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

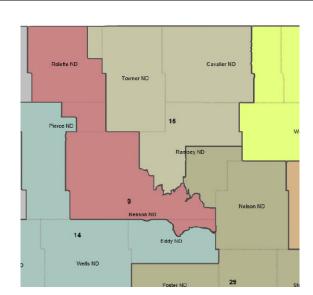
Plaintiffs will offer expert and lay testimony as well as video and documentary evidence to establish that the 2021 Redistricting Plan violates Section 2 of the VRA, in that all three *Gingles* factors are satisfied and the totality of circumstances shows that the plan unlawfully dilutes Native American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

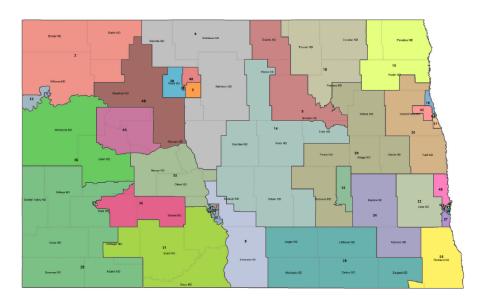


Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 Regional View

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

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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.



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

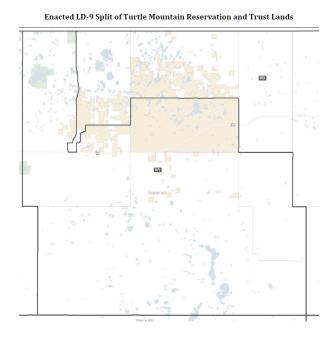
than several other state legislative districts in the 2021 enacted plan, P042 at 9-11 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood).

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, 9B, 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, 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.

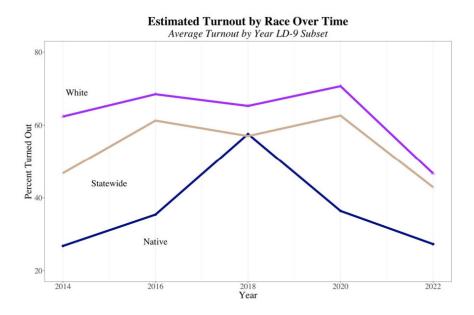
Dr. Collingwood will further testify that the 2018 elections exhibited "special circumstances" and "it would be appropriate to entirely disregard the 2018 elections" or at least give them "very little weight" in assessing white bloc voting. P042 at 8 (Rebuttal Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood). The special 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 Share	Native American 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 20-30 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).



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 7-27, 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.

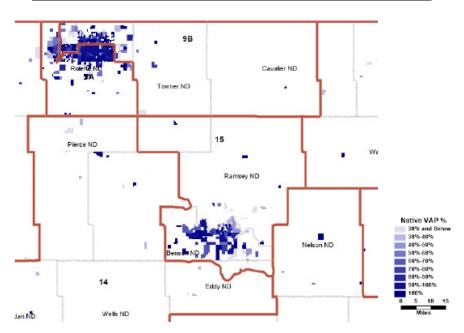
Plaintiffs will present substantial evidence showing that the legislature's discretionary authority to create House subdistricts enhanced the opportunity for discrimination against Native Americans in northeast North Dakota.

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, 9A, 9B, 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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Respectfully submitted,

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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 Mark P. Gaber

Counsel for Plaintiffs

EXHIBIT A



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

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                                                                      1 APPEARANCES:
            FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA
                                                                      2 ON BEHALF OF PLAINTIFFS:
   ----- x
                                                                            MARK GABER, ESQUIRE
   TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF
                                                                            MOLLY E. DANAHY, ESQUIRE
   CHIPPEWA INDIANS et al., :
                                                                            NICOLE HANSEN, ESQUIRE
                             : Civil No.
                                                                            CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER
                             :3:22-cv-00022-PDW-ARS
                                                                            1101 14th Street NW
   MICHAEL HOWE, in his official :
                                                                            Suite 400
   capacity as Governor of the :
                                                                            Washington, DC 20005
10 State of North Dakota, et al.,:
                                                                      10
                                                                            202.736.2222
             Defendants
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12 ----- x
                                                                            {\tt mdanahy@campaignlegal.org}
13
                                                                            nhansen@campaignlegal.org
                 Oral deposition of
15
                  M.V. HOOD. Ph.D.
                                                                      15 ON BEHALF OF DEFENDANTS:
16
                                                                            DAVID R. PHILLIPS, ESQUIRE
17
               VIA VIDEO/TELECONFERENCE
                                                                      17
                                                                            BAKKE GRINOLDS WIEDERHOLT
               MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 2023
                                                                            300 West Century Avenue
19
                10:35 a.m. EASTERN TIME
                                                                            Bismarck, ND 58503
20
                                                                            701.751.8188
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                                                                            dphillips@bgwattorneys.com
22
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23 Job No.: 481134
24 Pages: 1 - 205
                                                                      24
25 Reported by: Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR
                                                                      1 ALSOPRESENT:
                                                                            LaVAR TAYLOR, A/V Technician
            Oral deposition of M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.,
                                                                            MICHAEL S. CARTER, ESQ., NARF
   held remotely, via Zoom, on Monday, February 13,
                                                                            SAMANTHA BLENCKE KELTY, ESQ., NARF
   2023, beginning at 10:35 a.m. Eastern time,
                                                                            ALLISON NESWOOD, ESO., NARE
   pursuant to Notice, before Lisa V. Feissner, RDR,
                                                                            BRYAN L. SELLS, ESQ.
   CRR, CLR, Notary Public.
                                                                            LAURIE STIRLING, paralegal, NARF
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February 13, 2023

			rebruary 13, 2023
1	CONTENTS		5 PROCEEDINGS
2	EXAMINATION OF M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.	PAGE	2 M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.,
-	By Mr. Gaber	7	
	by Mr. Gaber	/	3 having been first duly sworn, was examined and
	Е V U Т D Т Т С		4 testified as follows:
	EXHIBITS		5 EXAMINATION
	(Attached to transcript)	B. 05	6 BY MR. GABER:
_	HOOD DEPOSITION EXHIBIT	PAGE	7 Q Good morning, Dr. Hood.
3	1 Expert Report of M.V. Hood III	18	8 My name is Mark Gaber. I am an attorney
9	2 Expert Report of M.V. Hood III (Walen)	26	9 with the Campaign Legal Center, and I am counsel
	3 LD9 Hypothetical 2020 President	29	10 for the plaintiffs in this case. And I will be
	4 LD9 Hypothetical 2018 US Senate	33	11 taking your deposition today.
	5 Rebuttal Declaration (Rios-Andino)	39	12 I suspect you've done this a number of
1 3	6 HOOD-0244 - HOOD-0257	88	13 times before, so this might just be more of a
4	7 Expert Report of M.V. (Trey) Hood III	118	14 reminder for me.
15	(Vesilind)		
16	8 Virginia 2012-2020 plans	127	But it's important, obviously, that we
7	9 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	132	16 not talk over each other to allow the court
18	Fargo Close-Up View		17 reporter to be able to get our answers down. And
19	10 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	135	18 also important that we perhaps talk a little
20	Grand Forks Close-Up View		19 slower than we might otherwise, for Lisa's ease.
21	11 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	137	20 If at any point today you need a break,
22	Bismarck Area Close-Up View		21 please let me know. And again, I may need them
23	12 Hood-00001	141	22 before you do. I just ask that if there are any
24	13 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1	154	23 questions pending, that you provide the answer to
25	14 HOOD-0211 - HOOD-0240	159	24 that question, and then we'll proceed to the
			25 break.
_			6
1	E X H I B I T S (cont'd)		1 Does that sound good?
2	(Attached to transcript)		2 A Yes, sir.
3	HOOD DEPOSITION EXHIBIT	PAGE	3 Q And I know you've been deposed before.
4	15 2021 Enacted State Legislative Plan	162	4 How many times would you say?
5	16 2012-2020 Legislative Plan	178	5 A Unknown. More than 40, probably.
5	17 HOOD-0002 - HOOD-0013	180	
7			
3			7 A I'm currently a professor of political
9			8 science at the University of Georgia.
10			
			9 Q And how long have you held that
			10 position?
1			
11			10 position?
11 12			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since
11 12 13			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank?
11 12 13 14			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita.
111 112 113 114 115			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a
111 112 113 114 115 116			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for
111 112 113 114 115 116 117			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents.
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111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents. 18 Is there anything from your file that 19 you relied upon in your expert opinions that you
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents. 18 Is there anything from your file that 19 you relied upon in your expert opinions that you 20 have not produced?
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111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 20 21 22 23 24 25			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents. 18 Is there anything from your file that 19 you relied upon in your expert opinions that you 20 have not produced? 21 A No. 22 Q Now, you're also a retained expert for

