|  | 174 | 176 |
| 1 Q Can you tell me on the map what the land |  | 1 A Not necessarily, no. |
| 2 bridge is? |  | 2 Q And to the extent it does that, that's |
| 3 A Well, on this map, for instance, here, |  | 3 one of the criteria that is often followed as a |
| 4 it would be that area to the right or to the east |  | 4 traditional districting criteria? |
| 5 of where it literally says Pierce, North Dakota, |  | 5 A It is one of the things that is looked |
| 6 where that lettering is there. So that's sort of |  | 6 at sometimes, yes. |
| 7 the bridge at that point. So... |  | $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ The land bridge that you identify, that |
| $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And do you understand that that's a |  | 8 voting precinct in Pierce County, that is not |
| 9 complete voting precinct from Pierce County? |  | 9 narrower than -- in fact, it's wider than other |
| 10 A Well, I didn't -- I don't know that I |  | 10 land bridges you see in this map. |
| 11 would recall that, just sitting here. |  | 11 Is that fair? |
| 12 Q Did you look to see -- I notice that you |  | 12 A Well, it's wider than the one we were |
| 13 produced split reports for municipalities. |  | 13 talking about in 23, certainly. |
| 14 You didn't encounter any municipal |  | 14 Q Do you see District 8 down there in the |
| 15 splits in Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1? |  | 15 south central part of the state, the purplish-gray |
| 16 A Not that I recall. |  | 16 district? |
| 17 Q It wasn't in your report, but it was in |  | 17 A Yes. |
| 18 the data, I noticed. |  | 18 Q And do you see how that moves up in sort |
| 19 A Right, right. |  | 19 of a step pattern to the northwest? |
| 20 Q And did you analyze to see whether there |  | 20 A Yes. |
| 21 were precinct splits? I noticed that there were |  | 21 Q The bridge that you identify -- the land |
| 22 notes that you'd written about precinct splits. |  | 22 bridge you identify in Pierce County in |
| 23 A I don't think I ever got that far. |  | 23 demonstrative District 9 is larger in size than |
| 24 Q And so adhering to voting tabulation |  | 24 District 8's bridge. |
| 25 precincts is also a traditional districting |  | $25 \quad$ Is that fair? |




| 185 | 187 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 with him in the new district, but three out of | 1 to make comparisons. |
| 2 four voters in the new district are new to him. | 2 Q Did you look at any prior decade's |
| 3 A No, three out of four -- | 3 districting plans for North Dakota legislative |
| 4 Q Sorry, one out of four. | 4 seats to make any comparisons to district |
| 5 A Yes, I would -- okay. You really had me | 5 configurations? |
| 6 thrown there. I thought maybe I was -- | 6 A Idid not. |
| $7 \quad$ Q All right. No, no, that was my fault. | $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ To the extent that there -- is that |
| 8 But in any event, it wasn't sufficient | 8 something that is relevant, to see how the |
| 9 for him to be retained as an incumbent? | 9 legislature has in the past configured districts |
| 10 A Well, again, core constituencies are one | 10 to see whether -- to compare districts and see if |
| 11 part of incumbent protection or incumbent | 11 they're similar configurations? |
| 12 reelection, but they're not everything related to | 12 A It could be, but, you know, every |
| 13 incumbent reelection. So... | 13 redistricting cycle is new, and in this particular |
| 14 Q Did you look to -- beyond District 9 in | 14 case, the job was given over to an ad hoc |
| 15 assessing the enacted plan's performance in terms | 15 commission. And of course, the legislature had to |
| 16 of core retention? | 16 approve what the commission did, obviously. |
| 17 A It doesn't look like it. I mean, it | 17 But my point being, there are different |
| 18 looks like I'm making comparisons here between the | 18 people in charge of redistricting every time, and |
| 19 enacted plan in specific districts and the enacted | 19 so things are not necessarily going to look the |
| 20 plan, specifically LD 9, in the demonstrative | 20 same. |
| 21 districts. | 21 And they're not going to be the same, |
| 22 Q Do you think that the legislature | 22 period, when you take into account that populatio |
| 23 followed -- or satisfied its goal with respect to | 23 has shifted across the state, which it had, and |
| 24 core retention for the plan as a whole? | 24 certain -- certain things have to be rectified in |
| 25 A Well, probably so, I would say. You | 25 terms of making sure that the districts are within |
| 186 | 188 |
| 1 know, in the case of some districts being moved | 1 constitutional bounds in terms of population |
| 2 across the state -- and you have to do that. I | 2 deviations. |
| 3 mean, this doesn't trump other redistricting | 3 Q When you say "ad hoc commission," what |
| 4 factors, especially population equality. You're | 4 do you mean by that? |
| 5 not going to necessarily be able to maximize this | 5 A Well, I don't mean that in any kind of |
| 6 in every case. | 6 negative sense. I just mean there was a |
| $7 \quad$ Q And do you have, like, a threshold for | 7 commission put together charged by the legislature |
| 8 what you consider to be a strong core retention? | 8 with developing a redistricting plan. |
| 9 Is it 50 percent? | $9 \quad$ Q Who served on the commission? |
| 10 A I don't know -- honestly, I don't know | 10 A Well, I believe they were all |
| 11 that I've ever come up with a threshold. You | 11 legislators. |
| 12 know, it ranges -- it's pretty easy to grasp | 12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your |
| 13 because it ranges from zero to 100 , zero percent | 13 Summary and Conclusions, towards the end, you note |
| 14 to 100 percent. I mean, if you're at 50 percent, | 14 that there's been a degradation -- or that that -- |
| 15 it would mean that 50 percent of your new | 15 the demonstrative District 9 performs worse on |
| 16 constituents are new to you; they didn't follow | 16 some traditional redistricting criteria compared |
| 17 you across with the old district boundaries. | 17 to enacted version of District 9. |
| 18 So, you know, so every one of two new -- | 18 Do you see that? |
| 19 one of two voters in the new cycle are not your | 19 A Yes. |
| 20 prior constituents. | 20 Q And you would agree, we've gone through |
| 21 Q You did not, as part of your report, | 21 all of those different criteria? |
| 22 examine any of the prior -- other than maybe the | 22 A Correct. |
| 23 benchmark 2012 to 2020 plan -- did you look at the | 23 Q And plaintiffs' proposed District 9 |
| 242012 to 2020 plan as part of your analysis? | 24 satisfies the population deviation legislative |
| 25 A Just to the extent to which I needed it | 25 goal, correct? |


|  | 189 |  | 191 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Correct. |  | $1 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And demonstrative -- sorry -- enacted |  |
| 2 Q We talked about how, under your own |  | 2 District 9, in fact, from east to west is just |  |
| 3 metric from Virginia and applied here, that the |  | 3 about as long as plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 4 district is sufficiently or reasonably compact, |  | 4 District 1 is from north to south, correct? |  |
| 5 correct? |  | 5 A From what I remember, yes. |  |
| 6 A Correct. |  | 6 Q And the two most populous counties |  |
| $7 \quad$ Q And with respect to county splits, we |  | 7 included in plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9 |  |
| 8 noted that there was an error in your report with |  | 8 are Benson County and Rolette County, correct? |  |
| 9 respect to the number of counties, right, that the |  | $9 \quad$ A I don't think we talked about that. I |  |
| 10 enacted plan splits? |  | 10 mean, I don't have -- I'm just being up front. I |  |
| 11 A Correct. That's correct. |  | 11 don't have the population figures in front of me. |  |
| 12 Q And demonstrative District 9 has the |  | 12 So... |  |
| 13 same number of county splits as does District 15, |  | 13 Q Well, it includes all of Benson County, |  |
| 14 which is also under challenge in this case, right? |  | 14 a precinct from Pierce County, and then Rolette |  |
| 15 A Correct. |  | 15 County, and then that small piece of Eddy County |  |
| 16 Q And it has the same number of county |  | 16 that's to adhere to the reservation boundary. |  |
| 17 splits as the state house map for District 9, |  | 17 So does it sound right to say that |  |
| 18 correct? |  | 18 Benson and Rolette are the most populous |  |
| 19 A Correct. |  | 19 components of the district? |  |
| 20 Q It splits Eddy County only to adhere to |  | 20 A Well, I would assume, but, you know, one |  |
| 21 the boundaries of the Spirit Lake Nation, correct? |  | 21 doesn't need to make assumptions. I mean, |  |
| 22 A Correct. |  | 22 geography doesn't necessarily equate to |  |
| 23 Q And that's the same split of Eddy County |  | 23 population, obviously. So... |  |
| 24 that the enacted District 15 makes, correct? |  | 24 Q Okay. We discussed how Benson County |  |
| 25 A Correct. |  | 25 and Rolette County are closer geographically than |  |
|  | 190 |  | 192 |
| 1 So I mean, it's two -- should be two |  | 1 Rolette County is to Cavalier County, right? |  |
| 2 county splits in the enacted plan versus three, |  | 2 A That's true, yes. |  |
| 3 right. So... |  | 3 Q And so on all of these measures, |  |
| $4 \quad$ Q For District 9 at the state senate |  | 4 demonstrative -- plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 5 level, right? |  | 5 district is similar to or in some instances better |  |
| 6 A Yeah. |  | 6 in terms of traditional districting criteria than |  |
| $7 \quad$ Q And at the state house level, it splits |  | 7 either District 9 in the enacted plan, District 15 |  |
| 8 all three counties in the district? |  | 8 in the enacted plan, or other districts in the |  |
| 9 A If you go down to the subdistricts, yes. |  | 9 state. |  |
| 10 Q And we discussed how plaintiffs' |  | 10 Is that fair? |  |
| 11 demonstrative plan restores Towner County to its |  | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, that's |  |
| 12 prior configuration in terms of core retention, |  | 12 ambiguous and compound. |  |
| 13 moving it to District 15 entirely. |  | 13 A Well, on some traditional redistricting |  |
| 14 A That is true. |  | 14 criteria, it might be; on some, it's certainly |  |
| 15 Q We've discussed how the enacted map has |  | 15 not. |  |
| 16 features in terms of land bridges or necks or |  | 16 Q Now, Dr. Hood, at the end of your |  |
| 17 connecting points in districts that are a fair bit |  | 17 report, you say that the use of a land bridge and |  |
| 18 smaller than what you termed the land bridge in |  | 18 some of the districting criteria we just discussed |  |
| 19 plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9, right? |  | 19 coupled with the fact that the demonstrative |  |
| 20 A Correct. |  | 20 District 9 joins two Native American reservations |  |
| 21 Q And a number of the enacted districts in |  | 21 raises the question of whether the creation of |  |
| 22 the map span much larger -- either similar or |  | 22 LD 9 under plaintiffs' demonstrative plan results |  |
| 23 larger geographic distances than does enacted -- |  | 23 in a racial gerrymander. |  |
| 24 than demonstrative District 9, correct? |  | 24 Can you explain to me what you mean by |  |
| 25 A That's correct, yes. |  | 25 "results in a racial gerrymander." |  |


| 193 |  | 195 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A I guess the question is, why was LD 9 | 1 is it? |  |
| 2 drawn -- or why was demonstrative District 1 or 2 | 2 A I don't think I said that, no. |  |
| 3 drawn the way they were drawn. | 3 Q Okay. In the Supreme Court's racial |  |
| $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ What do you understand to be the test | 4 gerrymandering cases, one of the typical features |  |
| 5 for whether a district is a racial gerrymander? | 5 is split precincts where the census bloc level is |  |
| 6 A Typically, it's if race is the | 6 split along racial lines. So on one side of the |  |
| 7 predominant factor in drawing the district lines. | 7 line is a bloc that, say, has white folks, and on |  |
| $8 \quad$ Q And how do courts assess whether or not | 8 the other side of the line is a census bloc that |  |
| 9 that's occurred? | 9 has black or other minority folks. That's |  |
| 10 A Well, one of the things -- | 10 typically one of the fact patterns that we see in |  |
| 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just state my | 11 those cases? |  |
| 12 objection. | 12 A That's one of the factors that's looked |  |
| 13 Calls for a legal conclusion. | 13 at, yes. |  |
| 14 Q What do you understand to be the | 14 Q That's not the case in plaintiffs' |  |
| 15 analysis there? | 15 demonstrative districts, right? In fact, |  |
| 16 A Well, one of the things that's typically | 16 demonstrative District 1 keeps all the precincts |  |
| 17 done is an analysis of traditional redistricting | 17 entirely whole, correct? |  |
| 18 criteria. | 18 A I believe so, yes. |  |
| 19 Q And those are all the ones that we've | 19 Q And so what is the basis for your |  |
| 20 talked about here today? | 20 conclusion that plaintiffs' demonstrative plans |  |
| 21 A Yes, certainly. I mean, there could be | 21 raise questions about whether they result in a |  |
| 22 some others. But yeah, those are -- the ones we | 22 racial gerrymander? |  |
| 23 talked about certainly are. | 23 A Well, again, my argument would be |  |
| 24 Q One of the hallmarks throughout the case | 24 looking at some traditional redistricting |  |
| 25 law -- and you've read racial gerrymandering case |  |  |
| 194 |  | 196 |
| 1 decisions, I gather, right? | 1 some of those factors with the demonstrative |  |
| 2 A Yes. | 2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the |  |
| 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from | 3 enacted LD 9. |  |
| 4 the Supreme Court? | $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Anything else? |  |
| 5 A Right. | 5 A Well, that's primarily it. |  |
| 6 Q The Miller case from the Supreme Court? | $6 \quad$ Q But is there anything else? |  |
| 7 A Right. | 7 A No. That's my primary argument or |  |
| $8 \quad$ Q You're familiar with the Cooper versus | 8 thoughts on that. |  |
| 9 Harris and Bethune-Hill? | 9 MR. GABER: Okay. Let's go ahead and |  |
| 10 A Yes. | 10 take about a ten-minute break, and that will bring |  |
| 11 Q Have you seen the districts from those | 11 us back at 4:32. |  |
| 12 cases? | 12 (Recess from 4:22 p.m. until 4:33 p.m.) |  |
| 13 A Some of them, yes. I probably have seen | 13 MR. GABER: Dr. Hood, unless I have to |  |
| 14 all of them. I can remember some of them on the | 14 ask you any follow-up questions if Mr. Phillips |  |
| 15 top of my head, yes. | 15 has any, I don't have any further questions for |  |
| 16 Q I assume you're familiar -- I think | 16 you. Thank you so much for your time and for |  |
| 17 it's -- is it the Shaw case or the Miller case, | 17 appearing right after your class today. I |  |
| 18 the Georgia district? | 18 appreciate it. |  |
| 19 A The Miller case. | 19 THE WITNESS: Thank you. |  |
| 20 Q Are you familiar with the way that | 20 I guess I would like to add maybe one or |  |
| 21 district looked? | 21 clarification from that last discussion that we |  |
| 22 A Yes, I am. | 22 were having about, you know, what could or could |  |
| 23 Q It's not your testimony that the | 23 not be a racial gerrymander in terms of |  |
| 24 district from Miller looks anything like | 24 districting. |  |
| 25 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts in this case, | 25 And obviously, in the report, I included |  |


|  | 197 |  | 199 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 these maps. And so I think it's also important to |  | 1 wayside in service of that racial goal. That's |  |
| 2 look at how the district's configured and how it |  | 2 basically what a racial gerrymandering is. |  |
| 3 connects to concentrations of racial minorities |  | 3 Is that your understanding? |  |
| 4 across a distance. |  | 4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it calls |  |
| 5 So I guess that's -- you were asking |  | 5 for a legal conclusion. |  |
| 6 me -- I was thinking about this. You're asking me |  | 6 A Yes, that's my understanding. |  |
| 7 why I came to that conclusion or the possibility |  | $7 \quad$ Q Okay. And so what you're saying here in |  |
| 8 of that conclusion. So obviously, I included the |  | 8 your addendum is that the fact that there are two |  |
| 9 maps for a reason. So... |  | 9 Native American reservations within plaintiffs' |  |
| 10 BY MR. GABER: |  | 10 demonstrative District 9 is the additional reason, |  |
| 11 Q Did you talk to Mr. Phillips during the |  | 11 in addition to the comparison of some traditional |  |
| 12 break? |  | 12 criteria to the enacted version of 9, that is |  |
| 13 A Yes. |  | 13 leading you to make this statement about racial |  |
| 14 Q Now, you said "across a distance." We |  | 14 gerrymandering? |  |
| 15 talked about how the distance -- the length of |  | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, misstates the |  |
| 16 District 9 in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan is |  | 16 prior testimony. |  |
| 17 the same, or in many instances, it's shorter than |  | 17 A Yes, I think that's correct. I mean, |  |
| 18 the distances of other districts in the state's |  | 18 I -- |  |
| 19 plan, right? |  | 19 Q But -- go ahead. |  |
| 20 A Correct. That's true. |  | 20 A Well, say -- sorry. Say that one more |  |
| 21 Q And it's about the same distance as the |  | 21 time. |  |
| 22 enacted version of District 9 is across from |  | 22 Q You've offered two reasons that are -- |  |
| 23 Rolette County to Cavalier County, right? |  | 23 would you say -- are you saying it's a racial |  |
| 24 A Correct. |  | 24 gerrymander? Your report says it raises questions |  |
| 25 Q And it can be a racial gerrymander to |  | 25 about whether or not it results. |  |
|  | 198 |  | 200 |
| 1 include white voters in a district instead of |  | 1 A No, I can't make that determination. |  |
| 2 other races of voters, right? |  | 2 Q And when you say -- |  |
| 3 A That is correct, certainly. |  | 3 A So no, I'm not saying that. |  |
| $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And so to the extent that enacted |  | $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Okay. So it's not your testimony that |  |
| 5 District 9 stretches across to include rural white |  | 5 it is a racial gerrymander, plaintiffs' |  |
| 6 voters instead of Native American voters, under |  | 6 demonstrative District 9? |  |
| 7 your view, that too could be an indication of a |  | 7 A No, I can't make that -- I don't believe |  |
| 8 racial gerrymander? |  | 8 I can make that determination. |  |
| $9 \quad$ A Potentially. |  | $9 \quad$ Q You don't have the evidentiary basis to |  |
| 10 Q Now, just the fact that there are two |  | 10 say that. |  |
| 11 Native American tribes in a district does not on |  | 11 Is that fair? |  |
| 12 its own mean that the district is a racial |  | 12 A I think that's fair, yes. |  |
| 13 gerrymander, right? |  | 13 Q And we've gone through the traditional |  |
| 14 A No. I'm not arguing that. |  | 14 districting criteria. It's not seriously your |  |
| 15 Q And in order for that to be the case, |  | 15 testimony that the plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 16 race would have had to have been the predominant |  | 16 District 9 subverts traditional districting |  |
| 17 consideration across the entire district, right? |  | 17 principles, right? |  |
| 18 That's the test the Supreme Court applies? |  | 18 A Well, no. It was that they were |  |
| 19 A Yes. It has to -- that's my |  | 19 degraded to some degree. |  |
| 20 understanding, it has to be the predominant |  | 20 Q From one comparison district, enacted |  |
| 21 factor. |  | 21 District 9, right? |  |
| 22 Q And the traditional districting |  | 22 A Correct. That's correct. |  |
| 23 principles would each need to be subordinated to |  | 23 Q Not standing alone? |  |
| 24 race such that race was the inflexible goal, and |  | 24 A I'm sorry. What standing alone? |  |
| 25 traditional districting criteria fell by the |  | 25 Q Only in comparison -- we've gone through |  |