Transcript of M.V. Hood, Ph.D. February 13, 2023

Febluary	7 13, 2023
9	11
1 A Correct.	1 In both those cases, though, you're
2 Q Now, aside from your expert retention in	2 defending the existing map against the challenges
3 these two cases, have you ever been retained by	3 under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.
4 any North Dakota entity before?	4 Is that right?
5 A No.	5 A Correct.
6 Q And in addition to these two cases, are	6 Q When were you first retained by the
7 you currently a retained expert in any other	7 State of North Dakota in this matter?
8 litigation?	8 A I would say last spring.
9 A Yes.	9 Q And was that in relation to the
10 Q And what cases is that?	10 preliminary injunction motion that was filed by
11 A Well, I don't know that there's a case.	11 the plaintiffs in the Walen case?
12 Q Okay. What matters?	12 A I believe so.
13 A It's a matter in New York state.	13 Q And just to clarify, I'll use the terms
	14 Walen and Turtle Mountain, and we can use
-	15 something else if that is easier for you. But
16 noncitizen voting, or the ability of noncitizens 17 to vote.	16 when I refer to the Walen case, I'm referring to
	17 the challenge to subdistrict 4A in the MHA Nation
18 Q And is that a case that's in litigation	18 and 9A in Turtle Mountain that was brought by
19 right now, or is it sort of a pre-litigation	19 plaintiffs alleging a racial gerrymander.
20 matter?	Does that sound right to you?
21 A No, I don't believe it's in litigation.	21 A Yes. Please just use the Walen matter.
22 Q And who have you been retained by?	22 (Reporter interruption.)
23 A I'd have to look. This is very recent.	23 Q And then I'll refer to this matter
Q Is it by folks who intend to file a	24 challenging district 9 under Section 2 of the
25 lawsuit or by a governmental entity?	25 Voting Rights Act as either this matter or the
10	12
1 A It's a plaintiff group.	1 Turtle Mountain matter, if that works for you.
2 Q And what jurisdiction in New York?	2 A Okay. "This matter" is fine.
3 A I think the city.	3 Q So you were retained around the time of
4 Q New York City?	4 the preliminary injunction proceeding in the Walen
5 A New York City, yes.	5 matter.
6 Q In addition to that matter, are there	6 Was that also at that time to be an
7 any other matters in which you're currently	7 expert in this matter?
8 retained for existing or potential litigation?	8 A I believe so, you know, if necessary.
9 A Yes.	9 Q And who reached out to you to retain
10 Q And which ones is that?	10 you?
11 A Well, there are a number of cases that	11 A Mr. Phillips.
12 are just on hold currently. So the Alabama	12 Q And had you previously corresponded with
13 redistricting matter that's ongoing, which is a	13 or known Mr. Phillips?
14 before the U.S. Supreme Court currently. And a	14 A No.
15 similar case in Louisiana involving redistricting.	15 Q What was the scope of work that you were
16 Q Any others?	16 asked to perform?
17 A No.	17 A Well, in this particular matter, the
18 Q And the Alabama and the Louisiana case,	18 main scope was to respond to Prof. Collingwood's
19 you're an expert for the state.	19 report.
20 Is that correct.	20 Q And prior to receiving
21 A Some state entity, yes. Sometimes it's	21 Prof. Collingwood's report, had you done any work
22 the secretary of state. Sometimes it's the	22 in this matter?
23 legislature. It's difficult for me to keep it	23 A Well, I had done some consulting work,
24 straight.	24 which I guess touched upon this matter.
25 Q It does change from state to state.	25 Q And for whom were you doing consulting

4 (13 to 16)

February 13, 2023

_ 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 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 Q Were you involved at all in advising the	7 include a larger set of cases, yes.
8 North Dakota legislature about redistricting?	8 Q And what do you mean by that?
9 A No.	9 A Well, outside of redistricting.
	10 Q Okay. In the context of redistricting,
	11 when the claim has been on behalf of racial
11 would you say, in redistricting cases?	
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 A Not that are jumping out at me right	7 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 particular about North Dakota or the Great Plains
18 Q And in Virginia, is that the Vesilind 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	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
1/14 magnitude ont at the state constitution	
24 requirement of the state constitution.25 Is that right?	24 an expert in Native American politics? 25 A No. I've never claimed that.

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17	19
Q And topics such as anthropology or	1 A Yes.
2 sociology or history related to Native Americans?	Q You don't anticipate giving any opinions
A No. No. I'm a political scientist.	3 that are not set forth in the report?
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.
Q And the same is true with respect to	7 Is that right?
8 Spirit Lake Nation? 9 A Correct.	8 A That's correct.
	9 Q And you didn't do any additional
10 Q Have you ever been to North Dakota? 11 A No.	10 analysis in this case after submitting your
	11 report? 12 A Correct.
12 Q Have you ever spoken to a member of the	
13 Turtle Mountain or Spirit Lake tribes? 14 A No.	13 Q I might, during today's deposition, ask 14 you to do a little math, too.
15 Q And so you're not opining on anything 16 related to those two tribes with respect to their	Do you have a calculator in your office? 16 A I do.
17 shared interests or common interests or	16 A I do. 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 (Exhibit Hood-1 marked for	9 follow along.
10 identification and attached to the transcript.)	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
So we've pulled up on the screen your	19 district.
20 expert report.	20 Is that fair?
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
Inc. A. Voc	
23 A Yes.	23 Gingles, the focus of the analysis is on a
24 Q Now, are all of your opinions in this 25 matter contained in your expert report?	23 Gingles, the focus of the analysis is on a24 potential alternative district.25 Is that correct?

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21	23
1 A Well, yes, although it can be used to	1 Native American voting age population.
2 analyze an existing district as well, I would say.	2 That figure the source for that is
3 Q But to the extent someone is a	3 the state legislature's website.
4 plaintiff is challenging an existing district as	4 Is that right?
5 being dilutive, the Court would look to see	5 A Yes.
6 whether there was an alternative district that met	6 Q And your understanding is that the state
7 the Gingles 1 threshold, right?	7 reported the demographic data based upon
8 A An illustrative district, yes.	8 single-member minority groups. So it's someone
9 Q Now, the second factor is whether the	9 who identified on the census as being exclusively
10 minority group is politically cohesive. I think	10 Native American?
11 that, to my understanding, your you aren't	11 A Single-race Native American.
12 disputing Gingles prong 2 in this case.	12 Q And so that doesn't include
13 Is that right?	13 A I would say, just to be transparent,
14 A I am not.	14 that it's more than my belief; that I checked into
15 Q And the third Gingles prong is about	15 this, and that is how Native American is being
16 whether or not the minority group's candidates of	16 measured in this context.
17 choice are usually or typically defeated by the	17 Q And when you say that, you mean how the
18 candidate of choice of the majority bloc.	18 State of North Dakota, the legislature, how they
19 Is that right?	19 measured it?
20 A Yes.	20 A Correct, yes.
21 Q And in this case, the majority bloc is	21 Q Now, in the second sentence you say, As
22 white voters; the minority group is Native	22 such, under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, it
23 American voters.	23 would be described as a minority,
24 Right?	24 opportunity-to-elect district.
25 A Yes.	25 Do you see that?
1 Q So with respect to the third Gingles	24 1 A Yes.
	4 A Just simply the fact that it's a 5 majority Native American district and is defined
	6 by the Supreme Court under Bartlett v. Strickland. 7 That would be a minority opportunity-to-elect
, 5 1 5	
9 districts.	9 Q Now, with respect to the citation to
Is that your understanding of the law?	10 Bartlett, Bartlett is a case that required
11 A Well, my understanding would not that	11 plaintiffs raising Section 2 challenges to show
12 that would not be an effect that you would see	12 that they could draw an alternative district that
13 necessarily in a district that you describe like	13 was 50 percent plus 1 of a minority group.
14 that.	14 Is that right?
15 Q In a packed district, you would expect	15 A It's been a while. I mean, from what I
16 the minority candidate of choice to almost always	16 remember, yes. But I do remember that the Court
17 win and probably by a large margin, right?	17 set out, and there were definitions within that
18 A Well, just in a generic sense, yes.	18 case. And that's what I'm really referring to
19 Q Now I want to move down into part 4 of	19 there.
20 your on page 2, and focusing, to begin with, on	
	20 Q And those definitions were about
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9.	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts.
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9. Now, you say that, LD 9 in the enacted	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts. 24 Is that your recollection?
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9.	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts.