| 201 | 203 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 these at length, and it turns out some of them | 1 case -- it does that, yes. |
| 2 you've testified that plaintiffs' demonstrative | 2 Q And your testimony with respect to |
| 3 district does better or as good as the other | 3 traditional districting criteria is not that |
| 4 districts in the area, including 9 and 15? | 4 plaintiffs' demonstrative district subordinates |
| $5 \quad$ A Sometimes. | 5 those criteria in favor of a racial |
| $6 \quad$ Q And we talked about, with respect to | 6 classification, right? You don't have that |
| 7 compactness, that the proper framework is to look | 7 evidence? |
| 8 standing alone whether the district is reasonably | 8 A No, I didn't say that. |
| 9 compact? | $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ It does not subordinate traditional |
| 10 A Well, we talked about a lot in terms of | 10 redistricting criteria? |
| 11 compactness and fairness. And that was one | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it |
| 12 comparison. But that's not the only comparison to | 12 misstates his testimony. And his report says that |
| 13 be made. | 13 it raises a question. He's testified that he's |
| 14 Q And your conclusion, based on the types | 14 not opining on that specifically, and I believe |
| 15 of analysis you've done in this case and in other | 15 that it would be for the Court to decide. |
| 16 cases, is that plaintiffs' demonstrative | 16 Q So the question was, the demonstrative |
| 17 District 9 is, in fact, reasonably compact? | 17 District 9 does not subordinate traditional |
| 18 A Well, again, based on what I said in | 18 districting criteria; you don't believe it does, |
| 19 that Virginia case, it has a higher level of -- or | 19 correct? |
| 20 the compactness scores are higher than in that | 20 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the |
| 21 Virginia case. | 21 scope of his opinion, calls for a legal |
| 22 Q Did you have pause as to whether any of | 22 conclusion. |
| 23 the districts in the Virginia case were racial | 23 A Again, I guess I think my testimony was |
| 24 gerrymanders? I didn't see that in your report | 24 that certain traditional redistricting criteria |
| 25 there. | 25 have been degraded compared to the enacted LD |
| 202 | 204 |
| 1 A No. No. That was -- let me be clear. | 1 I mean, I think that's what I've said. |
| 2 That was not an issue in that case. It was | 2 Q And certain redistricting criteria are |
| 3 literally just compactness. | 3 better in the demonstrative plan. |
| 4 Q Do you understand that Native American | 4 That's fair? |
| 5 reservations are more than just racial groups; | 5 A Or the same, essentially. |
| 6 that they are sovereign nations? | 6 MR. GABER: Okay. I have no further |
| $7 \quad$ A Yes, yes. | 7 questions. |
| $8 \quad \mathrm{Q} \quad$ And do you understand that they have | 8 MR. PHILLIPS: Thank you. |
| 9 interests that are different than purely racial | 9 I don't have any follow-ups myself. |
| 10 interests? | 10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the |
| 11 A Yes. | 11 record? |
| 12 Q And do you understand that Native | 12 MR. GABER: I do not believe so. |
| 13 American tribes might have shared interests that | 13 (Transcript orders discussed.) |
| 14 relate to issues with respect to representation in | 14 COURT REPORTER: I think that's all we |
| 15 the state legislature? | 15 need. Thank you. |
| 16 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. | 16 (Off the record at 4:44 p.m.) |
| 17 A Certainly. | 17 |
| 18 Q You said "certainly," right? | 18 |
| 19 A Yes. | 19 |
| 20 Q And so to the extent that a district | 20 |
| 21 respects the boundaries of Native American | 21 |
| 22 reservations, it's not merely making racial | 22 |
| 23 classifications, but rather, it's accounting for a | 23 |
| 24 sovereign political boundary, correct? | 24 |
| 25 A Well, to the extent to which that's the | 25 |

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| CERTIFICATE <br> I, Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR, do <br> hereby certify that the witness was first duly sworn by me and that I was authorized to and did report said proceedings. <br> I further certify that the foregoing <br> transcript is a true and correct record of the <br> proceedings; that said proceedings were taken by <br> me stenographically and thereafter reduced to <br> typewriting under my supervision; that reading and <br> signing was not requested; and that I am neither <br> attorney nor counsel for, nor related to or <br> employed by, any of the parties to the action in <br> which this deposition was taken; and that I have <br> no interest, financial or otherwise, in this case. <br> IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my <br> hand this 15th day of FEBRUARY, 2023. <br> (The foregoing certification of this <br> transcript does not apply to any reproduction of <br> 24 the same by any means, unless under the direct control and/or supervision of the certifying <br> 25 reporter.) |  |
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EXHIBIT B

# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT <br> FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA EASTERN DIVISION 

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Spirit Lake Tribe, Wesley Davis, Zachery S. King, and Collette Brown

> Plaintiffs,
vs.

Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota,

Defendant.

Case No. 3:22-cv-00022

## DEFENDANT MICHAEL HOWE'S WITNESS LIST FOR TRIAL

*** *** ***

Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota (hereinafter "Howe" or "Defendant"), by and through his attorneys, state that the following are witnesses that Defendant intends to call at trial or reserves the right to call at trial:

## Plaintiffs:

1. Matthew Campbell

Native American Rights Fund
1506 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80301

- Will Call

2. Jamie Azure

Chairman, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians
4180 Hwy 281
Belcourt, ND 58316

- May Call

3. Collette Brown

## - May Call

4. Wesley Davis

- May Call

5. Zachery S. King

- May Call

6. Alysia LaCounte

General Counsel, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians

4180 Hwy 281
Belcourt, ND 58316

- May Call

7. Lonna Jackson Street

Spirit Lake Nation

- May Call

8. Douglas Yankton

Sr., Chairman, Spirit Lake Tribe
P.O. Box 359

Fort Totten, ND 58335

- May Call


## Defendants:

9. Nathan Davis

600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

10. Michael Howe

Secretary of State
Secretary of State's Office
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- May Call


## Experts:

11. M.V. (Trey) Hood III

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Professor of Political Science
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- Will Call

12. Brian Nybakken

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13. Erika White

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14. Brian Newby

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## Legislative Witnesses:

15. Former Senator Howard Anderson
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16. Senator Brad Bekkedahl
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17. Representative Larry Bellew

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18. John Bjornson

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19. Representative Joshua A. Boschee

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20. Senator Richard A. Burckhard
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21. Representative Bill Devlin
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22. Senator Robert Erbele

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- May Call

24. Representative Craig Headland

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- May Call

25. Senator Jason G. Heitkamp

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26. Former Senator Ray Holmberg

- May Call

27. Former North Dakota Representative Terry Jones
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28. Senator Jerry Klein
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32. Senator Richard Marcellais

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33. Representative David Monson
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- May Call

34. Representative Mike Nathe

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35. Representative Marvin Nelson
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Rolla, ND 58367

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36. Claire Ness

Office of the Attorney General 600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

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37. Former Senator Erin Oban

- May Call

38. Senator Nicole Poolman

3609 Bogey Drive
Bismarck, ND 58503

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39. Representative Mike Schatz 400 East Nineth Street
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40. Representative Austen Schauer

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41. Representative Kathy Skroch

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42. Senator Ronald Sorvaag 3402 Birdie Street North
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43. Emily Thompson

Legal Division Director, Legislative Council
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44. Former Senator Richard Wardner

- May Call


## OTHERS

45. Nicole Donaghy

Executive Director
North Dakota Native Vote
$9197^{\text {th }}$ Street, Ste. 603
Bismarck, ND 58504

- May Call

46. Marietta Kemmet

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Defendant reserves the right to call any and all witnesses listed by Plaintiffs, to the extent not objected to. Defendant also further reserves the right to call any additional witnesses that may be located or discovered prior to the trial, any witnesses disclosed in discovery responses or depositions in this case, and any witnesses disclosed during completion of discovery in this matter, to the extent not objected to.

Defendant further reserves the right to call any witnesses necessary to establish foundation for exhibits to the extent the parties cannot agree on foundation. In addition, Defendant reserves the right to call Plaintiffs' custodian(s) of records and director(s) of Plaintiffs' information technology regarding records kept by defendants in the ordinary course of business and/or electronically stored information (ESI) and/or production of the same in this lawsuit. The Court and counsel will be notified, if possible, of any additional witnesses prior to trial.

Dated this $25^{\text {th }}$ day of May, 2023.

By:__/s/ David R. Phillips<br>David R. Phillips<br>Special Assistant Attorney General<br>ND Bar \# 06116<br>300 West Century Avenue<br>P.O. Box 4247<br>Bismarck, ND 58502-4247<br>(701) 751-8188<br>dphillips@bgwattorneys.com

Attorney for Defendant Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on May 25, 2023, a true and correct copy of the foregoing DEFENDANT MICHAEL HOWE'S WITNESS LIST FOR TRIAL was emailed to the following:

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By:__/s/David R. Phillips
DAVID R. PHILLIPS

EXHIBIT A

We Make It Happen" ${ }^{\text {" }}$

# Transcript of M.V. Hood, Ph.D. 

Date: February 13, 2023
Case: Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, et al. -v- Howe, et al.

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February 13, 2023




| 13 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 work? | 1 A Yes. It was a very, very specific kind |
| 2 A The state. | 2 of case. |
| 3 Q And that was after your retention -- | $3 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Have you testified in any case in which |
| 4 A Yes. | 4 the plaintiff was a minority group alleging a |
| 5 Q -- last spring? | 5 violation of Section 2? |
| 6 A Yes. | 6 A Yes. I mean, not -- again, if you |
| $7 \quad$ Q Were you involved at all in advising the | 7 include a larger set of cases, yes. |
| 8 North Dakota legislature about redistricting? | $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And what do you mean by that? |
| 9 A No. | 9 A Well, outside of redistricting. |
| 10 Q And how many times have you testified, | 10 Q Okay. In the context of redistricting, |
| 11 would you say, in redistricting cases? | 11 when the claim has been on behalf of racial |
| 12 A I really don't know. Maybe half the | 12 minority groups, you've always been on the side of |
| 13 times I've testified in court involved | 13 the defendants in your expert work. |
| 14 redistricting, which would include Section 2 | 14 Is that right? |
| 15 cases, or I would include Section 2 cases. So... | 15 A From what I recall, yes. |
| 16 Q And as your expert testimony work | 16 Q Now, I gather from your CV that the bulk |
| 17 generally been on behalf of governmental entities | 17 of your scholarship has been about -- or the |
| 18 or defendants defending maps? | 18 specialty has been about politics in the south and |
| 19 A Typically, although I have testified for | 19 vote dilution in the context of southern states. |
| 20 plaintiffs. And I've testified for both | 20 Is that a fair assessment? |
| 21 Democratic and Republican administrations. So... | 21 A Well, I would say big picture, I do |
| 22 Q And in terms of your plaintiff work, | 22 southern politics and election administration are |
| 23 what were some examples of that? | 23 two of the sort of topical areas under American |
| 24 A There was a case in Dallas, a Section 2 | 24 politics that I study. |
| 25 case, involving the county court, which are like | 25 Q And to the extent you focus in, it's |
| 14 | 16 |
| 1 county commissioners other places. So Dallas | 1 mostly in the south. |
| 2 County. I remember that case. | 2 Is that correct? |
| 3 I worked for the Democratic | 3 A Well, sometimes -- election |
| 4 administration in the state of Virginia on a | 4 administration is not necessarily in the south. |
| 5 redistricting matter. | 5 But, you know, I mean, obviously southern politics |
| 6 Q Any others that come to mind? | 6 is in the south. So... |
| $7 \quad$ A Not that are jumping out at me right | $7 \quad$ Q It doesn't appear to me, and correct me |
| 8 now. | 8 if I'm wrong, that you've written any articles, |
| 9 Q The Dallas case, that was the Harding | 9 books, or other scholarly works about Native |
| 10 versus Dallas County case? | 10 American voting patterns. |
| 11 A Correct, that sounds familiar. | 11 A That would be fair, yes. |
| 12 Q And the claim in that case was on behalf | 12 Q And is the same true with respect to |
| 13 of white voters who were alleging a Section 2 | 13 tribal and state relations? |
| 14 violation, that the minority voters were diluting | 14 A Yes. |
| 15 the white voters' vote. | 15 Q And Native American voting rights? |
| 16 Is that correct? | 16 A Correct. |
| 17 A Yeah. In a nutshell, yes. | 17 Q And I don't think I saw anything in |
| 18 Q And in Virginia, is that the Vesilind | 18 particular about North Dakota or the Great Plains |
| 19 case? | 19 states in terms of their voting patterns or |
| 20 A Yes. | 20 political behavior. |
| 21 Q And one of the main topics of that case | 21 Is that right? |
| 22 was whether or not the Virginia 2011 state senate | 22 A Correct. |
| 23 districts complied with the compactness | 23 Q So I gather you don't consider yourself |
| 24 requirement of the state constitution. | 24 an expert in Native American politics? |
| 25 Is that right? | 25 A No. I've never claimed that. |


|  | 17 |  | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 Q And topics such as anthropology or |  | 1 A Yes. |  |
| 2 sociology or history related to Native Americans? |  | 2 Q You don't anticipate giving any opinions |  |
| $3 \quad A \quad$ No. No. I'm a political scientist. |  | 3 that are not set forth in the report? |  |
| 4 Q Do you have any expertise related to the |  | 4 A I don't anticipate, you know, unless I'm |  |
| 5 Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa Indians? |  | 5 asked to perform some additional work, perhaps. |  |
| 6 A Not specifically. |  | 6 Q At this time, you haven't done. |  |
| $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And the same is true with respect to |  | 7 Is that right? |  |
| 8 Spirit Lake Nation? |  | 8 A That's correct. |  |
| 9 A Correct. |  | $9 \quad$ Q And you didn't do any additional |  |
| 10 Q Have you ever been to North Dakota? |  | 10 analysis in this case after submitting your |  |
| 11 A No. |  | 11 report? |  |
| 12 Q Have you ever spoken to a member of the |  | 12 A Correct. |  |
| 13 Turtle Mountain or Spirit Lake tribes? |  | 13 Q I might, during today's deposition, ask |  |
| 14 A No. |  | 14 you to do a little math, too. |  |
| 15 Q And so you're not opining on anything |  | 15 Do you have a calculator in your office? |  |
| 16 related to those two tribes with respect to their |  | $16 \text { A I do. }$ |  |
| 17 shared interests or common interests or |  | 17 Q Okay. Good. Keep that nearby. I |  |
| 18 socioeconomic status or anything of the like. |  | 18 promise it won't be too taxing. Nothing more than |  |
| 19 Is that right? |  | 19 I can do. So it's not going to be too hard. |  |
| 20 A Correct. |  | 20 A Okay. |  |
| 21 Q And you wouldn't have any knowledge or |  | 21 Q So let's start, and I'm going to kind of |  |
| 22 basis to do that, right? |  | 22 walk through -- we're going to bounce back and |  |
| 23 A Correct. |  | 23 forth between your report and some other exhibits, |  |
| 24 Q You're also not providing any opinion |  | 24 but let's start on page 2 of your report, if you |  |
| 25 with respect to the totality of the circumstances |  | 25 don't mind. And I want to ask you about section 3 |  |
|  | 18 |  | 20 |
| 1 factors for this case. |  | 1 at the top. |  |
| 2 Is that right? |  | 2 You set forth the Gingles factors there. |  |
| 3 A That's correct. |  | 3 Is that right? |  |
| 4 Q And you have no opinion on that? |  | 4 A Correct. |  |
| 5 A I didn't offer an opinion in my report, |  | 5 Q And I have it, so I don't need to see |  |
| 6 so no. |  | 6 it. But I think, LaVar, it's page 2, the numbered |  |
| 7 MR. GABER: I am going to mark as |  | 7 page 2, which is probably the third page of the |  |
| 8 Exhibit 1 the document Hood TM Expert Report. |  | 8 PDF . In case anyone in the audience here wants to |  |
| $9 \quad$ (Exhibit Hood-1 marked for |  | 9 follow along. |  |
| 10 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  | 10 So in this section, you just set forth |  |
| 11 BY MR. GABER: |  | 11 the test under Thornburg versus Gingles for a |  |
| 12 Q Do you have a copy? |  | 12 Section 2 claim. |  |
| 13 A I do want to disclose I do have an |  | 13 Is that right? |  |
| 14 unwritten-on copy of my expert report so I can |  | 14 A Yes. |  |
| 15 look at that. |  | 15 Q And with respect to the first |  |
| 16 Q That's good. I'm happy about that. |  | 16 precondition, the requirement is that the minority |  |
| 17 We'll pull it up as well on the screen, but it |  | 17 group be sufficiently large and geographically |  |
| 18 will be easier for you if you have it with you. |  | 18 compact to form a majority in a new single-member |  |
| 19 So we've pulled up on the screen your |  | 19 district. |  |
| 20 expert report. |  | 20 Is that fair? |  |
| 21 Do you recognize this as your expert |  | 21 A Yes, yes. |  |
| 22 report in this case? |  | 22 Q Now, with respect to the first prong of |  |
| 23 A Yes. |  | 23 Gingles, the focus of the analysis is on a |  |
| 24 Q Now, are all of your opinions in this |  | 24 potential alternative district. |  |
| 25 matter contained in your expert report? |  | 25 Is that correct? |  |




## February 13, 2023

|  | 29 |  | 31 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 percent, but... |  | 1 A Yes, that's correct. |  |
| 2 (Cross-talk.) |  | 2 Q And then the turnout rate among white |  |
| 3 A Certainly more often than not. So... |  | 3 voters was 69.7 percent. |  |
| 4 Q I'll just represent, in the six |  | 4 Is that right? |  |
| 5 elections you looked at, the Gingles prong 2, it |  | 5 A Correct, correct. |  |
| 6 appears, at least to me, was your opinion that it |  | 6 Q And among other voters, it was 50.0 |  |
| 7 was established. |  | 7 percent? |  |
| 8 Does that sound right? |  | 8 A Yes, correct. |  |
| 9 A Yes. I mean, yeah, that's fair. |  | $9 \quad$ Q And so this is where I'm going to ask |  |
| 10 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark two more |  | 10 you to do a little math. I have already done it, |  |
| 11 exhibits that relate to this. I'll mark as |  | 11 but if you want to check my work, I would |  |
| 12 Exhibit 3 the file LD 9 Hypothetical 2020 |  | 12 encourage that. |  |
| 13 President. |  | 13 So you show the number of voters, and so |  |
| 14 (Exhibit Hood-3 marked for |  | 14 then we can calculate by dividing by the total the |  |
| 15 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  | 15 percentage of the electorate that was of each |  |
| 16 BY MR. GABER: |  | 16 racial group. |  |
| 17 Q And I'll represent to you, Dr. Hood, |  | 17 Is that fair enough? |  |
| 18 this is one of the Excel spreadsheets for |  | 18 A That's fair, yes. |  |
| 19 District 9 for the 2020 presidential race. |  | 19 Q And so I have calculated that if we take |  |
| 20 I did -- because the spreadsheet didn't |  | 20 the 2250 for Native American voters and divide it |  |
| 21 have any title within it, it was just a file name |  | 21 by the total of 5955, that yields 37.8 percent of |  |
| 22 and, like, the folder it was saved in that was |  | 22 the electorate in enacted District 9 for the 2020 |  |
| 23 titled, I did add that title you see at the top of |  | 23 presidential race as being Native American. |  |
| 24 the page and then converted this to a PDF. |  | 24 Does that sound right? |  |
| 25 But otherwise, does this look like the |  | 25 A Correct. That's what I'm getting, yes. |  |
|  | 30 |  | 32 |
| 1 spreadsheet you produced with data related to the |  | 1 Q And then if we do the same for white |  |
| 22020 presidential election for District 9? |  | 2 voters, that yields 57.7 percent of the electorate |  |
| $3 \quad$ A Yes. |  | 3 in the district being white voters. |  |
| $4 \quad$ Q And in the first column -- the first |  | 4 Is that correct? |  |
| 5 column is about District 9; the second column is |  | 5 A Correct. |  |
| 6 Subdistrict 9A; and the third column is |  | 6 Q And so in the presidential election, |  |
| 7 Subdistrict 9B, correct? |  | 7 despite the fact that the district has 51.7 |  |
| 8 A Correct. |  | 8 percent Native VAP, voting age population, a |  |
| $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And in column 1 for the full district, I |  | 9 substantial majority of the electorate was |  |
| 10 guess two sort of sections down, you report the |  | 10 actually white voters, right? |  |
| 11 turnout percentage and then the number of voters |  | 11 A In this scenario, yes. |  |
| 12 by Native American, white, and other. |  | 12 Q And this is the type of information that |  |
| 13 Is that right? |  | 13 is important to consider in whether or not a |  |
| 14 A Yes, correct. |  | 14 district actually performs to elect -- or to |  |
| 15 Q And so your analysis showed that in the |  | 15 provide an opportunity for Native American, or |  |
| 162020 presidential election, within the boundaries |  | 16 whatever the minority group is, to elect their |  |
| 17 of the new District $9,38.8$ or 38.9 percent of the |  | 17 candidate of choice, right? |  |
| 18 electorate was Native American. |  | 18 A Well, there has to be some information |  |
| 19 Is that right? |  | 19 like this. I mean, I guess different people may |  |
| 20 A Yes, correct. |  | 20 measure this factor in different ways. I mean, |  |
| 21 Q And -- I'm sorry. |  | 21 Prof. Collingwood doesn't do this. |  |
| 22 (Cross-talk.) |  | 22 But yes, there has to be some |  |
| 23 Q That's wrong. The turnout among Native |  | 23 information related to this. |  |
| 24 Americans was 38.9 percent. |  | 24 MR. GABER: And I'm going to mark as |  |
| $25 \quad$ Is that right? |  | 25 well, as Exhibit 4, LD 9 Hypothetical 2018 U.S. |  |




|  | 41 |  | 43 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 page 3, and then it's section E towards the bottom |  | 1 It's possible. I mean, certainly, there is a |  |
| 2 part of the document. |  | 2 distinction, I've agreed, between exogenous and |  |
| 3 And then in the first paragraph, you |  | 3 endogenous elections. |  |
| 4 talk a bit about endogenous and exogenous |  | $4 \quad$ Q So another example would be that more |  |
| 5 elections. |  | 5 recent elections are generally considered more |  |
| 6 Do you see the second sentence says, |  | 6 probative than elections that are further in time? |  |
| 7 Endogenous elections examine contexts from the |  | $7 \quad$ A True. |  |
| 8 same office as those under legal scrutiny and, |  | $8 \quad$ Q And elections that have a candidate who |  |
| 9 because of their relevance, should be given more |  | 9 is a member of the same minority group of the |  |
| 10 probative value? |  | 10 group that is challenging the district are more |  |
| 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just -- I'm sorry. |  | 11 probative than elections that are between, say, |  |
| 12 Go ahead and finish your question, then I'll |  | 12 two white candidates. |  |
| 13 insert my objection. |  | 13 Is that also true? |  |
| 14 Q Do you still agree with that statement? |  | 14 A Yes, that can be true. |  |
| 15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it's |  | 15 Q So in this case, elections where there |  |
| 16 outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work |  | 16 is a Native American candidate are more probative |  |
| 17 in this case. And can we just agree to have a |  | 17 to determine whether Gingles prong 3 exists than |  |
| 18 standing objection to this line of questioning |  | 18 elections where both of the candidates are white, |  |
| 19 about this report? |  | 19 correct? |  |
| 20 MR. GABER: Sure. |  | 20 A Correct. |  |
| 21 MR. PHILLIPS: You can go ahead and |  | 21 Q So with respect to the elections that |  |
| 22 answer. |  | 22 Dr. Collingwood reported, the most probative |  |
| 23 A I certainly seem to have written that |  | 23 contests would be the most recent for endogenous |  |
| 24 statement. |  | 24 elections in which there was a Native American |  |
| 25 Q And then we'll skip the next sentence. |  | 25 candidate. |  |
|  | 42 |  | 44 |
| 1 But the sentence after that, you say, Exogenous |  | 1 Is that right? |  |
| 2 elections, on the other hand, could include almost |  | 2 A Correct. |  |
| 3 any other contest from local boards to |  | $3 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And that sort of combination is about as |  |
| 4 presidential elections. As these elections are |  | 4 probative as you can get because it ticks off all |  |
| 5 not as directly relevant to the question at hand, |  | 5 three of those factors that are considered more |  |
| 6 they should be accorded far less weight in |  | 6 probative than other types of elections. |  |
| 7 reaching a conclusion concerning vote dilution |  | 7 Is that right? |  |
| 8 claims. |  | 8 A Correct. |  |
| 9 Do you recall having that opinion here? |  | $9 \quad$ Q And is it your -- I gather it's your |  |
| 10 A Yes. |  | 10 understanding that incumbency adds another benefit |  |
| 11 Q And does that remain your opinion today |  | 11 to a candidate and their likelihood of success. |  |
| 12 methodologically, that exogenous elections have |  | 12 Is that a fair statement, sort of |  |
| 13 far less weight in reaching conclusions for vote |  | 13 generally, as a political science proposition? |  |
| 14 dilution? |  | 14 A So we're talking about another topic |  |
| 15 A I've written this more than once, I'm |  | 15 here, right? |  |
| 16 sure, in academic work. So yes, I have to stand |  | 16 Q Yeah, yeah. |  |
| 17 by that statement. |  | 17 A Okay. Yes, incumbency typically |  |
| 18 MR. GABER: Okay. We can take down that |  | 18 benefits the incumbent officeholder, although in |  |
| 19 exhibit. |  | 19 more recent history, what we call the incumbency |  |
| 20 Q Now, in addition to endogenous elections |  | 20 advantage has diminished to some degree. This is |  |
| 21 being more probative than exogenous elections, |  | 21 an ongoing debate in political science. So... |  |
| 22 there are other considerations that might make an |  | 22 Q But if you -- so moving back to looking |  |
| 23 election more or less probative. |  | 23 at analyzing vote dilution, if you have an |  |
| 24 Is that right? |  | 24 election that's an endogenous election, that is |  |
| 25 A Well, let's -- I guess let's discuss it. |  | 25 the most recent election, features a candidate of |  |


| 45 | 47 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 the minority group that's challenging the | 1 2022? |
| 2 district, and that candidate is also an existing | 2 A I don't remember that as being part of |
| 3 incumbent, then if that candidate loses, that | 3 his report. I'm just not recalling. |
| 4 would be even more indicative of the effect of | 4 MR. GABER: Okay. Let's mark as -- |
| 5 white bloc voting. | 5 well, I'm not going to mark it yet because I don't |
| 6 Is that a fair statement? | 6 want to get my numbers out of order. But let's |
| 7 A Well, I don't know that I would include | 7 pull up, if we can, the file -- I think it's |
| 8 incumbency in that list necessarily. Again, it's | 8 probably TM Collingwood report, or -- yeah, TM |
| 9 something that we're seeing some changes related | 9 Collingwood Expert Report. And we won't mark it |
| 10 to in terms of, you know, how much of an advantage | 10 as an exhibit for now. We may not mark it. |
| 11 it is or isn't in more recent history. So... | 11 THE WITNESS: Okay. |
| 12 Q Okay. But the other three, you agree | 12 Q All right. And let me just find it in |
| 13 with? | 13 my copy. |
| 14 A Yes, as we've discussed. | 14 So if we can go to page 15 of the PDF. |
| 15 Q So in the context of the elections that | 15 Do you see here that Dr. Collingwood reports the |
| 16 Dr. Collingwood analyzed, would you agree that the | 16 racially polarized voting assessment for all the |
| 17 single most probative contest would be the 2022 | 17 statewide and the endogenous 2022 elections for |
| 18 election -- at least with respect to District 9, | 18 District 9? |
| 19 the 2022 election for the state senate in | 19 A Yes, I see that, yes. |
| 20 District 9, that's the most probative under | 20 Q And would you agree that from this |
| 21 Gingles prong 3 because it features an endogenous | 21 table, you can identify who the candidates of |
| 22 election with a Native American candidate and it's | 22 choice were for Native American voters? |
| 23 the most recent election? | 23 A Yes, that's fair. |
| 24 A Yes. | 24 Q And do you see in -- and this is for the |
| 25 Q And in District 9B, that -- for the 2022 | 25 full District 9. You see that Richard Marcellais |
| 46 | 48 |
| 1 election for the U.S. -- sorry -- for the state | 1 is the candidate of choice for Native American |
| 2 house, is also -- that's an endogenous context, | 2 voters in the state senate race in 2022? |
| 3 right? | $3 \quad$ A Yes, I do. |
| 4 A 2022? | 4 Q And then do you understand -- I don't |
| $5 \quad$ Q 2022. | 5 know if it says it on this page, but the asterisk |
| 6 A Yes, yes. | 6 next to his name indicates that he is himself a |
| $7 \quad$ Q And that is the most recent contest for | 7 Native American. |
| 8 the state house in District 9B? | 8 Do you understand that? |
| 9 A Yes, correct. | $9 \quad$ A Yes. |
| 10 Q And the difference between that election | 10 Q And then -- |
| 11 and the state senate is, the Native American | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Mark, it's been about an |
| 12 preferred candidate was a white incumbent. | 12 hour. If we could take a small break when it |
| 13 Is that your understanding? | 13 makes sense in the near future. |
| 14 A I don't recall, just sitting here. I'm | 14 MR. GABER: Okay. |
| 15 not saying that's incorrect. | 15 Q And then if we pull up page 21 of the |
| 16 Q The candidate was Marvin Nelson. | 16 PDF and go to the paragraph underneath -- scroll |
| 17 Does that sound right? | 17 down just a little bit. In that paragraph under |
| 18 A Well, I guess what I'm saying is, I | 18 the table, towards the bottom of that paragraph, |
| 19 don't -- in order to infer who the Native American | 19 do you see where Dr. Collingwood refers to the |
| 20 preferred candidate is, there would have to be | 20 defeat of Marvin Nelson, the Native American |
| 21 some analysis performed. I did not do that | 21 preferred candidate, in Subdistrict 9B in 2022? |
| 22 analysis in 2022. | 22 A Yes, I see that. |
| 23 Q You didn't have any reason to disagree | 23 Q Do you have any reason to disagree with |
| 24 or criticize Dr. Collingwood's determinations as 25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in | 24 Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that Marvin Nelson or <br> 25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice |
| 25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in | 25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice |


| 49 | 51 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 of Native American voters in those two elections? | 1 Q So the -- for the most part, the only |
| 2 A Well, Ithink this is what I was | 2 Native Americans in District 9B are all |
| 3 remembering. I mean, so in terms of Marcellais, I | 3 concentrated in the area that's in 9B but close to |
| 4 mean, a statistical analysis was conducted that | 4 the border of 9A. |
| 5 showed that he was the Native American preferred | $5 \quad$ Is that your understanding? |
| 6 candidate of choice. The same statistical | 6 A From what I remember, yes. |
| 7 analysis was not conducted for Nelson. It's just | $7 \quad$ Q And so to the extent those voting |
| 8 being inferred. | 8 precincts have a high concentration of Native |
| 9 That's what I was remembering, yeah. | 9 American voters and is also the precinct in which |
| 10 Q And part of the reason for that is that | 10 Marvin Nelson prevailed, and if Marvin Nelson lost |
| 11 the subdistricts don't have a sufficient number of | 11 by large margins, the precinct in the white |
| 12 precincts to do a complete -- or at least the same | 12 counties, there is a fair inference that can be |
| 13 type of RPV analysis that you would do in the | 13 drawn as to who the candidate of choice is in |
| 14 district as a whole. | 14 those -- in that race. |
| 15 Is that right? | 15 Wouldn't you agree? |
| 16 A I would agree with that. | 16 A Well, I would respectfully, I guess, |
| 17 Q But what you can do is look at the | 17 disagree. I mean, you know, there are different |
| 18 election returns within the precincts and | 18 methods you can use to uncover racially polarized |
| 19 correlate them with the demographic data from that | 19 voting, one of those being homogeneous precinct |
| 20 precinct and can make a reasonable inference as to | 20 analysis, which is a very old method. |
| 21 who the candidates of choice are | 21 I didn't detect, from my memory at least |
| 22 Is that fair? | 22 sitting here, any precincts in the area where |
| 23 A Well, again, you know, that's why we | 23 you're describing that had a high enough |
| 24 test for these things, and that's not the | 24 percentage of Native American population to make |
| 25 procedure that we use to test to determine whether | 25 that kind of inference using, say, homogeneous |
| 50 | 52 |
| 1 or not racially polarized voting exists or not. | 1 precinct analysis. |
| 2 So that's not the typical procedure. | 2 Q With respect to the white voters, there |
| 3 If there's not enough statistical power, | 3 is homogeneous precincts -- |
| 4 there's just not enough statistical power. And I | 4 (Cross-talk.) |
| 5 probably would agree there's not. | 5 A That's true, yes. But there has to be |
| 6 Q With respect to the Subdistrict 9B, it | 6 homogeneous precincts for both groups or however |
| 7 covers part of Rolette County and then parts of | 7 many groups you're analyzing. So... |
| 8 Towner and Cavalier County to the east of Turtle | $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ So to the extent -- so do you understand |
| 9 Mountain. | 9 that Marvin Nelson was the incumbent state house |
| 10 Is that your understanding? | 10 rep from the prior District 9 ? |
| 11 A So B is the one to the east, if I'm | 11 A Yes, I recall that. |
| 12 remembering right, yes. | 12 Q And so one way to test whether he's the |
| 13 Q Right. And so the Native American -- | 13 candidate of choice of Native American voters, to |
| 14 are you familiar with the demographic makeup of | 14 the extent you have a dispute over the correlation |
| 15 District 9B geographically? | 15 method, is to look in the past elections in which |
| 16 A Alittle bit, yes. | 16 he's been elected to determine whether he was the |
| 17 Q So is it your understanding that the | 17 candidate of choice using the more traditional |
| 18 populations of Cavalier and Towner counties are | 18 statistical analysis. |
| 19 close to 100 percent white? | 19 Is that fair? |
| 20 A Well, from my memory, this is what I | 20 A If it's possible. You know, I would |
| 21 would say, you know, outside of the reservation in | 21 have to see if it were possible in the past. |
| 22 that particular legislative district, in the areas | 22 Q And if there's a consistent pattern of |
| 23 right around the reservation, the rest of the | 23 him being the Native American voters' candidate of |
| 24 district does not contain many, if any, Native 25 Americans. | 24 choice, then you would expect that to be the case 25 for 2022 as well, right? |