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25	27
1 Q Now, whether or not a district actually	Do you recognize this as your expert
2 functions to provide minority voters an	2 report in the Walen matter?
3 opportunity to elect their candidate of choice is	3 A Yes.
4 based upon more than just the demographics of the	4 Q Do you have a copy of that one with you?
5 district.	5 A No, I do not.
6 Do you agree with that?	6 Q If I need to direct you somewhere, I'll
7 A Yes.	7 do that. But we're probably going to set this one
8 Q And so a district that has a slight	8 aside for a moment.
9 majority may not, in fact, function as an	9 But in the Walen case, it's my
10 opportunity district based on factors such as	10 understanding that you did conduct a bit of an
11 turnout or other factors.	11 analysis about District 9 in terms of the Gingles
12 Is that fair?	12 preconditions.
13 A Hypothetically, yeah, I think that's	13 Is that right?
14 fair.	14 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to this
15 Q And the Supreme Court has addressed that	15 question and probably line of questions to the
16 issue in cases before, like the LULAC versus Perry	16 extent it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's
17 case.	17 opinion in this case.
18 Are you familiar with that?	18 A Well, I performed a functional analysis,
19 A Yes.	19 what I called a functional analysis. I didn't
20 Q And so to the extent you're calling it a	20 coin that. I'm not arguing I coined that term.
21 minority opportunity-to-elect district, that's	21 I'm just saying that's what I would call it.
22 based just upon the 51.7 percent and nothing more.	22 Q Yeah. And that works. And I may
23 Is that correct?	23 have my question might have been a little off
24 A Well, that sentence is based on that	24 there.
25 fact, yes. Now, later, I do look at what	25 What you were doing was, you looked at
26	28
1 Prof. Collingwood analyzed for that district as a	1 voter turnout; you analyzed that.
2 whole. So there's some evidence one way or the	2 Is that right?
3 other there as well, I would say.	3 A As part of this, yes.
4 Q Okay. And we'll get into that there.	4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object again.
5 But I just wanted to understand the sort of the	5 Mr. Gaber, can we agree to have a
6 nomenclature.	6 standing objection to this line of questioning
7 A That would be correct, yes.	7 MR. GABER: Sure.
8 Q The key, then, is combining the	8 MR. PHILLIPS: on the same basis as I
9 demographic data with election data to determine	9 stated before?
10 whether or not there's an actual opportunity to	10 MR. GABER: Yep.
11 elect in the district.	11 Q And you looked in particular at three
12 Is that correct?	12 elections from 2018, three state-wide elections,
13 A Well, yes, at some point, you have to	13 and three state-wide elections from 2020 to
14 look at some type of election data or you know,	14 determine whether or not the Native American
15 whether it's vote tallies or results or something	15 preferred candidates would have prevailed in the
16 related to an election, yes.	16 newly enacted District 9 in those elections.
· ·	
17 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	17 Is that right?
18 Exhibit 2 the file Hood Walen versus Burgum expert	18 A That was part of it, yes. I also looked
19 report.	19 to see if there was racially polarized voting, for
20 (Exhibit Hood-2 marked for	20 one thing, before that, before that step.
21 identification and attached to the transcript.)	21 Q And you found that there was racially
22 BY MR. GABER:	22 polarized voting in the district.
23 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this and	23 Is that right?
24 maybe we can scroll down a little bit to where it	24 A More often than not, yes. Can't
25 has the title.	25 remember without looking if it was a hundred

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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 Q And so this is where I'm going to ask
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.	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
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
2 2020 presidential election for District 9?	2 voters, that yields 57.7 percent of the electorate
3 A Yes.	3 in the district being white voters.
4 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 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
16 2020 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.)	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 Is that right?	25 well, as Exhibit 4, LD 9 Hypothetical 2018 U.S.

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33	35
1 Senate.	1 I think I already asked you this, but I
2 (Exhibit Hood-4 marked for	2 just want to confirm.
3 identification and attached to the transcript.)	3 You don't disagree with
4 BY MR. GABER:	4 Prof. Collingwood that in Northeastern
5 Q And so again, because there were	5 North Dakota and specifically in districts 9 and
6 there wasn't a title within the Excel spreadsheet,	6 15, Gingles prong 2 is satisfied.
7 and rather the folder had the title, I have added	7 Is that right?
8 that to this PDF at the top and converted it to a	8 A I don't disagree that racially polarized
9 PDF.	9 voting exists more often than not in that part of
Otherwise, do you recognize this as the	10 North Dakota.
11 backup files for your turnout analysis for the	11 Q Now, for your expert report in this
12 2018 U.S. Senate race in District 9?	
	12 matter, you did not conduct your own racially
13 A Yes.	13 polarized voting analysis, right?
14 Q And then just so the record is clear,	14 A Correct. I was just responding to what
15 this is District 9 as it was redrawn in the last	15 Prof. Collingwood had done.
16 redistricting cycle with the election results sort	16 Q Now, I know that you disagree with some
17 of reconstituted in the new lines.	17 of Prof. Collingwood's conclusions. But you don't
18 Is that fair?	18 have any criticism of the methodology or the way
19 A Yes. And same thing for the 2020 race	19 that he conducted his racially polarized voting
20 we just talked about as well.	20 analysis, right?
21 Q And so in the 2018 U.S. Senate race, if	21 A No. That's correct. I mean, you know,
22 we look in column 1 at the turnout figures, we see	22 again, at step 3 perhaps, or prong 3, as we just
23 that 60.4 percent of Native Americans eligible	23 saw, you know, I don't do exactly what he did.
24 voters turned out in your analysis.	24 But I recognize there are different ways to do the
25 Is that right?	25 same thing, I guess is what I'm saying. So
34	36
1 A Correct.	1 Q So you don't it's not your opinion
2 Q And 68.3 percent of white voters?	2 that his methodology for conducting ecological
3 A Correct.	3 inference, for example, was flawed?
4 Q And 49.8 percent of other race voters?	4 A No, no. I didn't say that.
5 A Correct.	5 Q And you don't have any issues with his
6 Q And then so if we do the same	6 data collection or the way that he inputted the
7 calculations here, I show that Native American	7 data into his analysis?
8 voters in the 2018 U.S. Senate election	8 A No, not that I saw.
9 constituted 49 percent of the electorate.	9 Q Did you seek to replicate
Does that look right to you?	10 Dr. Collingwood's analysis using the data he
11 A Yes.	11 produced?
12 Q And	12 A No, I did not, for a number of reasons.
13 A 49.0, I guess, if you round it off, yes.	13 One, I was using election data from the state. He
14 Q And white voters, I show as 47.3 percent	14 was apparently using election data from a slightly
15 of the electorate.	15 different source, Election Data Hub, I think. And
16 A Yes.	16 so, I mean, it's not easy to exactly replicate
17 Q So in neither the 2018 U.S. Senate race	17 things sometimes.
18 or the 2020 presidential race were Native American	18 And so, I mean, right off the bat there,
19 voters an actual majority of the electorate.	19 we're using different election data.
20 Is that right?	20 And again, at step 3, I would diverge a
21 A Correct.	21 little bit anyway, and I'm estimating what turnout
22 Q Okay. I'm going to set these two	22 is and decomposing the electorate by racial group
23 exhibits aside virtually for the moment. But we	23 and then by vote and then recomposing it into
24 will probably come back to that a little bit	24 which partisan candidate would have won or not.
25 later.	25 So long answer to your question, no, I

reduary		
37		39
1 did not try to replicate what he did.	1 gives equal weight, correct?	
2 Q But you didn't see any basically,	A Yes, that's true.	
3 you're not challenging the methodology or the	Q Now, it's the case, isn't it, that	
4 quality of his work as a matter of an expert	4 different elections in vote dilution contexts have	
5 opinion?	5 differing probative values, right?	
6 A No. I mean, I use ecological inference	6 A Yes, that's correct.	
7 as well. So	7 Q So for example, endogenous elections,	
8 Q Now, the next part of your report on	8 those are elections in which the election is for	
9 pages 2 to 3 2 to 4, actually, and that would	9 the type of district that is at issue in the	
10 be PDF pages 3 to 5, I think, is your review of	10 challenge. Endogenous elections is that your	
11 Dr. Collingwood's Gingles prong 3 analysis for	11 understanding of endogenous?	
12 District 9.	12 A Yes. So they would be legislative	
13 Is that right?	13 elections in this particular matter.	
14 A Yes, that's fair.	14 Q So as a methodological matter,	
15 Q And so my understanding of your analysis	15 academically and in your understanding of how	
16 here is essentially that you took the	16 courts look at this, endogenous elections have a	
17 reconstituted election results that	17 much higher probative value in terms of Gingles	
18 Dr. Collingwood showed for every election from	18 prong 3 than do exogenous elections.	
19 2014 through 2022, and then summed them up to see	19 Is that right?	
20 whether the Native American candidate of choice	20 A I think that's fair, yes. They have a	
21 was or the percentage of elections in which the	21 higher probative value.	
22 Native American candidate of choice was defeated.	MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	
23 Is that fair?	23 Exhibit 5 the file Hood Rios-Andino versus Orange	
24 A Yeah, that's through the end point.	24 County Expert Report.	
25 So	25 (Exhibit Hood-5 marked for	
38		40
1 Q And the Table 1 you have two tables	1 identification and attached to the transcript.)	
2 in this section, right? Table 1, you combine the	2 BY MR. GABER:	
3 races or the elections in District 9, 9A, and	3 Q Dr. Hood, do you recall being a retained	
4 9B, and then report the rate at which Native	4 expert in this case, Rios-Andino versus Orange	
5 American candidates were defeated when all three	5 County?	
6 of those districts are summed together.	6 A I do.	
7 Is that right?	7 Q And I don't know if this is this	
8 A Correct.	8 might be sort of a database version of your	
9 Q In reporting this analysis, you weigh	9 report.	
10 each of the elections equally.	Does this or is this what your report	
Is that right?	11 looked like?	
12 A Well, yes, that's true. I think that's	12 A That was a long time ago. To be	
13 true. It does matter whether or not racially	13 honest I mean, it looks like something I would	
14 polarized voting was present in the election in	14 have done	
15 question or not, so sort of backing up a step	15 Q Okay.	
16 there. But	16 A but I can't you know, I haven't	
17 (Cross-talk.)	17 looked at this in a long time.	
18 Q There's two elections that you took out	18 Q This is something you still have?	
19 because there was not racially polarized voting,	19 A I probably could find it, yes	
20 right?	20 Q Okay.	
21 A Yes, according to Prof. Collingwood's	21 A with a little time.	
22 Q But with respect to the I guess this	22 Q Well, I'm not going to make you do that.	
23 is across three districts, a total of 108	23 But if you have any reason to doubt the statements	
24 elections in which there's racially polarized	24 here, we can obviously go and look for that.	
25 voting, each of those elections, your analysis	25 But I want to direct your attention to	

43

44

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

February 13, 2023 41 1 page 3, and then it's section E towards the bottom part of the document.

And then in the first paragraph, you 4 talk a bit about endogenous and exogenous

elections.

Do you see the second sentence says, 6 Endogenous elections examine contexts from the

8 same office as those under legal scrutiny and,

9 because of their relevance, should be given more 10 probative value?

MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just -- I'm sorry.

12 Go ahead and finish your question, then I'll

13 insert my objection.

14 Q Do you still agree with that statement?

15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it's

16 outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work

17 in this case. And can we just agree to have a

18 standing objection to this line of questioning

19 about this report?

20 MR. GABER: Sure.

21 MR. PHILLIPS: You can go ahead and

22 answer.

A I certainly seem to have written that 24 statement.

Q And then we'll skip the next sentence.

3 any other contest from local boards to

2 elections, on the other hand, could include almost

4 presidential elections. As these elections are

5 not as directly relevant to the question at hand,

7 reaching a conclusion concerning vote dilution

6 they should be accorded far less weight in

1 It's possible. I mean, certainly, there is a

distinction, I've agreed, between exogenous and

endogenous elections.

Q So another example would be that more recent elections are generally considered more

probative than elections that are further in time?

A True.

Q And elections that have a candidate who

9 is a member of the same minority group of the

10 group that is challenging the district are more

11 probative than elections that are between, say,

12 two white candidates.

13 Is that also true?

14 A Yes, that can be true.

Q So in this case, elections where there 15

16 is a Native American candidate are more probative

17 to determine whether Gingles prong 3 exists than

18 elections where both of the candidates are white, 19 correct?

20 A Correct.

21 Q So with respect to the elections that

22 Dr. Collingwood reported, the most probative

23 contests would be the most recent for endogenous

24 elections in which there was a Native American

25 candidate.

1 But the sentence after that, you say, Exogenous

Is that right? 1 2

Q And that sort of combination is about as

probative as you can get because it ticks off all

three of those factors that are considered more

probative than other types of elections.

Is that right?

A Correct.

A Correct.

Q And is it your -- I gather it's your

10 understanding that incumbency adds another benefit

11 to a candidate and their likelihood of success.

Is that a fair statement, sort of

13 generally, as a political science proposition?

A So we're talking about another topic

15 here, right?

16 Q Yeah, yeah.

A Okay. Yes, incumbency typically

18 benefits the incumbent officeholder, although in

19 more recent history, what we call the incumbency

20 advantage has diminished to some degree. This is

21 an ongoing debate in political science. So...

Q But if you -- so moving back to looking

23 at analyzing vote dilution, if you have an

24 election that's an endogenous election, that is

25 the most recent election, features a candidate of

42

8 claims.

Do you recall having that opinion here?

10 A Yes.

Q And does that remain your opinion today 12 methodologically, that exogenous elections have

13 far less weight in reaching conclusions for vote

14 dilution?

A I've written this more than once, I'm 16 sure, in academic work. So yes, I have to stand 17 by that statement.

18 MR. GABER: Okay. We can take down that 19 exhibit.

Q Now, in addition to endogenous elections

21 being more probative than exogenous elections,

22 there are other considerations that might make an

24 Is that right?

23 election more or less probative.

25 A Well, let's -- I guess let's discuss it.

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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.	So if we can go to page 15 of the PDF.	
	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 A Yes, I do.	
4 A 2022?	4 Q And then do you understand I don't	
5 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 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 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 makes sense in the near future.	
Is that your understanding?		
14 A I don't recall, just sitting here. I'm	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	
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	24 Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that Marvin Nelson or	
25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in	25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice	

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February 13, 2023 49 51 1 of Native American voters in those two elections? Q So the -- for the most part, the only Native Americans in District 9B are all A Well, I think this is what I was 3 remembering. I mean, so in terms of Marcellais, I concentrated in the area that's in 9B but close to 4 mean, a statistical analysis was conducted that the border of 9A. 5 showed that he was the Native American preferred 5 Is that your understanding? 6 candidate of choice. The same statistical A From what I remember, yes. 7 analysis was not conducted for Nelson. It's just Q And so to the extent those voting 8 being inferred. 8 precincts have a high concentration of Native American voters and is also the precinct in which That's what I was remembering, yeah. 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? A I would agree with that. A Well, I would respectfully, I guess, 16 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 2.2. 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. precinct analysis. 2 So that's not the typical procedure. Q With respect to the white voters, there is homogeneous precincts --If there's not enough statistical power, 4 there's just not enough statistical power. And I (Cross-talk.) 5 probably would agree there's not. A That's true, yes. But there has to be Q With respect to the Subdistrict 9B, it homogeneous precincts for both groups or however 7 covers part of Rolette County and then parts of many groups you're analyzing. So... 8 Towner and Cavalier County to the east of Turtle 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? 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 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 A Alittle bit, yes. 16 he's been elected to determine whether he was the 16 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

20

Is that fair?