|  | 53 | 55 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Well, again, I'm going to just have to |  | 1 Q Okay. If all the Native American voters |
| 2 push back on that. I mean, that's why we test |  | 2 are essentially in one county, then we can look at |
| 3 things. |  | 3 that county, and if it's possible, perform an |
| 4 So it would make logical sense perhaps |  | 4 analysis to try and make that determination. |
| 5 if that were the case. But again, we -- we don't |  | 5 Is that right? |
| 6 just make inferences without testing for things. |  | 6 A Well, again, if the data are present to |
| 7 So... |  | 7 make that determination, I don't know. You know, |
| $8 \quad$ Q If we combined that data showing that he |  | 8 there would have to be -- even if we were looking |
| 9 was the candidate of choice in the prior state |  | 9 at a single county, there would have to be enough |
| 10 representative elections for District 9 Native |  | 10 precincts within the county to make a proper |
| 11 American voters with the inferences that can be |  | 11 inference, I guess. So... |
| 12 drawn from the demographics and the election |  | 12 Q You haven't done that analysis in your |
| 13 results for the 2022 election, that would provide |  | 13 report. |
| 14 at least a preponderance of evidence that he was, |  | 14 Is that right? |
| 15 in fact, the candidate of choice in 2022 as well. |  | 15 A That's correct. |
| 16 Wouldn't you agree with that? |  | 16 Q And you don't have any -- you don't |
| 17 A I don't -- I mean, I'm not trying to be |  | 17 opine anything with respect to Dr. Collingwood's |
| 18 flippant. I don't know that what you just said is |  | 18 selection of who the candidates of choice of white |
| 19 all that much different from what we just talked |  | 19 or Native American voters are in his report, |
| 20 about previously. So... |  | 20 correct? |
| 21 Q Are you aware that former Representative |  | 21 A Well, except for this example we're |
| 22 Nelson was the Democratic candidate for governor |  | 22 talking about where he's making an inference about |
| 24 A No, I was not aware of that. |  | 24 testing that's been performed. Otherwise, no. |
| 25 Q And Dr. Collingwood reports that he was |  | 25 Q Okay. But for your report, you don't, |
|  | 54 | 56 |
| 1 the candidate of choice of Native American voters |  | 1 in your report, make any criticism of |
| 2 in the region. |  | 2 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of Subdistricts 9A or |
| 3 Do you have any reason to disagree with |  | 3 9B, right? |
| 4 that? |  | 4 A I don't believe I do specifically, no. |
| 5 A Not on its face. |  | 5 Q And you haven't done any analysis to |
| $6 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And it's your view that in the entire |  | 6 show that he's incorrect in his conclusions? |
| 7 District 9, there's a clear pattern of the |  | 7 A No. |
| 8 Democratic candidate being the candidate of choice |  | 8 Q Sorry, I missed that. What was that |
| 9 of Native American voters, right? |  | 9 answer? |
| 10 A That's true, yes. |  | $10 \quad$ A No. It was just "no." |
| 11 Q And so -- and that's true regardless of |  | 11 Q And you don't dispute in your report |
| 12 where they are -- where the Native American voters |  | 12 that Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that in the |
| 13 reside in District 9. There's no evidence to |  | 13 endogenous elections in District 9, there is a |
| 14 suggest that there's a difference among candidates |  | 14100 percent defeat rate for the Native American |
| 15 of choice. |  | 15 candidates of choice? |
| 16 Is that right? |  | 16 A Well, again, with the caveat that if we |
| 17 A I'm not following -- I didn't follow |  | 17 can determine specifically who the Native American |
| 18 what you just said. |  | 18 candidate of choice is, then yes. |
| 19 Q Well, if Native American voters are -- |  | 19 Q And for District 9 as a whole, you agree |
| 20 have a clear candidate of choice in District 9, |  | 20 with Dr. Collingwood's analysis that Richard |
| 21 then there is not a basis to conclude that that |  | 21 Marcellais is the candidate of choice of Native |
| 22 fact varies depending on where in District 9 |  | 22 American voters in the 2022 election? |
| 23 you're looking? |  | 23 A I didn't dispute that. So yes. |
| 24 A Well, I don't know that that's the case |  | 24 Q And so that is -- that's a 100 percent |
| 25 or not. I just don't know. |  | 25 defeat rate for that -- for endogenous elections |


| 57 | 5 |
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| 1 in District 9? | 1 Q Okay. |
| 2 A Well, that's, yes, one race, yes. | 2 (Cross-talk.) |
| 3 Q And in your report, you don't dispute | 3 A But I've fiddled around with it. |
| 4 Dr. Collingwood's similar analysis for endogenous | 4 Q And you understand that they import the |
| 5 elections in District 9B? | 5 demographic data from the census bureau? |
| 6 A Well, again, I don't think he did the | 6 A That's my understanding, yes. |
| 7 testing for racially polarized voting in either | $7 \quad$ Q And then they combine that together with |
| 8 subdistrict. | 8 the precinct boundaries as set by the local |
| $9 \quad$ Q But if he's correct in identifying who | 9 jurisdictions or the state? |
| 10 the candidate of choice is in those elections, | 10 A Well, this is where things can get a |
| 11 then he would also be correct that there was a | 11 little fuzzy. Sometimes I believe they're using |
| 12100 percent defeat rate in District 9B for the | 12 precinct boundaries that have been identified by |
| 13 endogenous election? | 13 the census bureau as VTD boundaries, which at |
| 14 A Well, if he's correct, yes. But, you | 14 times may or may not be congruent with present |
| 15 know, I guess I would argue we don't know if he's | 15 precinct boundaries, if I'm making sense. So... |
| 16 correct or not without testing. | 16 Q So the precinct, according to Dave's, is |
| 17 Q So is it your view, then, that it's not | 1793.7 percent Native VAP. |
| 18 possible to determine who the Native American | 18 If that's correct or roughly correct, |
| 19 preferred candidate in District 9A is either? | 19 that would count as a homogeneous Native American |
| 20 A From what I recall, I don't believe -- | 20 precinct under your understanding of that. |
| 21 and again, I think Prof. Collingwood said this as | 21 Is that true? |
| 22 well -- that there are enough precincts to yield a | 22 A Yes. But it would just be one. And we |
| 23 useable analysis in the subdistricts, in either | 23 usually want more than one precinct to do some |
| 24 subdistrict. | 24 analysis with. So... |
| 25 Q Well, to do a racially polarized voting | 25 Q Okay. So is it your opinion that |
| 58 | 60 |
| 1 analysis using ecological inference, right? | 1 there's no way to determine whether the Native |
| 2 A Correct. Or even homogeneous precinct | 2 American who won the state representative race in |
| 3 analysis, perhaps. | 3 Subdistrict 9A is the candidate of choice of the |
| $4 \quad$ Q In District 9A, do you agree that there | 4 Native American voters in the district? |
| 5 is homogeneous Native American precincts? | 5 A Well, given conventional methods, I'm |
| 6 A Yes, although I have typically defined | 6 not sure how it would be done, I guess is what I |
| 7 homogeneous as being 90 percent of a single racial | 7 would say. |
| 8 group. So I don't know -- I don't recall -- I | $8 \quad$ Q That's important information to |
| 9 don't believe that any of the precincts reached | 9 determine whether the candidate of choice is being |
| 10 that level for Native Americans, that I can recall | 10 elected in District 9A? |
| 11 sitting here. And that's the typical sort of | 11 A That's true. I mean, that's how we |
| 12 cutoff I've used. | 12 would make that determination. |
| 13 Q We'll take a break in a moment. I just | 13 Q But in the absence of enough precincts, |
| 14 want to check something. | 14 you can certainly make inferences that may not |
| 15 And I'm just representing this to you. | 15 have the same high level of rigor as the EI |
| 16 The Belcourt, which is the city that is contained | 16 analysis would, but at some point, it just is |
| 17 within the Turtle Mountain reservation or | 17 common sense, right? |
| 18 precinct, has a 2022 Native voting age population, | 18 If there's essentially only one |
| 19 according to Dave's Redistricting App -- | 19 demographic group in the district, then the |
| 20 Are you familiar with that website? | 20 candidate who wins by a large majority would |
| 21 A I am. | 21 necessarily be that group's candidate of choice. |
| 22 Q Have you used it before? | 22 Does that seem fair? |
| 23 A Yes. | 23 A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to |
| 24 Q And do you -- | 24 differentiate between common sense or what may |
| 25 A I've not used it for a court case. | 25 appear on the face to be something versus, again, |



| 65 | 67 |
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| 1 pattern uncovered at the district level. That's | 1 to really make an inference from that. So... |
| 2 true. I can say that. | 2 Q But nevertheless, you would give greater |
| 3 Q Okay. And would you agree with me that | 3 weight to that -- when you're looking individually |
| 4 it would be unlikely that the subdistricts would | 4 at each election, you would give significantly |
| 5 have a different voting pattern than the district | 5 greater weight to the endogenous election, to the |
| 6 as a whole? | 6 extent it points in a different direction than the |
| 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for | 7 exogenous election? |
| 8 speculation. | 8 A I think someone like the Court would be |
| 9 A Again, I guess this is where I -- you | 9 better positioned to do that than I would, |
| 10 know, it's difficult to make inferences without | 10 necessarily. So... |
| 11 testing. | 11 Q And so the Court would need to be the |
| 12 Q But that is -- and we've agreed, that is | 12 one to make those determinations about probative |
| 13 the inference that you found reliable to make in | 13 value between the elections? |
| 14 the Walen report? | 14 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 15 A I made that inference, yes. | 15 legal conclusion. |
| 16 Q Now, given that endogenous elections, | 16 A Well, yes, and again, to the extent of |
| 17 more recent elections, and elections featuring a | 17 which how many elections are -- how many |
| 18 Native American candidate are more probative than | 18 endogenous elections do we have versus exogenous, |
| 19 other elections -- exogenous elections, more | 19 what type of exogenous elections, you know, what |
| 20 distant elections, and elections featuring only | 20 time period. I mean, there's a lot of factors to |
| 21 white candidates -- would you agree with me that | 21 weigh here. |
| 22 equally weighing them in an analysis is not | 22 So I typically don't -- I guess what I'm |
| 23 methodologically correct? | 23 saying is, as a political scientist, I typically |
| 24 A Well, again, I freely admit endogenous | 24 am looking for a pattern, not for, you know, a |
| 25 elections are more probative, certainly. I mean, | 25 detailed dive into a single election, per se. |
| 66 | 68 |
| 1 Prof. Collingwood provided these same sort of | 1 Q If there's a limit to the number of |
| 2 global stats that I do in this report that I | 2 endogenous elections and there are more recent |
| 3 turnedin. So... | 3 exogenous elections available, you would agree |
| $4 \quad$ Q But in terms of interpreting the | 4 that the better approach -- or a good approach |
| 5 election results, the proper methodology is to | 5 would be to go to those first because they have |
| 6 accord greater weight to the endogenous elections, | 6 more probative value than more distant exogenous |
| 7 the elections featuring Native American | 7 elections, correct? |
| 8 candidates, and the more recent elections. | 8 A Yeah. I mean, typically, in these kinds |
| 9 Do you agree with that? | 9 of analyses -- and I've written about this |
| 10 A Yes, as we've discussed. | 10 academically -- I typically don't go back more |
| 11 Q And so when we get to the point of | 11 than ten years, just as sort of a general rule. I |
| 12 reaching a conclusion about Gingles prong 3, | 12 mean, that's not -- there's no principle on that. |
| 13 either an academic or a court should not weigh the | 13 But I typically don't go back further than ten |
| 14 elections equally? | 14 years. So... |
| 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection to the | 15 Q And you would agree, within that ten |
| 16 extent -- I'll say speculation and calls for a | 16 years, the probative value increases as you get |
| 17 legal conclusion. | 17 closer to today? |
| 18 A Well, I can't speak for the Court, | 18 A Yes, as we've discussed, yes. I think |
| 19 but -- and again, this sort of gets into another | 19 that's fair. |
| 20 issue we have sometimes in vote dilution cases of | 20 Q Now, if the endogenous election and the |
| 21 how many, you know, endogenous elections there are | 21 more recent exogenous elections and the elections |
| 22 to compare with the rest of the elections out | 22 in which there are Native American candidates of |
| 23 there. | 23 choice point in favor of a Gingles prong 3 |
| 24 If there's -- I'm just saying | 24 finding, and the less probative elections point in |
| 25 hypothetically, if there's two, then that's hard | 25 the opposite direction, then the Court would need |


| 69 | 71 |
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| 1 to consider more probative, in your view, or | 1 cases more or less weight, then yes. But at that |
| 2 academics would need to consider more probative | 2 point, that's the Court making that determination, |
| 3 the elections pointing in favor of a Gingles | 3 not a research |
| 4 prong 3 conclusion. | 4 Q And the Court, in doing so, would be |
| 5 Is that a fair statement? | 5 following, however, the generally accepted |
| 6 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation, | 6 methodology, which, as we've discussed, involves |
| 7 calls for a legal conclusion, and object to form. | 7 placing, I think in your words, far greater weight |
| 8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I | 8 on endogenous elections and more probative value |
| 9 would say. As a researcher, you know, looking | 9 to more recent elections and to racially contested |
| 10 into a vote dilution matter, I would make a | 10 elections, right? |
| 11 determination of what elections I'm going to | 11 A Yeah. I don't disagree with those |
| 12 analyze up front. | 12 points, as we've discussed. I've written about |
| 13 And, you know, I don't disagree, legally | 13 that academically, in fact. So... |
| 14 speaking, that some elections may be more | 14 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood, in his report, |
| 15 probative than others. But a researcher has | 15 though he presented the -- all of the election |
| 16 chosen a set of elections, and you can't just pick | 16 results from 2014 to 2022 for the statewide |
| 17 and choose at that point which ones are going to | 17 contests reconstituted in the new districts, did |
| 18 be included or not. | 18 provide opinion and discussion about how to |
| 19 So if -- we have to, like -- you know, | 19 interpret that for purposes of Gingles prong 3, |
| 20 if we're going to make an argument not to include | 20 given the differences in the probative value of |
| 21 certain elections in our analysis that we've | 21 different types of elections. |
| 22 already analyzed, or we're saying that they're | 22 Do you recall reading that? |
| 23 less probative for whatever, I mean, that's really <br> 24 a matter for the Court to weigh, if that makes | 23 A He provided some -- he provided some 24 context, yes. |
| 25 sense. | 25 Q And you don't -- in your report, you |
| 70 | 72 |
| 1 Q So another way of saying that is that | 1 didn't dispute any of that, correct? |
| 2 that's a factual determination about how much | 2 A I don't think I disputed it directly. I |
| 3 probative value to give each particular election? | 3 may have disputed it indirectly in the way that I |
| 4 A Yes. That's not something I think I can | 4 treated that set of races that he analyzed. |
| 5 do or any other researcher can do necessarily. I | 5 Q And that was by equally weighing the |
| 6 mean, Prof. Collingwood chose these races to | 6 races that he analyzed, correct? |
| 7 analyze, and yes, within that subset, some may be | 7 A That's correct. |
| 8 more probative than others, as we've discussed. I | 8 Q But as we've discussed, the Court will |
| 9 don't disagree with that. | 9 have to ferret out what probative value to give |
| 10 But nevertheless, he analyzed all these | 10 those races to make a Gingles prong 3 conclusion, |
| 11 races, and so they should be included in the | 11 right? |
| 12 prong 3 component of the Gingles analysis. I | 12 A Yes. |
| 13 guess that's what I would say. So... | 13 Q And it's your view that, given the |
| 14 Q And the question then is how much weight | 14 differing probative values that should be afforded |
| 15 to give each particular election in terms of what | 15 different types of elections, you can't make that |
| 16 it says about whether white voters are usually | 16 Gingles prong 3 determination for the Court, |
| 17 defeating the Native preferred candidates. | 17 correct? |
| 18 A Yes. Which is, I think, outside the | 18 A Well, I mean, yes, that's correct. |
| 19 scope of what I normally would do personally. | 19 So, you know, a similar example would be |
| 20 Q But in order to make a determination | 20 hypothetically, and I'm speaking just |
| 21 about whether Gingles prong 3 is satisfied or not, | 21 hypothetically here, if we had two experts in a |
| 22 that's a necessary part of that determination, | 22 particular vote dilution case like this present |
| 23 right, how much probative value to give the | 23 the Court with two different sets of elections |
| 24 individual elections? | 24 they had analyzed, maybe some overlap in a Venn |
| 25 A Well, if a court decided to give certain | 25 diagram, but some don't, same thing. The Court |






|  | 89 |  | 91 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Yes. |  | 1 A I believe so. |  |
| 2 Q It would be the second to the last page |  | 2 Q You would agree that's a larger sample |  |
| 3 of the PDF, which is going to be 13, that's Bates |  | 3 size than the six that you analyzed for your Walen |  |
| 4 stamped HOOD-0256. |  | 4 report? |  |
| 5 Now, is this the sort of underlying work |  | 5 A That's true, yes. |  |
| 6 that you did to create the table for your report |  | 6 Q And, in fact, just the 2022 contests |  |
| 7 that is on page 3? |  | 7 alone would be a larger sample size than what you |  |
| $8 \quad$ A It should be, yes. |  | 8 looked at in the -- in your Walen report? |  |
| $9 \quad$ Q So what you show here is that -- and |  | 9 A Correct. |  |
| 10 this is, again, LD 9, LD 9A, LD 9B, and the total, |  | 10 Q And as a general matter, the more |  |
| 11 the total being the number of elections that were |  | 11 elections -- looking at more elections is better |  |
| 12 available statewide or for endogenous in that |  | 12 than looking at fewer elections. |  |
| 13 given election year? |  | 13 Is that a generally fair statement? |  |
| 14 A Yes, yes. |  | 14 A Typically. Again, you know, as long as |  |
| 15 Q And so just looking at LD 9, there's |  | 15 they're somewhat probative. |  |
| 16 eight elections available to be analyzed in 2022, |  | 16 Q Well, in fact, if you're looking at -- |  |
| 17 correct? |  | 17 A I'm not saying 2022 wasn't. I'm just |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 adding that qualifier to that general statement. |  |
| 19 Q And the Native American preferred |  | 19 (Inaudible) any election at any time, you know. |  |
| 20 candidate lost all eight of those, right? |  | 20 So... |  |
| 21 A Yes. |  | 21 Q Yeah. And, in fact, as we discussed, |  |
| 22 Q If we add the 2020 elections to the 2022 |  | 22 the more probative elections would be the more |  |
| 23 elections, then we have 14 total contests. |  | 23 recent, endogenous, and those featuring a minority |  |
| 24 Is that right? |  | 24 candidate of the minority group challenging the |  |
| 25 A Yes, correct. |  | 25 map? |  |
|  | 90 |  | 92 |
| 1 Q And that would include a mix of at least |  | 1 A Yes. |  |
| 2 one endogenous race and then the most recent two |  | 2 Q Now, both in these notes but also in |  |
| 3 election cycles of statewide contests? |  | 3 your report on page 3, Table 1 on page 3 -- so I |  |
| 4 A Correct. |  | 4 guess what you've done here is, you have combined |  |
| $5 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And so if the time period we're looking |  | 5 District 9, District 9A, and District 9B and |  |
| 6 at is 2022 and 2020, then the Native preferred |  | 6 summed up all the elections in those three |  |
| 7 candidate would have won 4 out of the 14 contests. |  | 7 districts to report the defeat rate for Native |  |
| 8 Is that correct? |  | 8 American preferred candidates across these five |  |
| $9 \quad A \quad$ Based on these notes, yes. |  | 9 election cycles. |  |
| 10 Q And then if we skip over 2018 but add in |  | 10 Is that right? |  |
| 11 the 2016 to the 2020 and the 2022, then there are |  | 11 A In Table 1, yes. That's correct. |  |
| 12 nine contests for those three election cycles in |  | 12 Q So there's 108 elections where there's a |  |
| 13 which the Native preferred candidate prevailed. |  | 13 clear Native American candidate of choice. |  |
| 14 Am I right? |  | 14 Is that right? |  |
| 15 A Yes, that's correct. |  | 15 A Yes. |  |
| 16 Q And that's 9 out of 21 contests, right? |  | 16 Q And that's -- you get there by adding up |  |
| 17 A Yes. |  | 17 District 9, District 9A, and District 9B, right? |  |
| 18 Q So setting aside 2018, for the other |  | 18 A Correct. |  |
| 19 most recent three election cycles, the white |  | 19 Q Now, we've discussed a bit that |  |
| 20 candidate prevailed in District 9 in the majority |  | 20 District 9A has a very high Native American voting |  |
| 21 of the elections in those three election cycles, |  | 21 age population. |  |
| 22 correct? |  | 22 Would you agree with that? |  |
| 23 A That would be correct. |  | 23 A Yes. |  |
| 24 Q And that's -- we said -- is that 21 |  | 24 Q It's nearly 80 -- |  |
| 25 contests, right? |  | 25 (Reporter interruption.) |  |