25 for 2022 as well, right?

A If it's possible. You know, I would

Q And if there's a consistent pattern of

24 choice, then you would expect that to be the case

23 him being the Native American voters' candidate of

21 have to see if it were possible in the past.

19 close to 100 percent white?

25 Americans.

A Well, from my memory, this is what I

21 would say, you know, outside of the reservation in

22 that particular legislative district, in the areas

23 right around the reservation, the rest of the

24 district does not contain many, if any, Native

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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 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.
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
23 in the 2016 election?	23 a subdistrict where there's not been statistical
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,
1 the candidate of choice of Native American voters	1 in your report, make any criticism of
	2 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of Subdistricts 9A or
2 in the region.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 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 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	14 100 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 Liust don't know	25 defeat rate for that for endogenous elections

25 or not. I just don't know.

25 defeat rate for that -- for endogenous elections

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57	59
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 Q And then they combine that together with
8 subdistrict.	8 the precinct boundaries as set by the local
9 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
12 100 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	17 93.7 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 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 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?	
The state of the s	122 Does that seem fair?
123 A Yes.	Does that seem fair? A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to
23 A Yes. 24 O And do you	23 A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to
 23 A Yes. 24 Q And do you 25 A I've not used it for a court case. 	

61 63 1 rigorous statistical testing that we usually go THE WITNESS: I do want to just clarify 2 through in these types of cases. I mean, my position on that last line of questioning in 3 sometimes the data are just not there to make that I think it's very important to be able to 4 inferences with. statistically determine, using rigorous testing, Q In your report in the Walen case, you who the candidate of choice is for various groups. 6 reached the conclusion, based on six statewide BY MR. GABER: elections, that Native American voters in Q But nevertheless, in your Walen report, District 9A were able to elect their candidates of 8 you found it reliable and sufficient to draw the inferences, given the clear pattern in the choice. 10 Am I right about that? 10 district as a whole with respect to District 9? MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent 11 A Yes. 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent 12 that reference to the Walen report is outside of 13 that it is outside of Dr. Hood's opinion and work 13 Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case. I'll 14 in this case. 14 just have a standing objection on that line of Q How did you make that determination? 15 questioning. A Well, I think I specifically said I was A I did do that in that particular matter, 17 making an inference from District 9 at large, and 17 and perhaps I should have relied more on 18 you apply that to the subdistrict. 18 statistical testing before I made those inferences O And the inference there was that the 19 as well. So ... 20 Democratic candidate was the candidate of choice Q But nevertheless, you made those 21 of Native American voters in District 9, and so, 21 inferences, and that's your opinion in that 22 therefore, it stood to reason that that person was 22 report, correct? 23 the candidate of choice in District 9A as well, 23 A Yes, it is. 24 correct? Q And you don't see any evidence to 25 suggest that those inferences are wrong, right? 25 A That was the inference I was making, 62 64 A Well, again, not necessarily wrong, but 1 yes. And do you stand by that inference? 2 based on, you know, my own position, which I don't A Well, it's in writing, so I have to, think has changed over the years, that sort of 4 yes. mandates more rigorous statistical testing, you Q And so applying that same inference to 5 know, maybe I shouldn't have gone that far in that 6 Dr. Collingwood's report, we would reach the particular -- making that inference in that 7 conclusion that -- we can infer that the particular matter, I guess. So... 8 Democratic candidate in these races for the state Q We can talk about it a little bit. I 9 senate and the state house is the Native American 9 don't think you should be so down on yourself. If 10 candidate of choice, and the Republican candidate 10 you -- if all of the Native American voters are 11 is the white voters' candidate of choice, correct? 11 concentrated in one part of District 9 as a whole, 12 A Correct. 12 and we're able to apply the statistical analysis O And so, therefore, Marvin Nelson, in 13 to the district as a whole, then the component 14 District 9B, would be the Native American 14 parts must add up to that district as a whole, 15 candidate of choice, correct? 15 right? A Well, he would be the Democratic A True, they do add up. But as I talked 17 candidate, correct. So yes. 17 about previously, sometimes we don't know how they Q And his white Republican opponent in 18 add up under the surface. 19 that election would be the white voters' candidate Q Given the high level of polarization 20 of choice in District 9B? 20 that Dr. Collingwood reports and that you find 21 A Correct. 21 with respect to Native American voting preferences 22 MR. GABER: Let's take a break now. 22 in District 9 as a whole, it would be surprising 23 (Recess from 11:53 a.m. until 12:09 23 if the data showed the opposite within either of 24 p.m.) 24 the subdistricts, right? 25 MR. GABER: Let's go back on the record. 25 A Well, that would be counter to the

February 13, 2023 65 67 1 pattern uncovered at the district level. That's 1 to really make an inference from that. So... true. I can say that. Q But nevertheless, you would give greater Q Okay. And would you agree with me that weight to that -- when you're looking individually 4 it would be unlikely that the subdistricts would at each election, you would give significantly have a different voting pattern than the district greater weight to the endogenous election, to the extent it points in a different direction than the as a whole? MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for exogenous election? A I think someone like the Court would be speculation. 9 better positioned to do that than I would, A Again, I guess this is where I -- you 10 know, it's difficult to make inferences without 10 necessarily. So... Q And so the Court would need to be the 11 testing. 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? MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a A I made that inference, yes. 15 legal conclusion. Q Now, given that endogenous elections, 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 So I typically don't -- I guess what I'm 23 methodologically correct? 23 saying is, as a political scientist, I typically 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 Q If there's a limit to the number of 1 2 global stats that I do in this report that I endogenous elections and there are more recent 3 turned in. So... exogenous elections available, you would agree Q But in terms of interpreting the that the better approach -- or a good approach 5 election results, the proper methodology is to would be to go to those first because they have 6 accord greater weight to the endogenous elections, more probative value than more distant exogenous 7 the elections featuring Native American elections, correct? candidates, and the more recent elections. A Yeah. I mean, typically, in these kinds 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 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 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? A Well, I can't speak for the Court, A Yes, as we've discussed, yes. I think 19 but -- and again, this sort of gets into another 19 that's fair.

20

Q Now, if the endogenous election and the

21 more recent exogenous elections and the elections

22 in which there are Native American candidates of

24 finding, and the less probative elections point in

25 the opposite direction, then the Court would need

23 choice point in favor of a Gingles prong 3

20 issue we have sometimes in vote dilution cases of

22 to compare with the rest of the elections out

25 hypothetically, if there's two, then that's hard

If there's -- I'm just saying

23 there.

24

21 how many, you know, endogenous elections there are

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1 to consider more probative, in your view, or
2 academics would need to consider more probative
3 the elections pointing in favor of a Gingles
4 prong 3 conclusion.
5 Is that a fair statement?
6 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation,
7 calls for a legal conclusion, and object to form.
8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I

8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I
9 would say. As a researcher, you know, looking
10 into a vote dilution matter, I would make a
11 determination of what elections I'm going to
12 analyze up front.

13 And, you know, I don't disagree, legally
14 speaking, that some elections may be more
15 probative than others. But a researcher has
16 chosen a set of elections, and you can't just pick
17 and choose at that point which ones are going to

18 be included or not.

19 So if -- we have to, like -- you know,
20 if we're going to make an argument not to include
21 certain elections in our analysis that we've
22 already analyzed, or we're saying that they're
23 less probative for whatever, I mean, that's really
24 a matter for the Court to weigh, if that makes
25 sense.

cases more or less weight, then yes. But at that
 point, that's the Court making that determination,

3 not a researcher.

Q And the Court, in doing so, would be following, however, the generally accepted methodology, which, as we've discussed, involves placing, I think in your words, far greater weight on endogenous elections and more probative value to more recent elections and to racially contested elections, right?

A Yeah. I don't disagree with those

11 A Yeah. I don't disagree with those 12 points, as we've discussed. I've written about 13 that academically, in fact. So...