| 93 | 95 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 Q It's nearly 80 percent. | 1 surrounding voters. |
| 2 Is that your understanding? | 2 Does that make sense? |
| 3 A It's high. I don't remember the | 3 A Yes, yes. |
| 4 exact -- I mean, unless I put it in my report | $4 \quad$ Q So you would not -- the Gingles prong 3 |
| 5 somewhere, I don't remember the exact number. But | 5 doesn't get at whether white voters are defeating |
| 6 it's high. | 6 the Native candidate of choice in a packed |
| 7 Q Okay. | 7 district, right? The purpose is to look at the |
| 8 A Subdistrict 9A is 77.0 percent Native | 8 districts where there's allegedly too few Native |
| 9 American VAP. That's what I wrote. | 9 American voters, given the way that the lines were |
| 10 Q Okay. Now, we talked a bit earlier when | 10 drawn? |
| 11 we were talking about sort of your presentation of | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 12 the three Gingles factors that one typically would | 12 legal conclusion. |
| 13 not include a district with such a high minority | 13 A Well, again, I mean, I guess I would say |
| 14 population in the Gingles prong 3 analysis because | 14 it's just something that can be analyzed. That's |
| 15 the purpose of the Gingles prong 3 analysis is to | 15 probably not going to be the case where the Native |
| 16 determine whether white voters are blocking Native | 16 American preferred candidate of choice is losing |
| 17 preferred candidates in an area where there aren't | 17 in a district that's packed in a hypothetical |
| 18 enough Native voters. | 18 sense, no. |
| 19 Is that correct? | 19 Q And, in fact, when we look at your notes |
| 20 A Well, I mean, I included this because I | 20 here that are on the screen, which I think is |
| 21 was responding to Prof. Collingwood, and he | 21 Exhibit 6, on page 13 of the notes, you show that |
| 22 included it. | 22 the Native preferred candidate wins 100 percent of |
| 23 Q But Dr. Collingwood didn't add 9A, 9B, | 23 the tested elections in District 9A, right? |
| 24 and 9 together, right? You did that. | 24 A Yes. |
| 25 A I did that, yes. | 25 Q And so that doesn't tell us what's |
| 94 | 96 |
| 1 Q Okay. And so do you agree with me, | 1 happening in the cracked -- the allegedly cracked |
| 2 though, that in a district with a large minority | 2 populations outside of District 9A, right? |
| 3 population, well above a majority and over | 3 A That's correct. |
| 4 three-quarters of the population of voters, that | $4 \quad$ Q And so if we're trying to determine |
| 5 conducting a Gingles prong 3 analysis doesn't even | 5 whether or not white voters usually defeat Native |
| 6 make sense for that district? | 6 preferred candidates in those areas outside of the |
| 7 A Well, it makes sense insofar as it | 7 packed district, we would most appropriately |
| 8 confirms that where there's racially polarized | 8 confine our Gingles prong 3 analysis to those |
| 9 voting and the district contains that many of a | 9 areas outside the packed district. |
| 10 racial group, the time their preferred candidate | 10 Do you agree with that? |
| 11 of choice should win. | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a |
| 12 Q Do you understand the plaintiffs to be | 12 legal conclusion. |
| 13 alleging that District 9A is packed with Native | 13 A Again, I don't disagree necessarily. |
| 14 American voters, and the surrounding districts, | 14 But to the extent to which 9A is part of this set |
| 15 there's cracked Native American voting population? | 15 of districts that's being analyzed, I included it. |
| 16 A I mean, are you representing that that | 16 Q Yeah, I get that. |
| 17 is the case? | 17 And it is being challenged insofar as |
| 18 Q Yes. So the allegation is that | 18 the allegation is that it's been packed so heavily |
| 19 District 9A is packed; there is cracked population | 19 that that's the only district in which a Native |
| 20 in District 9B and in neighboring District 15. | 20 preferred candidate would win. |
| 21 A So it's not District 9 is packed, then. | 21 But to examine whether white bloc voting |
| 22 Q The allegation is that District 9 is | 22 is usually defeating the candidates of choice in |
| 23 dilutive because it has an insufficient effective | 23 more districts than what was drawn, you would not |
| 24 Native population, but the allegation is that 9A | 24 look at the allegedly packed district for Gingles |
| 25 is packed and Native voters are cracked in the | 25 prong 3? |


| 97 | 99 |
| :---: | :---: |
| MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection. <br> A Well, I would just say that the district under challenge, I did look at it. <br> Q Okay. But let's take my proposition and assume that's true. And I think you've said you didn't necessarily disagree with that, right? <br> A Correct. <br> Q And if we exclude District 9A, the allegedly packed district, and look just at District 9 and District 9B in combination, then there are -- across the five analyzed years, there are -- is it 72 total elections? <br> A I guess it would be. <br> Q And among those 72 elections, the Native preferred candidate wins 30 , and the white 6 preferred candidate wins 40. <br> Is that correct? Or 42, rather. <br> A Yes. 40, right? If I'm looking at this right. <br> Q Maybe it's 40. So it's -- I'm just trying to help myself do math here. <br> So there's 23 Native -- you counted 23 <br> Native victories in LD 9. And is that 7 in 9B? <br> A Yes, looks like 7 to me. <br> Q So that's 30 for the Native preferred | Gingles prong 3 being present that the white preferred candidate is usually defeating the Native preferred candidate? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a legal conclusion. <br> A In 9 and 9B added together, yes. <br> Q Okay. Now, you understand, based on our discussion earlier -- did you review the Complaint and the supplemental Complaint that were filed by 10 plaintiffs in this case? <br> A I probably did. I can't tell you that I can remember much from it. <br> Q But you understand and you did some 4 analysis -- or rather, you reviewed <br> 5 Dr. Collingwood's analysis and understand that 16 District 15, the neighboring district, is also part of the claim in this case, right? <br> A Yes, yes. <br> Q And to the extent that plaintiffs claim, which I can represent it is, is about vote dilution as a regional matter, and not with regard 22 to, you know, the particular district lines, 23 because the challenge is to the lines, one could 24 also add in District 15's results to District 9 <br> 25 and District 9B to get a full picture of the |
| candidates. And there's -- there are 72 <br> elections. Maybe it's the case -- we're trying to <br> get at whether it's 40 or 42 victories for the <br> white preferred candidate. It's possible that <br> those are the two elections that didn't feature a <br> racially polarized voting, perhaps. But -- <br> (Cross-talk.) <br> A I don't think those two races are being <br> counted in this table I drew out by hand. <br> Q Okay. So then it would be 42 contests <br> in which the white preferred candidate prevailed <br> when we sum up District 9 and District 9B, and 30 <br> in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed? <br> A I believe that's correct, yes. <br> Q So that would be 58 percent of the time 6 when we look at the districts that are alleged to <br> have too little Native population to provide an <br> equal opportunity to elect; 58 percent of the <br> time, the white preferred candidate is winning, <br> and 42 percent of the time, the Native preferred <br> candidate is winning. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Based on those calculations, that would <br> be correct, yes. <br> 25 Q And that would be indicative of a | racially polarized voting and the Gingles prong 3 <br> factors for the whole challenged area, correct? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form, <br> compound question. <br> Q That was very compound. Let me break it down. <br> So to the extent -- given that <br> plaintiffs are challenging the regional drawing of <br> the districts, then it would be -- it would make <br> 0 sense to -- as you did to some extent, to add <br> together the challenged election results from both <br> 2 Districts 9 and 15 ? <br> A Well, I mean, one could make that <br> argument. I don't know that two -- I mean, we're <br> using this term "region." I don't know that two <br> legislative districts are a region, per se. <br> I mean, you can do what you're saying, <br> certainly. I mean, it's just a matter of <br> arithmetic. <br> Q And given the results that you saw in -given what we just saw with respect to District 9 and District 9B, if we add in the results in <br> District 15 , there's an even stronger indication <br> 24 of the presence of Gingles prong 3 using that 25 approach, correct? |





| 113 | 115 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 elections, then the evidence in favor of white | 1 trying to discern what, you know, a group of |
| 2 bloc voting would be even higher than the 42 out | 2 people were thinking exactly. So... |
| 3 of 72 that we see including those elections, | 3 Q Doesn't that just -- isn't it just |
| 4 right? | 4 purely logical? So if what you did glean was that |
| 5 A If we took out 2018, there would be | 5 they believed they needed to draw the subdistrict |
| 6 fewer Native preferred candidates who would have | 6 to comply with the Voting Rights Act and the |
| 7 won under those criteria, so yes. | 7 subdistricts are a portion of the full districts, |
| 8 MR. GABER: I think this is a good time | 8 the only reason to do that would be because there |
| 9 for us to break. | 9 was concern that the full district would not |
| 10 (Recess from 1:25 p.m. until 2:02 p.m.) | 10 provide an opportunity and, therefore, there |
| 11 MR. GABER: Back on the record. | 11 needed to be at least one state house seat, or |
| 12 BY MR. GABER: | 12 there was that opportunity. |
| 13 Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from lunch. Did | 13 Is there any other reason why one would |
| 14 you have a chance to get something to eat? | 14 do that to comply with the Voting Rights Act? |
| 15 A I did. Thank you. | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it |
| 16 Q So I'm going to shift gears this | 16 misstates his testimony and that it's a compound |
| 17 afternoon, but just a couple more points on the | 17 question and calls for speculation. |
| 18 racially polarized voting topic. | 18 A Well, you know, splitting the |
| 19 Is it your understanding that the state | 19 legislative district as a whole into subdistricts |
| 20 legislature adopted subdistricts in District 9 and | 20 in this case does provide for two single-member |
| 21 in District 4 because of its belief that the | 21 house districts, as we know. |
| 22 Voting Rights Act would have required -- or might | 22 And given the fact that the Native |
| 23 have been violated had elections occurred with the | 23 American population is geographically sort of |
| 24 full district? | 24 close to each other in terms of where they're |
| 25 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for | 25 located, you know, if you draw a subdistrict -- in |
| 114 | 116 |
| 1 speculation and outside the scope of Dr. Hood's | 1 a lot of cases, I guess there are many different |
| 2 opinion and work on this case. | 2 possibilities or permutations. |
| 3 A Well, I mean, all I have to rely on in | 3 But if you draw a subdistrict like the |
| 4 regard to that particular question is the | 4 legislature did or the redistricting committee |
| 5 legislative record and the transcripts I read from | 5 did, then you're certainly going to increase the |
| 6 meetings that were held with the redistricting | 6 odds that a Native American candidate of choice |
| 7 committee and various groups around the state. | 7 can be elected from a subdistrict. |
| 8 And I mean, again, this is just my | $8 \quad$ Q But if it's the case that the rationale |
| 9 opinion, obviously, from the outside looking in. | 9 was to comply with the Voting Rights Act, then the |
| 10 But yes, I believe that the redistricting | 10 belief would have to be that there's a problem |
| 11 committee thought they were complying with the | 11 under the Voting Rights Act with the full |
| 12 Voting Rights Act by creating these subdistricts. | 12 district, right? There's no other explanation, at |
| 13 Q And the reason for that is, the concern | 13 least with respect to the VRA rationale? |
| 14 that in the absence of the subdistricts, if the | 14 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent |
| 15 state house elections were conducted in the full | 15 it misstates his testimony. |
| 16 district, the Native American voters in the full | 16 I believe his testimony was that it did |
| 17 district would not have the opportunity to elect | 17 comply with the Voting Rights Act and that the |
| 18 their candidate of choice? | 18 legislature thought it was in compliance with the |
| 19 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. You're asking | 19 Voting Rights Act. I think you've sort of |
| 20 him to just speculate about what the legislature | 20 misstated his testimony. |
| 21 did and why. The question is pure speculation. | 21 So that's my objection. |
| 22 A I'm not sure if I can answer the second | 22 Q I'm not trying to state your testimony |
| 23 question as to what they believed. I was able to | 23 at all. What I'm trying to ask is, to the extent |
| 24 glean enough from the records I read on the first 25 point, but I honestly am not very comfortable with | 24 the VRA is the reason that the legislature adopted 25 the subdistricts, then it follows that the concern |



|  | 121 | 123 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 in the compactness of these particular districts |  | 1 that's an appropriate, reliable methodology for |
| 2 from the prior plan to the 2011 plan? |  | 2 determining whether an enacted district satisfies |
| 3 A That's correct. |  | 3 a compactness requirement? |
| 4 Q Now, the Reock -- so you report the |  | 4 A Well, I mean, if that scenario exists. |
| 5 Reock scores, the Polsby-Popper scores, and the |  | 5 Sometimes that scenario would not exist. But if a |
| 6 Schwartzberg scores. |  | 6 court in a particular state has spoken to this |
| 7 Is that right? |  | 7 question, then yes, I think that's probative. |
| 8 A Correct. |  | $8 \quad$ Q And that's with respect to a state law |
| 9 Q And am I correct that Reock compares the |  | 9 requirement of compactness, so you'd look to that |
| 10 area of the district to the -- basically the |  | 10 state's courts to see what it had previously |
| 11 smallest circle that will encompass the district? |  | 11 approved, right? |
| 12 Is that a fair -- |  | 12 A Well, I mean, this particular case was a |
| 13 A Certainly, cliff note version, yeah. |  | 13 state case. |
| 14 That's fine. |  | 14 Q Right. |
| 15 Q And Polsby-Popper does the same thing |  | 15 A So yes. |
| 16 except it compares the length of the perimeter of |  | 16 Q And along a similar vein, if the -- if |
| 17 the district to the area of the circle that |  | 17 federal courts or if the U.S. Supreme Court has |
| 18 encompasses it? |  | 18 deemed a particular district to be reasonably |
| 19 A Yes. |  | 19 compact for purposes of the Voting Rights Act, |
| 20 Q And the Schwartzberg one, I'm not going |  | 20 then that would be a probative comparison to make |
| 21 to remember. |  | 21 in determining whether a proposed district, under |
| 22 What is that? |  | 22 the VRA, is reasonably compact? |
| 23 A It's a perimeter to perimeter, compares |  | 23 A Well, yes, I think, but with the caveat |
| 24 the perimeter of the district to the perimeter of |  | 24 that in this particular case, a court had spoken |
| 25 a circle with equal area. |  |  |
|  | 122 | 124 |
| $1 \quad$ Q Okay. With respect to the six districts |  | 1 being compact, but, you know, what is compactness. |
| 2 that were challenged in this case, the 2011 |  | 2 What's compact and what's not compact. |
| 3 versions, the Reock scores ranged from 0.15 to |  | 3 Again, I'm trying to remember what I did |
| $4 \quad 0.22$. |  | 4 here. This was a while ago. But Ithink there |
| 5 Is that correct? |  | 5 was some particular numbers that were actually |
| 6 A Looks like it, yes. |  | 6 laid out by a court. |
| $7 \quad$ Q And the Polsby-Popper scores ranged from |  | $7 \quad$ Q Okay. And the second sort of |
| $8 \quad 0.08$ to 0.14. |  | 8 methodology that you employed was to compare the |
| 9 Is that right? |  | 9 challenged districts to see whether there were |
| 10 A Yes. |  | 10 other districts in the plan that had similar or in |
| 11 Q And the Schwartzberg scores ranged from |  | 11 some cases lower compactness scores. |
| 120.1 to 0.16. |  | 12 Is that right? |
| 13 Is that right? |  | 13 A Yes, correct. |
| 14 A Yes. Yes. |  | 14 Q And then third methodology was to apply |
| 15 Q Now, one of the -- there were three |  | 15 a metric that was from the scholarship from |
| 16 basic methodologies that I gathered that you |  | 16 Profs. Pildes and is it Niemi? |
| 17 followed in reaching the conclusion that these |  | 17 A "Niemi." |
| 18 districts were compact. |  | 18 Q "Niemi." |
| 19 The first is that you compared the -- |  | 19 Do you recall that? |
| 20 each of the districts to previous districts that |  | 20 A Yes. |
| 21 courts had upheld as compact, and then compared |  | 21 Q And since it's kind of specific, I want |
| 22 their compactness scores. |  | 22 to just draw your attention to the Pildes and |
| 23 Do you recall that? |  | 23 Niemi method, and that's on page 13 of the |
| 24 A Yes. |  | 24 Vesilind report. And then so we can see the |
| 25 Q And that would be -- in your view, |  | 25 bottom paragraph, please. |