14 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood, in his report, 15 though he presented the -- all of the election 16 results from 2014 to 2022 for the statewide 17 contests reconstituted in the new districts, did 18 provide opinion and discussion about how to 19 interpret that for purposes of Gingles prong 3, 20 given the differences in the probative value of

21 different types of elections.22 Do you recall reading that?

23 A He provided some -- he provided some 24 context, yes.

25 Q And you don't -- in your report, you

1 Q So another way of saying that is that
2 that's a factual determination about how much
3 probative value to give each particular election?
4 A Yes. That's not something I think I can
5 do or any other researcher can do necessarily. I
6 mean, Prof. Collingwood chose these races to
7 analyze, and yes, within that subset, some may be
8 more probative than others, as we've discussed. I
9 don't disagree with that.

10 But nevertheless, he analyzed all these 11 races, and so they should be included in the 12 prong 3 component of the Gingles analysis. I 13 guess that's what I would say. So...

14 Q And the question then is how much weight 15 to give each particular election in terms of what 16 it says about whether white voters are usually 17 defeating the Native preferred candidates.

18 A Yes. Which is, I think, outside the 19 scope of what I normally would do personally.

20 Q But in order to make a determination 21 about whether Gingles prong 3 is satisfied or not, 22 that's a necessary part of that determination, 23 right, how much probative value to give the

24 individual elections?

25 A Well, if a court decided to give certain

1 didn't dispute any of that, correct?

2 A I don't think I disputed it directly. I 3 may have disputed it indirectly in the way that I

4 treated that set of races that he analyzed.

5 Q And that was by equally weighing the 6 races that he analyzed, correct?

A That's correct.

Q But as we've discussed, the Court will

9 have to ferret out what probative value to give

10 those races to make a Gingles prong 3 conclusion,

11 right?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And it's your view that, given the

14 differing probative values that should be afforded

15 different types of elections, you can't make that

16 Gingles prong 3 determination for the Court,

17 correct?

18 A Well, I mean, yes, that's correct.

19 So, you know, a similar example would be

20 hypothetically, and I'm speaking just

21 hypothetically here, if we had two experts in a

22 particular vote dilution case like this present

23 the Court with two different sets of elections

24 they had analyzed, maybe some overlap in a Venn

25 diagram, but some don't, same thing. The Court

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1 would have to determine which elections analyzed

- 2 by those researchers were more probative than the
- 3 others.
- Q And that type of determination is
- 5 probably all the more important when there's mixed
- 6 signals, right, where the endogenous, the more
- 7 recent, and the racially contested elections, say,
- 8 point in favor of white bloc voting, and the other
- 9 types of elections that are given less probative
- 10 weight point in the other direction. That's a
- 11 factual determination for the Court to make with
- 12 respect to Gingles prong 3?
- 13 A I would say --
- MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a 14
- 15 legal conclusion.
- A I would say that the Court would have to 17 make that determination.
- Q You don't have any reason -- or you
- 19 don't, in your report, dispute Dr. Collingwood's
- 20 conclusion that within District 9 as a whole, the
- 2.1 elections in which there's a Native American
- 22 candidate, that the Native American candidate is
- 23 defeated in 60 percent of those contests.
- 24 Is that right?
- 25 A I don't remember that fact in

- Q How did you select those six contests?
- A Well, they were from -- not 2022, but
- when I had been working on those, 2022 had not
- occurred yet. And so they were recent, you know,
- 2020, 2018, high-profile statewide elections, even
- though I was sort of cutting it down to the
- district, you know.
- 8 But that's how I choose those elections.
- And they were some of the same elections,
- 10 obviously, that Dr. Collingwood had also utilized.
- Q Am I correct that none of the six that
- 12 you chose for the Walen report included elections
- 13 in which there was a Native American candidate on
- 14 the ballot?
- 15 A I don't think so.
- Q You don't think I'm correct, or you 16
- 17 don't think --
- 18 A No, I think you're correct. I don't
- 19 think I did.
- 20 Q Is there a particular reason why you
- 21 didn't analyze the 2022 elections?
- 22 A Just time.
- 23 Q Now, you don't dispute, I believe,
- 24 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of the 2022 elections
- 25 reconstituted into the District 9.

1 particular, just sitting here. I did not dispute 2 it in my report, I can say that.

- Q Okay. And in your report in the Walen
- 4 case, you analyzed six elections to -- six
- statewide elections to reach your conclusion.
- 6 Is that right?
 - A That's correct.
- MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to this line
- 9 of questioning in a standing objection, outside 10 the scope.
- Q And that was a sufficient number, you
- 12 thought, to reach your conclusion regarding vote
- 13 dilution there?
- A That's how many I got done. You know,
- 15 certainly, I probably would have wanted to have
- 16 done more. That's how many I got completed. Some
- 17 of this is pretty time-intensive sometimes. So...
- Q But as a methodological matter, you were
- 19 able to draw a conclusion from six elections?
- A Well, that's how many elections were
- 21 utilized in that report, that's true.
- Q And you felt comfortable reaching that
- 23 conclusion?
- A I probably would have liked to have
- 25 gotten more done, to be honest.

- Am I right about that? 1
 - A Well, he used the same method he had
 - used previously for the, you know, subsequent
 - election cycles that were before that. So...
 - 5 And again, as we've talked about,
 - there's different ways to do that. And that's
 - certainly one of the ways that some researchers
 - utilize.

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- 9 Q So -- and there's eight elections that
- 10 he reports for 2022.
- Do you recall that? 11
- 12 A I think that's correct.
- O And that includes -- one of those is an
- 14 endogenous race for the state senate district
- 15 itself, right?
- A That's correct. That's correct. 16
- 17 Q And in all eight of those contests from
- 18 2022, the Native American preferred candidate
- 19 loses District 9 as a whole.
- 20 Is that your recollection?
- A I don't remember. I believe that's
- 22 correct. I mean, we could look at it again.
- Q Yeah. If we want to pull up, again,
- 24 it's TM Collingwood expert report which we have
- 25 not marked as an exhibit, and may not until the

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77		79
1 end.	1 elections featured special circumstances that	
2 And it's page 17 of the PDF. So if you	2 caution against equally weighing them or	
3 go to the far right tab at the top there, TM	3 potentially weighing them at all.	
4 Collingwood, page 17, and then show that graphic.	4 Do you recall that discussion?	
5 So you see the full District 9 is	5 A I do. I do.	
6 reported on the far left column, and the Native	6 Q In your report, you don't dispute that,	
7 American preferred candidate is shown in blue, the	7 correct?	
8 white preferred candidate is shown in green.	8 A Not directly. Again, I guess indirectly	
9 Do you see that the white preferred	9 dispute that by including the elections. I don't	
10 candidate wins all eight elections within the	10 really agree with his respectfully agree with	
11 bounds of District 9 for the 2022 elections?	11 his line of reasoning about 2018.	
12 A Yes, I do.	12 Q You don't express that opinion in your	
13 Q So this is actually more elections than	13 report, correct, other than to	
14 you analyzed in your Walen report, correct?	14 A Not directly, no.	
15 A Correct.	15 Q So you haven't studied the 2018	
16 Q And so on the basis of this, we could	16 North Dakota elections, correct?	
17 reach the opposite conclusion that you reached in	17 A Not specifically, no. Well, I mean,	
18 your Walen report with respect to Gingles prong 3	18 outside of what I've done and disclosed in this	
19 in District 9 as a whole?	19 case and the other case that we're discussing,	
20 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form, calls for	20 clearly.	
21 speculation.	21 Q Right. So the extent of your study was	
22 A Well, I haven't analyzed these	22 to gather the election data and report it for	
23 specifically. But, you know, on its face, yes.	23 2018?	
24 Q Now, in addition to the varying we	24 A And analyze it, I would say, yes.	
25 can take this down for a moment so we can see each	25 Q And by "analyze," you mean analyze the	
78		80
1 other better.	1 results in terms of what the numbers report the	
2 In addition to the varying probative	2 vote totals report within the district?	
3 values that different types of election contests	3 A Well, I mean, the racially polarized	
4 have, when we when an academic is analyzing	4 voting analysis is part of that.	
5 vote dilution cases with respect to Gingles	5 Q Right. I guess what I mean is, you	
6 prong 3, it's also possible that certain elections	6 didn't study anything about the underlying	
7 could be characterized by special circumstances	7 campaigns or the voter turnout. I take that back.	
8 that make them less relevant to the determination.	8 You did actually look at the voter	
9 Do you agree with that?	9 turnout, right?	
10 A Well, again, we've talked about what may	10 A Correct.	
11 make an election more or less probative. And I	11 Q But you didn't analyze the facts	
12 stand by that.	12 surrounding the campaigns or why that might have	
13 I think, as a researcher, if you're	13 affected the turnout.	
14 going to include an election, you know, it's more	14 Is that correct?	
15 of a statistical matter at that point as opposed	15 A That's fair.	
16 to assigning some kind of qualitative factors to	16 Q And you didn't study any of the	
17 the race to increase its significance or decrease	17 get-out-the-vote efforts for the 2018 elections?	
18 it. That's not typically what I do. So	18 A No, I did not.	
19 Q You understand, though, that courts, in	19 Q Are you familiar with any of the	
20 reviewing the presence of Gingles prong 3, part of	20 get-out-the-vote efforts that occurred during the	
21 the test is whether the election has the absence	21 2018 elections in North Dakota?	
22 of special circumstances, correct?	22 A Well, just from what I've read.	
23 A Correct.	23 Q And what have you read?	
24 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood in his report talks	24 A Well, that there was a larger effort on	
25 about the 2018 elections and discusses that those	25 the with Native Americans, especially in terms	

81 83 1 of that kind of effort in that election cycle. Q And then let's pull up Exhibit 3, which That's my understanding, sitting here. is the 2020 presidential election. Q And is that from Dr. Collingwood's And do you see that the Native American 4 report, or did you have independent awareness of turnout in District 9 dropped from over 60 percent that? to 38.9 percent? A Probably from his report. A Correct. By those estimates, yes. 6 Q Beyond reading what Dr. Collingwood O And at the same time, in the 2020 8 wrote, have you done any other examination to test presidential election, we see that white turnout 9 whether or not you think there were unique and other turnout ticked up slightly in the 2020 10 circumstances in the 2018 election in North 10 presidential election compared to the 2018 11 Dakota? 11 election. 12 A No. 12 A Correct. 13 Q So you're not offering an opinion one 13 Q Can you identify -- or does any example 14 way or the other whether there were special 14 come to mind anywhere else in the country where 15 circumstances that made it unique from another 15 you've seen a particular group have over 16 election or the usual election in North Dakota? 16 20 percent higher turnout -- or 20 percentage A Well, not outside of the generic things 17 points more turnout in a midterm election than in 18 I've said about, you know, including or not 18 a presidential election? 19 including elections, for instance. A I mean, I can't think of an example, Q Now, as a political scientist, I assume 20 just sitting here. 21 you agree with this statement, that voter turnout 21 Q You study elections frequently, right? 22 is typically higher in presidential elections than 22 A I do, yes. 23 it is in midterm elections. 23 Q That's what you do all day long? 24 24 A Most of the time, yes. A Some days. 25 Q And it's pretty unusual for more voters 25 So it's 20 percentage points higher 82 84 1 to turn out in a midterm election than turn out in turnout in 2018 for Native Americans in the 2 a presidential election? district than in 2020. A Most of the time, yes, that's true. I'm That's unusual, right? 4 just saying that generically. 4 A Well, I mean, as a general Q Right. It would not be the usual fact proposition -- I mean, I haven't -- this is the 6 pattern to encounter higher turnout in a midterm only study I've done of this particular election than in a presidential election? legislative district and turnout. A Not typically. That's correct. As we discussed, as a general Q Now I want to go back a little bit to 9 proposition, among most groups, you know, turnout 10 Exhibits 3 and 4, which are the calculations of 10 in presidential elections is typically higher than 11 the voter turnout for District 9 that you did for 11 midterm elections. 12 the 2018 and the 2020 elections. And let's start Q And I'm going to ask you to do a little 13 math with me again. 13 with Exhibit 3 to refresh our recollection. And again, this -- I don't remember 14 A Okay. 15 whether this is Exhibit 3 or 4, but what I do know 15 Q So it's 20 percentage points higher, but 16 it is is the 2018 U.S. Senate election data that 16 we can calculate the percentage increase, right, 17 was reconstituted in the new District 9 and your 17 if we take the -- let's see here. Going to the 18 other exhibit, the Exhibit 4, which is the 2018. 18 internal analysis. Is that right? So if we take the difference between 19 20 A Yes. 20 Native turnout in 2018, 3493, and then subtract Q So in the midterm 2018 election, we see 21 the Native turnout in 2020, which is 2250, we see 22 that Native American voters in District 9 turned 22 that, as a raw number, there's 1,243 more 23 out at a rate of 60.4 percent compared to 68.3 for 23 estimated Native Americans who turned out in 2018 24 white voters and 49.8 for other, right? 24 in District 9 than turned out in 2020? 25 A That's correct. 25 Is that correct?

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85	87
1 A Yes.	1 midterm to the presidential election for this
2 Q And then if we divide 1243 by the 2020	2 district?
3 turnout, which is 2250, we see that there's a	3 A Well, again, I would agree that
4 55 percent higher turnout rate among Native	4 typically turnout in presidential election years
5 American voters in the 2018 midterm than there was	5 is higher than in midterm years, for most groups.
6 in the 2020 presidential election in District 9.	6 Q Actually, that was the case for in
7 Does that did I do that right?	7 District 9 for white voters and for other voters,
8 A Well, I mean, I guess there are	8 right?
9 different ways to do this. If you're calculating	9 A Yes.
10 a rate of increase or decrease, it's it would	10 Q And sitting here, you're not able to
11 be 2020 minus 2018 divided by 2018.	11 think of another example elsewhere in the country
So, I mean, that's how I would calculate	12 where you've seen a turnout difference that high
13 a rate of increase or decrease.	13 where the midterm turnout among a racial group is
14 Q So you would take say that again.	14 so much higher than it was in a presidential
15 You would take 2020 minus 2018?	15 election?
16 A Right.	16 A Well, I can't recall an example. That
17 Q And is that because 2020 happened after	17 doesn't mean that there's not one that exists, but
18 2018?	18 I can't recall of one.
19 A Yes.	19 Q And you would agree that given the fact
20 Q You see what I'm getting, like, that	20 that courts that study vote dilution cases or
21 would be a negative number, then, right?	21 that adjudicate vote dilution cases are tasked
22 A Well, it is a negative rate of increase	22 with determining whether special circumstances
23 because turnout	23 make a certain election or set of elections ones
24 Q Decreased.	24 that should not be given great weight, that this
25 A I mean, it just did.	25 is the type of information that would be relevant
1 Q So but it's correct	1 to that determination?
2 A It would be a negative. It would be a	2 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
3 negative in that case. That would be correct,	3 legal conclusion.
4 though.	4 A I would agree that's the Court's
5 Q Okay. But it is also correct to say	5 decision to weigh, yes.
6 that the turnout in 2018 among Native American	6 Q And would you agree that your own
7 voters was 50 percent higher than it was in the	7 analysis shows significant evidence that should
8 2020 presidential election?	8 the Court should consider, this unusual pattern of
9 A So it's 60.4, and what was the other	9 turnout with respect to the 2018 election for
10 Q 38.9 percent.	10 Native American voters in District 9?
11 A Okay. So what did you how did you	11 A Well, it shows a turnout differential,
12 want to calculate this, I guess?	12 that's true. It's in black-and-white numbers
13 Q What I did is the raw number of Native	13 here.
14 American voters in 2018 minus the raw number in	14 Q And that's those numbers are relevant
15 2020 to get the difference. And then I divided by	15 to the ultimate Gingles prong 3 determination?
16 the total number in 2020 to see what the	16 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
17 percentage increase is.	17 legal conclusion.
· ·	
19 the percentage. We have the turnout rate, or at	19 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as
20 least an estimate of that. So	20 Exhibit 6 the file that's titled Hood Notes.
21 Q So it should be the same either way,	21 (Exhibit Hood-6 marked for
22 right? It's a 55 percent increase?	22 identification and attached to the transcript.)
23 A Yeah.	23 BY MR. GABER:
24 Q You would agree that that's a pretty	Q Do you recognize these as some of your
25 striking and unusual characteristic, comparing the	25 notes that you produced in this case?