| 125 | 127 |
| :---: | :---: |
| And I'll let you take a look at those. <br> A Okay. <br> Okay. <br> Q The methodology that you applied here <br> and that's written about in the Profs. Niemi and <br> Pildes report is in response to the racial <br> gerrymandering line of cases, right? <br> A Correct, correct. <br> Q And the methodology here is that if the <br> 10 Reock score is above 0.16 , or if the Polsby-Popper <br> score is above 0.06 , or if the sum of those two is above 0.22 , then the district is considered <br> compact. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Well, that's not how I would term it. I <br> would term it as what these two political <br> scientists are saying is that if it's below -- if <br> it's at this level or below, it's certainly <br> non-compact. I guess that's how I would phrase it. <br> Q The conclusion you reached -- an example <br> here is Senate District 28 from Virginia. You <br> 23 noted that it had a Reock score of 0.15 , which was <br> 24 below the cutoff for compactness for the Reock <br> 25 measure alone, but you concluded that it was, in | composite score, that that alone allowed you to opine, with respect to this methodology, that it was a compact district, because if you'd just looked at the Reock cutoff point, it would have been in the non-compact category, right? <br> A Yes, yes, yes. Using these various cutoff points that are provided for this particular methodology, yes. <br> MR. GABER: I'm going to introduce as <br> 10 Exhibit 8. Exhibit 8 will be the file Virginia <br> 2012 to 2020 Maps. <br> And David, I will send that to you now. <br> (Exhibit Hood-8 marked for <br> 4 identification and attached to the transcript.) <br> BY MR. GABER: <br> Q Dr. Hood, in the appendix to your <br> Vesilind report, you included sort of composite 8 maps that showed in that case the plaintiffs' 9 alternative plans overwritten over the enacted ones. And we can look at those, too, if it's 1 necessary. But I've pulled the 2011 enacted plan without that alternative map mapped onto it so we could see it better. <br> 24 <br> Do you recognize this as -- we can zoom <br> 25 in if you need to -- but as the 2011 Virginia |
| fact, compact because it satisfied the composite index that they propose. <br> Is that right? <br> A I'm reading. <br> Q Sure. <br> A Well, again, it's -- compactness is hard <br> to judge. We know it ranges on a lot of these <br> measures from 0 to 1. <br> So what's being said here is that this <br> particular district, at least under a composite <br> score, didn't reach a point to where these <br> researchers, Pildes and Niemi, would say that it <br> was not compact. So it was above that threshold. <br> It doesn't mean that it's compact, I <br> mean, because you can go quite further up the <br> scale, right. But it doesn't meet this threshold <br> that they're talking about here. <br> Q And you considered this threshold and <br> this article by these professors to be a reliable <br> methodology that you used in your -- as one of the <br> bases for your conclusion in the Vesilind case, <br> right? <br> A I did make use of it, yes. <br> Q And, in fact, with respect to that <br> 25 Senate District 28, it was only through the | state senate plan? <br> A From what I remember. I mean, again, it's not -- I haven't looked at this lately. <br> Q Okay. I assume you spent a fair bit of time with it at the time. <br> A Well, yeah, at the time. <br> Q Okay. <br> A There's been many maps drawn since then. <br> So... <br> Q Yeah. So the -- let's scroll down to <br> the second page of this, please. And Districts 19 <br> 12 and 21 were among the maps -- or among the <br> 3 districts that were challenged by the plaintiff in 14 the case. <br> Is that right? <br> A From what I remember, yes. <br> Q And your opinion was that Districts 19 8 and 21 were compact districts. <br> Is that correct? <br> A Well, I don't know exactly what I said about them without looking at the report. <br> Q We can come back to it, but -- give me one second. <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Just to be clear, my <br> standing objection relating to this prior case |


|  | 129 |  | 131 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 applies to this exhibit as well as any others |  | 1 A Correct. |  |
| 2 related to this former case. |  | 2 Q And do you see District 30? |  |
| 3 Q For the moment -- we're going to come |  | 3 A Yes. |  |
| 4 back to this in a second, but can you go back to |  | $4 \quad$ Q And that one, you can see it swings |  |
| 5 the Vesilind report, which is the previous |  | 5 around -- what is that -- District 36. |  |
| 6 exhibit. And then if you can go to page 24 and |  | 6 That's a district that you also opined |  |
| 7 scroll down so the whole -- to the bottom part of |  | 7 was sufficiently compact? |  |
| 8 this page in the overall opinion, the last |  | 8 A Yes. |  |
| 9 sentence there. |  | $9 \quad$ Q What word would you use to describe how |  |
| 10 So Dr. Hood, your ultimate opinion was |  | 10 the southernmost part of that district is |  |
| 11 that after conducting your own analysis, it was |  | 11 connected to its northernmost part? |  |
| 12 your opinion that the 2011 Senate plan creates |  | 12 A Possibly duck continuity. But I don't |  |
| 13 districts which are sufficiently compact and |  | 13 know, and I don't remember specifically. |  |
| 14 contiguous as required by the Virginia |  | 14 Q Would you characterize that as a narrow |  |
| 15 constitution. |  | 15 connecting point? |  |
| 16 Is that your opinion? |  | 16 A Yes, it is. |  |
| 17 A Okay. I'm not saying it wasn't; I |  | 17 Q And is the same true with respect to |  |
| 18 just -- I don't remember what I said. |  | 18 District 28 where it -- where 29 has a finger that |  |
| 19 Q Sure, sure. And this was 2017, it looks |  | 19 comes into it? |  |
| 20 like. |  | 20 A Yes. |  |
| 21 Does that sound right? |  | 21 Q Nevertheless, that wasn't too much of an |  |
| 22 A I know it was pre-pandemic. So... |  | 22 incursion or a thinness of connection for you to |  |
| 23 Q Yeah. The next page says it was |  | 23 conclude that the districts were sufficiently |  |
| 24 executed on January 12th, 2017. |  | 24 compact, right? |  |
| 25 Okay. So let's go back -- now that |  | 25 A Correct. I mean, that was my conclusion |  |
|  | 130 |  | 132 |
| 1 we've seen that, let's go back to the maps. |  | 1 in this case. |  |
| 2 So as part of your opinion, given that |  | 2 Q And then do you see District 37 here as |  |
| 3 Districts 19 and 21 were among the six that were |  | 3 well? |  |
| 4 being challenged, your opinion was that they were |  | 4 A Yes. |  |
| 5 sufficiently compact? |  | 5 Q And your conclusion there was that |  |
| 6 A They would have had to have been, yes, |  | 6 District 37 was sufficiently compact as well, |  |
| 7 based on what we just read. |  | 7 correct? |  |
| 8 Q And if we could scroll down to the next |  | $8 \quad A \quad$ Yes. |  |
| 9 page, please. This is getting close to where I am |  | $9 \quad$ Q And I think there -- is this the last |  |
| 10 right now, to the D.C. area, and this view shows |  | 10 page? Yeah. So that's the four were on this |  |
| 11 Districts 28, 29, 30, and 37, among others, but |  | 11 page, and the two were on the previous page. |  |
| 12 all four of those were among the ones that were |  | 12 And all six of these districts were ones |  |
| 13 challenged by the plaintiffs in the district as |  | 13 that you opined to be sufficiently compact? |  |
| 14 non-compact. |  | 14 A Correct. |  |
| 15 Is that correct? |  | 15 Q And you haven't changed that opinion |  |
| 16 A Yes. |  | 16 since you testified to that in court at the time? |  |
| 17 Q And do you see District 28 there? |  | 17 A No. |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as |  |
| 19 Q That is a district that you opined was |  | 19 Exhibit 9 the document titled Fargo Close Up |  |
| 20 sufficiently compact, correct? |  | 20 Enacted Plan. |  |
| 21 A Correct. |  | 21 And I will send that to you now, David. |  |
| 22 Q And do you see District 29? |  | 22 (Exhibit Hood-9 marked for |  |
| 23 A Yes, yes. |  | 23 identification and attached to the transcript.) |  |
| 24 Q That's also a district that you opined |  | 24 BYMR. GABER: |  |
| 25 was sufficiently compact, correct? |  | 25 Q Now, Dr. Hood, one of the North Dakota |  |





| 145 | 147 |
| :---: | :---: |
| MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a <br> legal conclusion, calls for speculation. <br> A Based on that Virginia comparison I did, yes. Again, that was in Virginia. So it was a state-specific comparison. <br> Q Although part of that was not <br> state-specific; it was looking at -- one of the <br> three methods you employed was to use the paper <br> that Prof. Pildes and Niemi had written, correct? <br> A That's correct. I did look at that. <br> Q And all of the North Dakota enacted <br> state legislative plans are reasonably compact under that metric, correct? <br> A Virginia? <br> Q All of the North Dakota -- <br> A All the North Dakota -- well, they're <br> all higher than that, yes. <br> Q And so employing that methodology, which you have in the past, would lead you to conclude that all of the enacted North Dakota state <br> legislative districts are reasonably compact? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the <br> scope of his opinion. <br> 24 A Well, I think it was, quote, <br> 25 sufficiently compact, unquote, but... | all of the North Dakota enacted districts are sufficiently or reasonably compact? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form. <br> A Well, again, comparing it to that <br> Virginia case, they're above those threshold levels, yes. <br> Q And so the same would hold true for plaintiffs' demonstrative districts; they are both above the Virginia level that you found to be 10 compact, but they're also above other districts within the North Dakota plan that you also find to be sufficiently compact. <br> Is that right? <br> A That's correct. None of the <br> demonstrative districts are at the -- are the 16 lowest -- literally the lowest in the state plan. <br> Q And with respect to your -- and they're higher than the Virginia plan as well, correct? <br> A Yes, that's correct. <br> Q Now, you spend a bit of time comparing <br> plaintiffs' demonstrative districts to the enacted version of District 9 in terms of compactness, correct? <br> A Yes. <br> Q And in terms of the other districting |
| Q Okay. Do you see a different between <br> sufficiently compact and reasonably compact? <br> A I don't know. I mean, for some reason, <br> I chose to use that qualifier, so I'll stick with it. <br> Q So in your expert report, when you were assessing District 9 -- or rather plaintiffs' demonstrative versions of District 9, you compared it to the other enacted legislative districts, and then you also narrowed and compared it to the enacted version of District 9 in terms of compactness. <br> Does that sound right to you? <br> A Yes, that's correct. That's fair. <br> Q And I take your point on the first score <br> 16 to be that when compared to other North Dakota <br> districts, the demonstrative districts were on the lower end of the statewide districts. <br> Is that fair? <br> A In terms of ranking, yes. <br> Q But they were not the lowest, right? <br> A I don't think -- I don't think any of <br> them were ever the lowest, no. <br> Q And we've established that, by your own <br> 25 methodology that you've employed in the past, that | principles that you looked at, that's your main <br> comparison is between the proposed District 9 by <br> the plaintiffs and the enacted version of <br> District 9, right? <br> A Yes. <br> Q The enacted version of District 9 is a rectangle, more or less, right? <br> A Fair, yes. <br> Q And do you understand the question, in 0 terms of compactness for Voting Rights Act 11 purposes, to be a comparison to a perfect 12 rectangle, or is it about whether or not the 3 district is reasonably compact standing alone? <br> MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form. <br> A My understanding is that it would be reasonably compact on its own. <br> Q And so the real comparison that we would 18 want to do is determine whether or not the 9 proposed district standing on its own is 0 reasonably compact? <br> A Well, and we can do that from my report. <br> Q Correct. <br> A It places the demonstrative districts <br> within the statewide plan as a whole. So... <br> Q Right. And I think we just established |


|  | 149 |  | 151 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 that compared -- given that the -- your conclusion |  | 1 in the Vesilind case -- or that's one of the types |  |
| 2 that all of the enacted districts are reasonably |  | 2 of analyses that you did in the Vesilind case, |  |
| 3 compact or sufficiently compact, whichever term we |  | 3 however, right? |  |
| 4 want to use, given that the demonstrative |  | 4 A Well, in that -- again, in that |  |
| 5 districts fall within that range, they too would |  | 5 particular case, there was a Virginia state court |  |
| 6 be characterized as sufficiently or reasonably |  | 6 that had made certain specific observations about |  |
| 7 compact? |  | 7 compactness in districts. So... |  |
| 8 A Again, with the caveat based on what I |  | 8 Q If the -- say the U.S. Supreme Court has |  |
| 9 said in the Virginia case, yes. |  | 9 determined a particular district to be reasonably |  |
| 10 Q On page 6 of your report -- and this is |  | 10 compact for VRA purposes, one thing that could be |  |
| 11 with respect to demonstrative District 1. In the |  | 11 done is to look at the compactness scores of that |  |
| 12 first paragraph under part A there, the last |  | 12 district and compare it to a proposed district to |  |
| 13 sentence, you note that the part of the boundary |  | 13 see whether it satisfies the test for reasonable |  |
| 14 for the Spirit Lake reservation is contiguous with |  | 14 compactness for VRA purposes, right? |  |
| 15 a portion of the demonstrative District 1 |  | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation, |  |
| 16 boundary. |  | 16 calls for a legal conclusion. |  |
| 17 Do you see that? |  | 17 A That comparison could be made, yes. |  |
| 18 A Yes. |  | 18 Q And that would be a similar type |  |
| 19 Q What is the salience of that |  | 19 comparison to what you did in Virginia except in |  |
| 20 observation? |  | 20 the context of the VRA rather than the state |  |
| 21 A I don't know that it's -- I don't know |  | 21 constitution, right? |  |
| 22 how important that is. That's just an |  | 22 A Yes. |  |
| 23 observation, which is the case, that part of the |  | 23 Q That's not something that you did here, |  |
| 24 reservation boundary is part of the boundary for |  | 24 right? |  |
| 25 the district. I'm just -- it's just a statement. |  | 25 A Correct. |  |
|  | 150 |  | 152 |
| 1 Q I just want to know what your -- I need |  | 1 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood noted in his report |  |
| 2 to know what your opinions are about it. So I |  | 2 that the overall compactness score for the plan as |  |
| 3 guess I didn't understand -- |  | 3 a whole in the enacted plan was the same as that |  |
| 4 A Right. I don't know that it means any |  | 4 in plaintiffs' demonstrative plans. |  |
| 5 more than literally what it says. |  | $5 \quad$ You don't dispute his report in that |  |
| 6 Q Okay. That actually -- one of the |  | 6 regard, correct? |  |
| 7 state's -- or one of the legislature's criteria |  | 7 A Yeah, I think he was just looking at |  |
| 8 from its report is respecting the boundaries of |  | 8 maybe the mean score for the state. |  |
| 9 the reservations in the state. |  | 9 Is that correct? |  |
| 10 Do you recall that? |  | 10 Q I think so. |  |
| 11 A Yes, that's correct. |  | 11 A Something like that. No, not |  |
| 12 Q And we'll bring up the map in a bit, or |  | 12 necessarily, no. |  |
| 13 we can do that now if you'd like. But the enacted |  | 13 Q And one of the things you noted in your |  |
| 14 plan, District 15 also follows the boundary of the |  | 14 Vesilind report -- and we can pull that back up, |  |
| 15 Spirit Lake reservation in the same manner that |  | 15 for you to see, page 22. |  |
| 16 plaintiffs' demonstrative plan does. |  | 16 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection on this |  |
| 17 Does that seem right to you? |  | 17 exhibit, that it's outside the scope. |  |
| 18 A Yeah. I do recall that, yes. |  | 18 Mark, maybe a short bio break whenever |  |
| 19 Q In your analysis of the compactness of |  | 19 it makes the most sense. |  |
| 20 plaintiffs' proposed demonstrative districts, you |  | 20 MR. GABER: Yep. |  |
| 21 did not seek to compare the scores to other |  | 21 Q So in this part of your report, |  |
| 22 districts that courts have upheld under the VRA as |  | 22 Dr. Hood, for Vesilind, for the Virginia case, you |  |
| 23 reasonably compact, correct? |  | 23 were responding to Prof. McDonald's analysis where |  |
| 24 A That's correct, yes. |  | 24 he had reported the degradation in compactness |  |
| 25 Q That's the type of analysis that you did |  | 25 scores from alternative districts that the |  |


| 153 | 155 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 plaintiffs were proposing to those same numbered | 1 A Yes, from what I recall, yes. |
| 2 districts in the enacted plan. | 2 Q And if you look at District 9 in this |
| 3 Does that sound familiar? | 3 plan, in Benson County, do you see that it is -- |
| 4 A Alittle bit, yes. | 4 the northern border of Benson County is a very |
| $5 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And the point you make here is that, you | 5 squiggly line that is the Devils Lake boundary? |
| 6 know, sometimes it doesn't make sense to compare a | 6 A Okay. I mean, I see what you're talking |
| 7 numbered district in one plan to a numbered | 7 about, yes. |
| 8 district in another plan because those district | $8 \quad$ Q And then just below that, do you see |
| 9 boundaries are different, and it might make sense | 9 another river boundary that's the Sheyenne River |
| 10 to look more at the statewide results for the map | 10 in Eddy County? |
| 11 as a whole. | 11 A Well, I'm just going to take your word |
| 12 Does that fairly describe the point | 12 for it. |
| 13 you're making here? | 13 Q You didn't look -- |
| 14 A Let me look at this for a second. | 14 A I couldn't tell you where the Sheyenne |
| 15 Q Sure. | 15 River was necessarily. So... |
| 16 A Yeah, I do say that here. | 16 Q So in looking at the map, you didn't |
| 17 Q So it does make sense, in this context | 17 look to any of the -- well, when you were doing |
| 18 as well where the similar situation is happening, | 18 the compactness analysis, did you look at the |
| 19 to -- where there's a numbered district compared | 19 visual -- did you have a visual look at the map? |
| 20 to another numbered district in a different plan | 20 A Sure, sure. |
| 21 that covers different territory, that looking as | 21 Q And did you notice the river and lake |
| 22 well at the plan as a whole is a useful piece of | 22 boundaries? |
| 23 information to help disentangle those differences. | 23 A Yes, I did. |
| 24 Is that fair? | 24 Q Did you do anything to determine whether |
| 25 A Well, I think that's fair. | 25 those natural boundaries were affecting the |
| 154 | 156 |
| 1 Again, I'm responding to a particular | 1 compactness scores? |
| 2 measure that Prof. McDonald has been utilizing in | 2 A Well, those boundaries, if they are |
| 3 this particular -- in that case that we've been | 3 affecting the scores, are going to get picked up |
| 4 talking about in Virginia. | 4 in the scores that I ran. So... |
| $5 \quad$ Q And that's the degradation from -- | 5 Q Right. But the effect wouldn't, right; |
| 6 A Yes, yes. | 6 you would just get the score? |
| 7 Q -- from the alternative map to -- | 7 A Well, to compare -- yeah, to compare an |
| 8 A Degradation measure. | 8 effect, though, you'd have to have some |
| MR. GABER: Well, let's go ahead and | 9 hypothetical to compare against it, I guess is |
| 10 take a break now. | 10 what I would say. |
| 11 (Recess from 3:08 p.m. until 3:19 p.m.) | 11 Q So as we discussed earlier, I think you |
| 12 BY MR. GABER: | 12 said in particular the Polsby-Popper and maybe the |
| 13 Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from the break. | 13 Schwartzberg, because those are based on |
| 14 Now, I am going to mark as an exhibit -- | 14 perimeter, those scores decreased as a result of |
| 15 I think we are on 13 -- a document that's titled | 15 these types of squiggly river boundaries? |
| 16 Plaintiffs Demonstrative Plan 1 Map. | 16 A More so than Reock would, yes. |
| 17 (A discussion was held off the record.) | 17 Q So if this were a straight line, the |
| 18 (Exhibit Hood-13 marked for | 18 compactness score for proposed District 9 here |
| 19 identification and attached to the transcript.) | 19 would be higher? |
| 20 BY MR. GABER: | 20 A Well, most likely -- I mean, this map is |
| 21 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as the | 21 not super detailed, but most likely, if this were |
| 22 enacted plan statewide view of -- I'm sorry. Let | 22 a straight line instead of following a river |
| 23 me start that over. | 23 boundary, then yes, the perimeter scores would |
| 24 Do you recognize this as Plaintiffs' | 24 probably be higher. |
| 25 Demonstrative Plan 1 for the entire state view? | 25 Q And this river -- sorry -- the Devils |




|  | 165 |  | 167 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 right? |  | 1 A Right. That's correct. |  |
| 2 A Right. |  | 2 Q So on this score of county splits, |  |
| 3 Q And that's to adhere to the boundaries |  | 3 plaintiffs' Demonstrative District 1 is |  |
| 4 of the Spirit Lake reservation, which is along the |  | 4 essentially the same on that score as the enacted |  |
| 5 Sheyenne River. |  | 5 Districts 9 and 15? |  |
| 6 Is that right? |  | 6 A Well, in 9, I guess if you go to the |  |
| 7 A Right. That's where the reservation |  | 7 house districts, if that's what we're talking |  |
| 8 boundary would be, yes. |  | 8 about, yes. |  |
| $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And that's one of the state's -- in its |  | $9 \quad$ Q And for the state senate, two-thirds of |  |
| 10 committee report, that's one of the criteria, |  | 10 the counties in District 9 are split, two of the |  |
| 11 adhering to the boundaries of reservations? |  | 11 three? |  |
| 12 A Yes, yes. |  | 12 A That's correct. |  |
| 13 Q So -- |  | 13 Q And it's the same entirely as |  |
| 14 (Cross-talk.) |  | 14 District 15, three split counties and one whole |  |
| 15 Q Sorry, go ahead. |  | 15 county, right? |  |
| 16 A I'm saying, that's correct, it was in |  | 16 A Correct. |  |
| 17 that report. |  | 17 Q And the plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 18 Q So one of the four splits -- sorry. One |  | 18 District 1 puts Benson County back together whole, |  |
| 20 plaintiffs' demonstrative plan, plan 1 , is to |  | 20 A I believe so, yes. |  |
| 21 adhere to the requirement of the legislature to |  | 21 Q And we can take a look at that if you'd |  |
| 22 follow the reservation boundary, and that's why |  | 22 like to see it. |  |
| 23 Eddy County is split? |  | 23 A Okay. I mean, I think that's correct. |  |
| 24 A Well, it certainly keeps the reservation 25 within 9 , yes. |  | 24 MR. GABER: That's Exhibit 13. The 25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you. |  |
| 25 within 9, yes. |  | 25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you. |  |
|  | 166 |  | 168 |
| 1 Q And by comparison to enacted plan's |  | 1 Q So you see Benson county is whole there? |  |
| 2 state house map, the same number of counties are |  | 2 A Yes, yes. |  |
| 3 split in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan for the |  | 3 Q Your Communities of Interest discussion |  |
| 4 state house, which is the whole district, as in |  | 4 in your report focuses on county splits, right? |  |
| 5 the enacted plan, correct? |  | 5 A Yes. |  |
| 6 A Three and three, yes. |  | $6 \quad$ Q That term means more than split |  |
| 7 Q Let's switch back to the enacted map, |  | 7 counties, right? |  |
| 8 please, which was Exhibit 15. And take a look at |  | 8 A Well, communities of interest can be |  |
| 9 District 15 here. |  | 9 more than counties, certainly. |  |
| 10 District 15 includes all of Ramsey |  | 10 Q Did you analyze any communities of |  |
| 11 County, but then part of Towner County, part of |  | 11 interest in your report other than counties? |  |
| 12 Benson County, and part of Eddy County, right? |  | 12 A No. |  |
| 13 A Right. |  | 13 Q Did you -- we've talked about how |  |
| 14 Q So District 15 has three split counties |  | 14 respecting reservation boundaries is a priority of |  |
| 15 and one whole county? |  | 15 the legislature, right? |  |
| 16 A Yes. |  | 16 A Correct, yeah. |  |
| 17 Q And that's the exact same count as |  | 17 Q And did you look to see whether the |  |
| 18 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1, correct, three |  | 18 enacted plan respected both the reservation |  |
| 19 counties that are split and one whole county? |  | 19 boundaries and the off-reservation trust land for |  |
| 20 A For demonstrative District 1, right? |  | 20 the Turtle Mountain tribe? |  |
| 21 Q Right. |  | 21 A Well, I believe it did. I'm not sure |  |
| 22 A Yes. |  | 22 about the trust land. But the reservation was |  |
| 23 Q And as we mentioned earlier, one of |  | 23 contained within the district. |  |
| 24 those boundaries is exactly the same. That's the |  | 24 Q And -- but you don't -- I guess earlier |  |
| 25 Eddy County split. |  | 25 we talked about how you don't have any particular |  |

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|  | 173 | 175 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A I don't know. I think it would be -- |  | 1 principle. |
| 2 it's difficult to come up with an adjective. |  | 2 Is that fair |
| 3 Q I think it looks like a dinosaur. |  | 3 A It's one of the things that can be |
| 4 A Okay. Well -- I don't know. That's not |  | 4 looked at, yes. I mean, precincts aren't |
| 5 what was coming to my mind. |  | 5 necessarily communities of interest. But |
| $6 \quad$ Q Or maybe a baby dinosaur. |  | 6 sometimes courts have looked at whether precincts |
| $7 \quad$ What about the -- you see the sort of |  | 7 are split or not. That's true. |
| 8 neck that connects its body to its head? |  | 8 I say they're not communities of |
| 9 A Yes, I see that. |  | 9 interest because most people don't think about, |
| 10 Q How would you characterize that? |  | 10 you know, a precinct as a community -- as a local |
| 11 A Well, a neck. I mean, I think that's |  | 11 community necessarily. They could be, but not |
| 12 probably a pretty good way to describe it. A |  | 12 necessarily. So... |
| 13 bridge. |  | 13 Q It eases the burden on election |
| 14 Q Would you describe that as a narrow |  | 14 administrators to not change the precincts. |
| 15 bridge? |  | 15 Is that fair? |
| 16 A Well, it's fairly narrow. I mean, the |  | 16 A It probably makes that part of things |
| 17 district itself is not huge geographically. But |  | 17 easier, yes. |
| 18 that's certainly -- I mean, I guess I could fairly |  | 18 Q And so to the extent -- Dr. Collingwood |
| 19 say that's probably the narrowest part of the |  | 19 noted in his report that demonstrative plan 1 |
| 20 district. |  | 20 adheres to all of the precinct lines -- the new |
| 21 Q And you describe in your report |  | 21 precinct lines that it touches. |
| 22 plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9 as having a |  | 22 Do you recall that? |
| 23 land bridge. |  | 23 A Not precisely, but... |
| 24 Do you recall that? |  | 24 Q You don't have any reason to dispute |
| 25 A Yes. |  | 25 that? |
|  | 174 | 176 |
| 1 Q Can you tell me on the map what the land |  | 1 A Not necessarily, no. |
| 2 bridge is? |  | 2 Q And to the extent it does that, that's |
| 3 A Well, on this map, for instance, here, |  | 3 one of the criteria that is often followed as a |
| 4 it would be that area to the right or to the east |  | 4 traditional districting criteria? |
| 5 of where it literally says Pierce, North Dakota, |  | 5 A It is one of the things that is looked |
| 6 where that lettering is there. So that's sort of |  | 6 at sometimes, yes. |
| 7 the bridge at that point. So... |  | $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ The land bridge that you identify, that |
| $8 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And do you understand that that's a |  | 8 voting precinct in Pierce County, that is not |
| 9 complete voting precinct from Pierce County? |  | 9 narrower than -- in fact, it's wider than other |
| 10 A Well, I didn't -- I don't know that I |  | 10 land bridges you see in this map. |
| 11 would recall that, just sitting here. |  | 11 Is that fair? |
| 12 Q Did you look to see -- I notice that you |  | 12 A Well, it's wider than the one we were |
| 13 produced split reports for municipalities. |  | 13 talking about in 23, certainly. |
| 14 You didn't encounter any municipal |  | 14 Q Do you see District 8 down there in the |
| 15 splits in Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1? |  | 15 south central part of the state, the purplish-gray |
| 16 A Not that I recall. |  | 16 district? |
| 17 Q It wasn't in your report, but it was in |  | 17 A Yes. |
| 18 the data, I noticed. |  | 18 Q And do you see how that moves up in sort |
| 19 A Right, right. |  | 19 of a step pattern to the northwest? |
| 20 Q And did you analyze to see whether there |  | 20 A Yes. |
| 21 were precinct splits? I noticed that there were |  | 21 Q The bridge that you identify -- the land |
| 22 notes that you'd written about precinct splits. |  | 22 bridge you identify in Pierce County in |
| 23 A I don't think I ever got that far. |  | 23 demonstrative District 9 is larger in size than |
| 24 Q And so adhering to voting tabulation |  | 24 District 8's bridge. |
| 25 precincts is also a traditional districting |  | $25 \quad$ Is that fair? |




| 185 | 187 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 with him in the new district, but three out of | 1 to make comparisons. |
| 2 four voters in the new district are new to him. | 2 Q Did you look at any prior decade's |
| 3 A No, three out of four -- | 3 districting plans for North Dakota legislative |
| 4 Q Sorry, one out of four. | 4 seats to make any comparisons to district |
| 5 A Yes, I would -- okay. You really had me | 5 configurations? |
| 6 thrown there. I thought maybe I was -- | 6 A Idid not. |
| $7 \quad$ Q All right. No, no, that was my fault. | $7 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ To the extent that there -- is that |
| 8 But in any event, it wasn't sufficient | 8 something that is relevant, to see how the |
| 9 for him to be retained as an incumbent? | 9 legislature has in the past configured districts |
| 10 A Well, again, core constituencies are one | 10 to see whether -- to compare districts and see if |
| 11 part of incumbent protection or incumbent | 11 they're similar configurations? |
| 12 reelection, but they're not everything related to | 12 A It could be, but, you know, every |
| 13 incumbent reelection. So... | 13 redistricting cycle is new, and in this particular |
| 14 Q Did you look to -- beyond District 9 in | 14 case, the job was given over to an ad hoc |
| 15 assessing the enacted plan's performance in terms | 15 commission. And of course, the legislature had to |
| 16 of core retention? | 16 approve what the commission did, obviously. |
| 17 A It doesn't look like it. I mean, it | 17 But my point being, there are different |
| 18 looks like I'm making comparisons here between the | 18 people in charge of redistricting every time, and |
| 19 enacted plan in specific districts and the enacted | 19 so things are not necessarily going to look the |
| 20 plan, specifically LD 9, in the demonstrative | 20 same. |
| 21 districts. | 21 And they're not going to be the same, |
| 22 Q Do you think that the legislature | 22 period, when you take into account that populatio |
| 23 followed -- or satisfied its goal with respect to | 23 has shifted across the state, which it had, and |
| 24 core retention for the plan as a whole? | 24 certain -- certain things have to be rectified in |
| 25 A Well, probably so, I would say. You | 25 terms of making sure that the districts are within |
| 186 | 188 |
| 1 know, in the case of some districts being moved | 1 constitutional bounds in terms of population |
| 2 across the state -- and you have to do that. I | 2 deviations. |
| 3 mean, this doesn't trump other redistricting | 3 Q When you say "ad hoc commission," what |
| 4 factors, especially population equality. You're | 4 do you mean by that? |
| 5 not going to necessarily be able to maximize this | 5 A Well, I don't mean that in any kind of |
| 6 in every case. | 6 negative sense. I just mean there was a |
| $7 \quad$ Q And do you have, like, a threshold for | 7 commission put together charged by the legislature |
| 8 what you consider to be a strong core retention? | 8 with developing a redistricting plan. |
| 9 Is it 50 percent? | $9 \quad$ Q Who served on the commission? |
| 10 A I don't know -- honestly, I don't know | 10 A Well, I believe they were all |
| 11 that I've ever come up with a threshold. You | 11 legislators. |
| 12 know, it ranges -- it's pretty easy to grasp | 12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your |
| 13 because it ranges from zero to 100 , zero percent | 13 Summary and Conclusions, towards the end, you note |
| 14 to 100 percent. I mean, if you're at 50 percent, | 14 that there's been a degradation -- or that that -- |
| 15 it would mean that 50 percent of your new | 15 the demonstrative District 9 performs worse on |
| 16 constituents are new to you; they didn't follow | 16 some traditional redistricting criteria compared |
| 17 you across with the old district boundaries. | 17 to enacted version of District 9. |
| 18 So, you know, so every one of two new -- | 18 Do you see that? |
| 19 one of two voters in the new cycle are not your | 19 A Yes. |
| 20 prior constituents. | 20 Q And you would agree, we've gone through |
| 21 Q You did not, as part of your report, | 21 all of those different criteria? |
| 22 examine any of the prior -- other than maybe the | 22 A Correct. |
| 23 benchmark 2012 to 2020 plan -- did you look at the | 23 Q And plaintiffs' proposed District 9 |
| 242012 to 2020 plan as part of your analysis? | 24 satisfies the population deviation legislative |
| 25 A Just to the extent to which I needed it | 25 goal, correct? |


|  | 189 |  | 191 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A Correct. |  | $1 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And demonstrative -- sorry -- enacted |  |
| 2 Q We talked about how, under your own |  | 2 District 9, in fact, from east to west is just |  |
| 3 metric from Virginia and applied here, that the |  | 3 about as long as plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 4 district is sufficiently or reasonably compact, |  | 4 District 1 is from north to south, correct? |  |
| 5 correct? |  | 5 A From what I remember, yes. |  |
| 6 A Correct. |  | 6 Q And the two most populous counties |  |
| $7 \quad$ Q And with respect to county splits, we |  | 7 included in plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9 |  |
| 8 noted that there was an error in your report with |  | 8 are Benson County and Rolette County, correct? |  |
| 9 respect to the number of counties, right, that the |  | $9 \quad$ A I don't think we talked about that. I |  |
| 10 enacted plan splits? |  | 10 mean, I don't have -- I'm just being up front. I |  |
| 11 A Correct. That's correct. |  | 11 don't have the population figures in front of me. |  |
| 12 Q And demonstrative District 9 has the |  | 12 So... |  |
| 13 same number of county splits as does District 15, |  | 13 Q Well, it includes all of Benson County, |  |
| 14 which is also under challenge in this case, right? |  | 14 a precinct from Pierce County, and then Rolette |  |
| 15 A Correct. |  | 15 County, and then that small piece of Eddy County |  |
| 16 Q And it has the same number of county |  | 16 that's to adhere to the reservation boundary. |  |
| 17 splits as the state house map for District 9, |  | 17 So does it sound right to say that |  |
| 18 correct? |  | 18 Benson and Rolette are the most populous |  |
| 19 A Correct. |  | 19 components of the district? |  |
| 20 Q It splits Eddy County only to adhere to |  | 20 A Well, I would assume, but, you know, one |  |
| 21 the boundaries of the Spirit Lake Nation, correct? |  | 21 doesn't need to make assumptions. I mean, |  |
| 22 A Correct. |  | 22 geography doesn't necessarily equate to |  |
| 23 Q And that's the same split of Eddy County |  | 23 population, obviously. So... |  |
| 24 that the enacted District 15 makes, correct? |  | 24 Q Okay. We discussed how Benson County |  |
| 25 A Correct. |  | 25 and Rolette County are closer geographically than |  |
|  | 190 |  | 192 |
| 1 So I mean, it's two -- should be two |  | 1 Rolette County is to Cavalier County, right? |  |
| 2 county splits in the enacted plan versus three, |  | 2 A That's true, yes. |  |
| 3 right. So... |  | 3 Q And so on all of these measures, |  |
| $4 \quad$ Q For District 9 at the state senate |  | 4 demonstrative -- plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 5 level, right? |  | 5 district is similar to or in some instances better |  |
| 6 A Yeah. |  | 6 in terms of traditional districting criteria than |  |
| $7 \quad$ Q And at the state house level, it splits |  | 7 either District 9 in the enacted plan, District 15 |  |
| 8 all three counties in the district? |  | 8 in the enacted plan, or other districts in the |  |
| 9 A If you go down to the subdistricts, yes. |  | 9 state. |  |
| 10 Q And we discussed how plaintiffs' |  | 10 Is that fair? |  |
| 11 demonstrative plan restores Towner County to its |  | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, that's |  |
| 12 prior configuration in terms of core retention, |  | 12 ambiguous and compound. |  |
| 13 moving it to District 15 entirely. |  | 13 A Well, on some traditional redistricting |  |
| 14 A That is true. |  | 14 criteria, it might be; on some, it's certainly |  |
| 15 Q We've discussed how the enacted map has |  | 15 not. |  |
| 16 features in terms of land bridges or necks or |  | 16 Q Now, Dr. Hood, at the end of your |  |
| 17 connecting points in districts that are a fair bit |  | 17 report, you say that the use of a land bridge and |  |
| 18 smaller than what you termed the land bridge in |  | 18 some of the districting criteria we just discussed |  |
| 19 plaintiffs' demonstrative District 9, right? |  | 19 coupled with the fact that the demonstrative |  |
| 20 A Correct. |  | 20 District 9 joins two Native American reservations |  |
| 21 Q And a number of the enacted districts in |  | 21 raises the question of whether the creation of |  |
| 22 the map span much larger -- either similar or |  | 22 LD 9 under plaintiffs' demonstrative plan results |  |
| 23 larger geographic distances than does enacted -- |  | 23 in a racial gerrymander. |  |
| 24 than demonstrative District 9, correct? |  | 24 Can you explain to me what you mean by |  |
| 25 A That's correct, yes. |  | 25 "results in a racial gerrymander." |  |


| 193 |  | 195 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 A I guess the question is, why was LD 9 | 1 is it? |  |
| 2 drawn -- or why was demonstrative District 1 or 2 | 2 A I don't think I said that, no. |  |
| 3 drawn the way they were drawn. | 3 Q Okay. In the Supreme Court's racial |  |
| $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ What do you understand to be the test | 4 gerrymandering cases, one of the typical features |  |
| 5 for whether a district is a racial gerrymander? | 5 is split precincts where the census bloc level is |  |
| 6 A Typically, it's if race is the | 6 split along racial lines. So on one side of the |  |
| 7 predominant factor in drawing the district lines. | 7 line is a bloc that, say, has white folks, and on |  |
| $8 \quad$ Q And how do courts assess whether or not | 8 the other side of the line is a census bloc that |  |
| 9 that's occurred? | 9 has black or other minority folks. That's |  |
| 10 A Well, one of the things -- | 10 typically one of the fact patterns that we see in |  |
| 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just state my | 11 those cases? |  |
| 12 objection. | 12 A That's one of the factors that's looked |  |
| 13 Calls for a legal conclusion. | 13 at, yes. |  |
| 14 Q What do you understand to be the | 14 Q That's not the case in plaintiffs' |  |
| 15 analysis there? | 15 demonstrative districts, right? In fact, |  |
| 16 A Well, one of the things that's typically | 16 demonstrative District 1 keeps all the precincts |  |
| 17 done is an analysis of traditional redistricting | 17 entirely whole, correct? |  |
| 18 criteria. | 18 A I believe so, yes. |  |
| 19 Q And those are all the ones that we've | 19 Q And so what is the basis for your |  |
| 20 talked about here today? | 20 conclusion that plaintiffs' demonstrative plans |  |
| 21 A Yes, certainly. I mean, there could be | 21 raise questions about whether they result in a |  |
| 22 some others. But yeah, those are -- the ones we | 22 racial gerrymander? |  |
| 23 talked about certainly are. | 23 A Well, again, my argument would be |  |
| 24 Q One of the hallmarks throughout the case | 24 looking at some traditional redistricting |  |
| 25 law -- and you've read racial gerrymandering case |  |  |
| 194 |  | 196 |
| 1 decisions, I gather, right? | 1 some of those factors with the demonstrative |  |
| 2 A Yes. | 2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the |  |
| 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from | 3 enacted LD 9. |  |
| 4 the Supreme Court? | $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Anything else? |  |
| 5 A Right. | 5 A Well, that's primarily it. |  |
| 6 Q The Miller case from the Supreme Court? | $6 \quad$ Q But is there anything else? |  |
| 7 A Right. | 7 A No. That's my primary argument or |  |
| $8 \quad$ Q You're familiar with the Cooper versus | 8 thoughts on that. |  |
| 9 Harris and Bethune-Hill? | 9 MR. GABER: Okay. Let's go ahead and |  |
| 10 A Yes. | 10 take about a ten-minute break, and that will bring |  |
| 11 Q Have you seen the districts from those | 11 us back at 4:32. |  |
| 12 cases? | 12 (Recess from 4:22 p.m. until 4:33 p.m.) |  |
| 13 A Some of them, yes. I probably have seen | 13 MR. GABER: Dr. Hood, unless I have to |  |
| 14 all of them. I can remember some of them on the | 14 ask you any follow-up questions if Mr. Phillips |  |
| 15 top of my head, yes. | 15 has any, I don't have any further questions for |  |
| 16 Q I assume you're familiar -- I think | 16 you. Thank you so much for your time and for |  |
| 17 it's -- is it the Shaw case or the Miller case, | 17 appearing right after your class today. I |  |
| 18 the Georgia district? | 18 appreciate it. |  |
| 19 A The Miller case. | 19 THE WITNESS: Thank you. |  |
| 20 Q Are you familiar with the way that | 20 I guess I would like to add maybe one or |  |
| 21 district looked? | 21 clarification from that last discussion that we |  |
| 22 A Yes, I am. | 22 were having about, you know, what could or could |  |
| 23 Q It's not your testimony that the | 23 not be a racial gerrymander in terms of |  |
| 24 district from Miller looks anything like | 24 districting. |  |
| 25 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts in this case, | 25 And obviously, in the report, I included |  |


|  | 197 |  | 199 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 these maps. And so I think it's also important to |  | 1 wayside in service of that racial goal. That's |  |
| 2 look at how the district's configured and how it |  | 2 basically what a racial gerrymandering is. |  |
| 3 connects to concentrations of racial minorities |  | 3 Is that your understanding? |  |
| 4 across a distance. |  | 4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it calls |  |
| 5 So I guess that's -- you were asking |  | 5 for a legal conclusion. |  |
| 6 me -- I was thinking about this. You're asking me |  | 6 A Yes, that's my understanding. |  |
| 7 why I came to that conclusion or the possibility |  | $7 \quad$ Q Okay. And so what you're saying here in |  |
| 8 of that conclusion. So obviously, I included the |  | 8 your addendum is that the fact that there are two |  |
| 9 maps for a reason. So... |  | 9 Native American reservations within plaintiffs' |  |
| 10 BY MR. GABER: |  | 10 demonstrative District 9 is the additional reason, |  |
| 11 Q Did you talk to Mr. Phillips during the |  | 11 in addition to the comparison of some traditional |  |
| 12 break? |  | 12 criteria to the enacted version of 9, that is |  |
| 13 A Yes. |  | 13 leading you to make this statement about racial |  |
| 14 Q Now, you said "across a distance." We |  | 14 gerrymandering? |  |
| 15 talked about how the distance -- the length of |  | 15 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, misstates the |  |
| 16 District 9 in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan is |  | 16 prior testimony. |  |
| 17 the same, or in many instances, it's shorter than |  | 17 A Yes, I think that's correct. I mean, |  |
| 18 the distances of other districts in the state's |  | 18 I -- |  |
| 19 plan, right? |  | 19 Q But -- go ahead. |  |
| 20 A Correct. That's true. |  | 20 A Well, say -- sorry. Say that one more |  |
| 21 Q And it's about the same distance as the |  | 21 time. |  |
| 22 enacted version of District 9 is across from |  | 22 Q You've offered two reasons that are -- |  |
| 23 Rolette County to Cavalier County, right? |  | 23 would you say -- are you saying it's a racial |  |
| 24 A Correct. |  | 24 gerrymander? Your report says it raises questions |  |
| 25 Q And it can be a racial gerrymander to |  | 25 about whether or not it results. |  |
|  | 198 |  | 200 |
| 1 include white voters in a district instead of |  | 1 A No, I can't make that determination. |  |
| 2 other races of voters, right? |  | 2 Q And when you say -- |  |
| 3 A That is correct, certainly. |  | 3 A So no, I'm not saying that. |  |
| $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ And so to the extent that enacted |  | $4 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ Okay. So it's not your testimony that |  |
| 5 District 9 stretches across to include rural white |  | 5 it is a racial gerrymander, plaintiffs' |  |
| 6 voters instead of Native American voters, under |  | 6 demonstrative District 9? |  |
| 7 your view, that too could be an indication of a |  | 7 A No, I can't make that -- I don't believe |  |
| 8 racial gerrymander? |  | 8 I can make that determination. |  |
| $9 \quad$ A Potentially. |  | $9 \quad$ Q You don't have the evidentiary basis to |  |
| 10 Q Now, just the fact that there are two |  | 10 say that. |  |
| 11 Native American tribes in a district does not on |  | 11 Is that fair? |  |
| 12 its own mean that the district is a racial |  | 12 A I think that's fair, yes. |  |
| 13 gerrymander, right? |  | 13 Q And we've gone through the traditional |  |
| 14 A No. I'm not arguing that. |  | 14 districting criteria. It's not seriously your |  |
| 15 Q And in order for that to be the case, |  | 15 testimony that the plaintiffs' demonstrative |  |
| 16 race would have had to have been the predominant |  | 16 District 9 subverts traditional districting |  |
| 17 consideration across the entire district, right? |  | 17 principles, right? |  |
| 18 That's the test the Supreme Court applies? |  | 18 A Well, no. It was that they were |  |
| 19 A Yes. It has to -- that's my |  | 19 degraded to some degree. |  |
| 20 understanding, it has to be the predominant |  | 20 Q From one comparison district, enacted |  |
| 21 factor. |  | 21 District 9, right? |  |
| 22 Q And the traditional districting |  | 22 A Correct. That's correct. |  |
| 23 principles would each need to be subordinated to |  | 23 Q Not standing alone? |  |
| 24 race such that race was the inflexible goal, and |  | 24 A I'm sorry. What standing alone? |  |
| 25 traditional districting criteria fell by the |  | 25 Q Only in comparison -- we've gone through |  |


| 201 | 203 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 these at length, and it turns out some of them | 1 case -- it does that, yes. |
| 2 you've testified that plaintiffs' demonstrative | 2 Q And your testimony with respect to |
| 3 district does better or as good as the other | 3 traditional districting criteria is not that |
| 4 districts in the area, including 9 and 15? | 4 plaintiffs' demonstrative district subordinates |
| $5 \quad$ A Sometimes. | 5 those criteria in favor of a racial |
| $6 \quad$ Q And we talked about, with respect to | 6 classification, right? You don't have that |
| 7 compactness, that the proper framework is to look | 7 evidence? |
| 8 standing alone whether the district is reasonably | 8 A No, I didn't say that. |
| 9 compact? | $9 \quad \mathrm{Q}$ It does not subordinate traditional |
| 10 A Well, we talked about a lot in terms of | 10 redistricting criteria? |
| 11 compactness and fairness. And that was one | 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it |
| 12 comparison. But that's not the only comparison to | 12 misstates his testimony. And his report says that |
| 13 be made. | 13 it raises a question. He's testified that he's |
| 14 Q And your conclusion, based on the types | 14 not opining on that specifically, and I believe |
| 15 of analysis you've done in this case and in other | 15 that it would be for the Court to decide. |
| 16 cases, is that plaintiffs' demonstrative | 16 Q So the question was, the demonstrative |
| 17 District 9 is, in fact, reasonably compact? | 17 District 9 does not subordinate traditional |
| 18 A Well, again, based on what I said in | 18 districting criteria; you don't believe it does, |
| 19 that Virginia case, it has a higher level of -- or | 19 correct? |
| 20 the compactness scores are higher than in that | 20 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the |
| 21 Virginia case. | 21 scope of his opinion, calls for a legal |
| 22 Q Did you have pause as to whether any of | 22 conclusion. |
| 23 the districts in the Virginia case were racial | 23 A Again, I guess I think my testimony was |
| 24 gerrymanders? I didn't see that in your report | 24 that certain traditional redistricting criteria |
| 25 there. | 25 have been degraded compared to the enacted LD |
| 202 | 204 |
| 1 A No. No. That was -- let me be clear. | 1 I mean, I think that's what I've said. |
| 2 That was not an issue in that case. It was | 2 Q And certain redistricting criteria are |
| 3 literally just compactness. | 3 better in the demonstrative plan. |
| 4 Q Do you understand that Native American | 4 That's fair? |
| 5 reservations are more than just racial groups; | 5 A Or the same, essentially. |
| 6 that they are sovereign nations? | 6 MR. GABER: Okay. I have no further |
| $7 \quad$ A Yes, yes. | 7 questions. |
| $8 \quad \mathrm{Q} \quad$ And do you understand that they have | 8 MR. PHILLIPS: Thank you. |
| 9 interests that are different than purely racial | 9 I don't have any follow-ups myself. |
| 10 interests? | 10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the |
| 11 A Yes. | 11 record? |
| 12 Q And do you understand that Native | 12 MR. GABER: I do not believe so. |
| 13 American tribes might have shared interests that | 13 (Transcript orders discussed.) |
| 14 relate to issues with respect to representation in | 14 COURT REPORTER: I think that's all we |
| 15 the state legislature? | 15 need. Thank you. |
| 16 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. | 16 (Off the record at 4:44 p.m.) |
| 17 A Certainly. | 17 |
| 18 Q You said "certainly," right? | 18 |
| 19 A Yes. | 19 |
| 20 Q And so to the extent that a district | 20 |
| 21 respects the boundaries of Native American | 21 |
| 22 reservations, it's not merely making racial | 22 |
| 23 classifications, but rather, it's accounting for a | 23 |
| 24 sovereign political boundary, correct? | 24 |
| 25 A Well, to the extent to which that's the | 25 |

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| CERTIFICATE <br> I, Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR, do <br> hereby certify that the witness was first duly sworn by me and that I was authorized to and did report said proceedings. <br> I further certify that the foregoing <br> transcript is a true and correct record of the <br> proceedings; that said proceedings were taken by <br> me stenographically and thereafter reduced to <br> typewriting under my supervision; that reading and <br> signing was not requested; and that I am neither <br> attorney nor counsel for, nor related to or <br> employed by, any of the parties to the action in <br> which this deposition was taken; and that I have <br> no interest, financial or otherwise, in this case. <br> IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my <br> hand this 15th day of FEBRUARY, 2023. <br> (The foregoing certification of this <br> transcript does not apply to any reproduction of <br> 24 the same by any means, unless under the direct control and/or supervision of the certifying <br> 25 reporter.) |  |
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EXHIBIT B

# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT <br> FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA EASTERN DIVISION 

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Spirit Lake Tribe, Wesley Davis, Zachery S. King, and Collette Brown

> Plaintiffs,
vs.

Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota,

Defendant.

Case No. 3:22-cv-00022

## DEFENDANT MICHAEL HOWE'S WITNESS LIST FOR TRIAL

*** *** ***

Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota (hereinafter "Howe" or "Defendant"), by and through his attorneys, state that the following are witnesses that Defendant intends to call at trial or reserves the right to call at trial:

## Plaintiffs:

1. Matthew Campbell

Native American Rights Fund
1506 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80301

- Will Call

2. Jamie Azure

Chairman, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians
4180 Hwy 281
Belcourt, ND 58316

- May Call

3. Collette Brown

## - May Call

4. Wesley Davis

- May Call

5. Zachery S. King

- May Call

6. Alysia LaCounte

General Counsel, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians

4180 Hwy 281
Belcourt, ND 58316

- May Call

7. Lonna Jackson Street

Spirit Lake Nation

- May Call

8. Douglas Yankton

Sr., Chairman, Spirit Lake Tribe
P.O. Box 359

Fort Totten, ND 58335

- May Call


## Defendants:

9. Nathan Davis

600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

10. Michael Howe

Secretary of State
Secretary of State's Office
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call


## Experts:

11. M.V. (Trey) Hood III

University of Georgia
Professor of Political Science
Baldwin Hall 103D
Athens, GA 30602

- Will Call

12. Brian Nybakken

Elections Administration System Manager
Secretary of State's Office
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- Will Call

13. Erika White

State Election Director
Secretary of State's Office
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- Will Call

14. Brian Newby

Broadband Program Director
North Dakota Information Technology
4201 Normandy Street
Bismarck, ND 58503

- May Call


## Legislative Witnesses:

15. Former Senator Howard Anderson
$72121^{\text {st }}$ Avenue NW
Turtle Lake, ND 58575-9606

- May Call

16. Senator Brad Bekkedahl
P.O. Box 2443

Williston, ND 58802

- May Call

17. Representative Larry Bellew

812 Bel Air Place
Minot, ND 58703

- May Call

18. John Bjornson

Director, Legislative Council
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

19. Representative Joshua A. Boschee

517 First Street N.
Fargo, ND 58102

- May Call

20. Senator Richard A. Burckhard
$183715^{\text {th }}$ Street SW
Minot, ND 58701

- May Call

21. Representative Bill Devlin
P.O. Box 505

Finley, ND 58230-0505

- May Call

22. Senator Robert Erbele

6512 51 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ Avenue SE
Lehr, ND 58460

- May Call

23. Representative Sebastian Ertelt
P.O. Box 63

Gwinner, ND 58040-0063

- May Call

24. Representative Craig Headland

4950 92 ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ Ave. SE
Montpelier, ND 58472

- May Call

25. Senator Jason G. Heitkamp

921 Dakota Avenue, Suite F
Wahpeton, ND 58075-4341

- May Call

26. Former Senator Ray Holmberg

- May Call

27. Former North Dakota Representative Terry Jones
P.O. Box 1964

New Town, ND 58763-1964

- May Call

28. Senator Jerry Klein
P.O. Box 265

Fessenden, ND 58438

- May Call

29. Samantha Kramer

Senior Counsel and Assistant Code Revisor, Legislative Council
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

30. Representative Gary Kreidt

3892 County Road 86
New Salem, ND 58563-9406

- May Call

31. Representative Mike Lefor
P.O. Box 564

Dickinson, ND 58602

- May Call

32. Senator Richard Marcellais

301 Laite Loop NE
Belcourt, ND 58316

- May Call

33. Representative David Monson
P.O. Box 8

Osnabrock, ND 58269

- May Call

34. Representative Mike Nathe

1899 Bonn Boulevard
Bismarck, ND 58504

- May Call

35. Representative Marvin Nelson
P.O. Box 577

Rolla, ND 58367

- May Call

36. Claire Ness

Office of the Attorney General 600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

37. Former Senator Erin Oban

- May Call

38. Senator Nicole Poolman

3609 Bogey Drive
Bismarck, ND 58503

- May Call

39. Representative Mike Schatz 400 East Nineth Street
New England, ND 58647-7528

- May Call

40. Representative Austen Schauer

110 West Beaton Drive
West Fargo, ND 58078

- May Call

41. Representative Kathy Skroch

10105 155 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ Avenue SE
Lidgerwood ND 58053-9761

- May Call

42. Senator Ronald Sorvaag 3402 Birdie Street North
Fargo, ND 58102

## - May Call

43. Emily Thompson

Legal Division Director, Legislative Council
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

44. Former Senator Richard Wardner

- May Call


## OTHERS

45. Nicole Donaghy

Executive Director
North Dakota Native Vote
$9197^{\text {th }}$ Street, Ste. 603
Bismarck, ND 58504

- May Call

46. Marietta Kemmet

Executive Assistant, Indian Commission
600 East Boulevard Avenue
Bismarck, ND 58505-0360

- May Call

Defendant reserves the right to call any and all witnesses listed by Plaintiffs, to the extent not objected to. Defendant also further reserves the right to call any additional witnesses that may be located or discovered prior to the trial, any witnesses disclosed in discovery responses or depositions in this case, and any witnesses disclosed during completion of discovery in this matter, to the extent not objected to.

Defendant further reserves the right to call any witnesses necessary to establish foundation for exhibits to the extent the parties cannot agree on foundation. In addition, Defendant reserves the right to call Plaintiffs' custodian(s) of records and director(s) of Plaintiffs' information technology regarding records kept by defendants in the ordinary course of business and/or electronically stored information (ESI) and/or production of the same in this lawsuit. The Court and counsel will be notified, if possible, of any additional witnesses prior to trial.

Dated this $25^{\text {th }}$ day of May, 2023.

By:__/s/ David R. Phillips<br>David R. Phillips<br>Special Assistant Attorney General<br>ND Bar \# 06116<br>300 West Century Avenue<br>P.O. Box 4247<br>Bismarck, ND 58502-4247<br>(701) 751-8188<br>dphillips@bgwattorneys.com

Attorney for Defendant Michael Howe, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of North Dakota

## CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on May 25, 2023, a true and correct copy of the foregoing DEFENDANT MICHAEL HOWE'S WITNESS LIST FOR TRIAL was emailed to the following:

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By:__/s/David R. Phillips
DAVID R. PHILLIPS


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The primary difference between the two plans is that Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 2, by splitting two precincts, reduces the number of neighboring districts that would need to be adjusted.