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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 A It should be, yes.	8 looked at in the in your Walen report?	
9 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?	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	23 map:	92
1 Q And that would include a mix of at least	1 A Yes.)2
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 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 A 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	_	
19 most recent three election cycles, the white		
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?	Would you agree with that?	
23 A That would be correct.	23 A Yes.	
24 Q And that's we said is that 21	Q It's nearly 80	
25 contests, right?	25 (Reporter interruption.)	

95

73	75
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 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 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	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?	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.	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?
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1 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection.	1 Gingles prong 3 being present that the white
2 A Well, I would just say that the district	2 preferred candidate is usually defeating the
3 under challenge, I did look at it.	3 Native preferred candidate?
4 Q Okay. But let's take my proposition and	4 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
5 assume that's true. And I think you've said you	5 legal conclusion.
6 didn't necessarily disagree with that, right?	6 A In 9 and 9B added together, yes.
7 A Correct.	7 Q Okay. Now, you understand, based on our
8 Q And if we exclude District 9A, the	8 discussion earlier did you review the Complaint
9 allegedly packed district, and look just at	9 and the supplemental Complaint that were filed by
10 District 9 and District 9B in combination, then	10 plaintiffs in this case?
11 there are across the five analyzed years, there	11 A I probably did. I can't tell you that I
12 are is it 72 total elections?	12 can remember much from it.
13 A I guess it would be.	13 Q But you understand and you did some
14 Q And among those 72 elections, the Native	14 analysis or rather, you reviewed
15 preferred candidate wins 30, and the white	15 Dr. Collingwood's analysis and understand that
16 preferred candidate wins 40.	16 District 15, the neighboring district, is also
17 Is that correct? Or 42, rather.	17 part of the claim in this case, right?
18 A Yes. 40, right? If I'm looking at this	18 A Yes, yes.
19 right.	19 Q And to the extent that plaintiffs claim,
20 Q Maybe it's 40. So it's I'm just	20 which I can represent it is, is about vote
21 trying to help myself do math here.	21 dilution as a regional matter, and not with regard
So there's 23 Native you counted 23	22 to, you know, the particular district lines,
23 Native victories in LD 9. And is that 7 in 9B?	23 because the challenge is to the lines, one could
24 A Yes, looks like 7 to me.	24 also add in District 15's results to District 9
25 Q So that's 30 for the Native preferred	25 and District 9B to get a full picture of the
98	100
candidates. And there's there are 72	1 racially polarized voting and the Gingles prong 3
2 elections. Maybe it's the case we're trying to	2 factors for the whole challenged area, correct?
get at whether it's 40 or 42 victories for the	3 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form,
4 white preferred candidate. It's possible that	4 compound question.
5 those are the two elections that didn't feature a	5 Q That was very compound. Let me break it
6 racially polarized voting, perhaps. But	6 down.
7 (Cross-talk.)	7 So to the extent given that
8 A I don't think those two races are being	8 plaintiffs are challenging the regional drawing of
9 counted in this table I drew out by hand.	9 the districts, then it would be it would make
10 Q Okay. So then it would be 42 contests	10 sense to as you did to some extent, to add
11 in which the white preferred candidate prevailed	11 together the challenged election results from both
12 when we sum up District 9 and District 9B, and 30	12 Districts 9 and 15?
13 in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed?	13 A Well, I mean, one could make that
14 A I believe that's correct, yes.	14 argument. I don't know that two I mean, we're
15 Q So that would be 58 percent of the time	15 using this term "region." I don't know that two
16 when we look at the districts that are alleged to	16 legislative districts are a region, per se.
17 have too little Native population to provide an	17 I mean, you can do what you're saying,
18 equal opportunity to elect; 58 percent of the	18 certainly. I mean, it's just a matter of
19 time, the white preferred candidate is winning,	19 arithmetic.
20 and 42 percent of the time, the Native preferred	20 Q And given the results that you saw in
21 candidate is winning.	21 given what we just saw with respect to District 9
Is that correct?	22 and District 9B, if we add in the results in
23 A Based on those calculations, that would	23 District 15, there's an even stronger indication
24 be correct, yes.	24 of the presence of Gingles prong 3 using that
25 Q And that would be indicative of a	25 approach, correct?

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

February 13, 2023 101 103 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form, calls for A I would have to honestly look at that. 2 speculation. I'm sure I would include some of the statewide A From what I remember in terms of the races. Probably the -- probably LD 9 as a whole. outcome of those races in LD 15, yes. Q So the 2022 LD 9 endogenous election is Q And, in fact, in your report, you don't one that you would have included? dispute that Gingles prong 3 exists in LD 15, A Yes, probably so. correct? Q The 2022 public service commissioner 8 8 race had a Native American candidate, Ms. Moniz. A Correct. Q Now, in your notes, you have the 2022 9 Is that an election that it would have made sense 10 election results. I think it's perhaps the 10 to include? 11 page -- let's see -- it's Bates stamped 0252, and A I certainly would have considered that 11 12 it would be pages 9 to 10 of the PDF, I believe. 12 factor, yes. 13 So you see here on page 9, you write Q There were statewide elections for the 14 down the general election results for the 2022 14 U.S. Senate in 2022 and the U.S. House in 2022. 15 election in District 9, 9A, and 9B? 15 Would those be ones that would have made sense to 16 Do you see that? 16 include? 17 A Yes, yes. 17 A Probably so. I mean, probably the Q And then on page -- well, just stick 18 senate race. 19 with this page. Is there a reason why you didn't 19 O Not the house race? 20 include this most recent and endogenous election 20 A Well, again, I didn't do this, so I will 21 results in your Walen report? 21 just say that I certainly would have included some MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. To the extent 22 statewide races. In the case of North Dakota, the 23 it applies to the Walen case, it's outside the 23 house is a statewide race. So... 24 scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case. Q I think you had included the 2018 A I did not get to a full analysis. I 25 Attorney General race. 102 104 1 mean, these are just some notes I took down off of Is that right? 1 2 the Secretary of State's election website. I did 2 A Yes, I think that's correct. 3 not -- I will state, I did not perform any kind of O I assume it would have made sense, then, 4 statistical analysis on the 2022 elections. to also include the 2022 Attorney General race? Q The reason for that was just simply a 5 A Yes, and perhaps the gubernatorial race. 6 matter of the timing you had available before you Q I can tell you, North Dakota elects the 7 had to submit the report? governor in the presidential cycle. A Yes, yes. A Okay. Well, scratch that, then. Q And do you agree that it would have been Q So then the other option is the 2022

9 Q And do you agree that it would have been 10 preferable to include all of the 2022 elections in

11 that report, given that they're the most recent

12 and some of them contain endogenous elections

13 including endogenous elections with Native

14 American candidates?

15 A Well, as we discussed, they certainly 16 are the most recent set of elections held, yes.

17 Q And your report would have been more 18 complete or would have been more fulsome had it 19 added in these -- the eight 2022 contests for 20 District 9?

21 A Well, I don't know that I would have 22 done eight. I mean, Prof. Collingwood did eight.

23 But some 2022 elections.

24 Q Which of the 2022 elections would you 25 have included, if you had had time?

10 agricultural commissioner race, there was a second

11 public service commissioner race in addition to

12 the one that featured the Native American

13 candidate, and the secretary of state rate race.

14 Are there any among those that you have

15 any reason to believe that you would not have

16 included?

17 A I don't know that I would or wouldn't

18 have included some of those other races. I guess

19 it would just depend. So...

20 Q What would it depend on?

21 A Well, I mean, usually, if I'm doing a

22 statewide race, I would probably start out with

23 the higher profile statewide races like U.S.

24 Senate, for instance. So...

25 Q So just so I can get a sense here, the

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1 U.S. Senate race, you definitely would include	1 how I would go about doing this. That's what we
2 that?	2 were talking about.
3 A Well, I guess if we were going back in	3 Q So I have the U.S. Senate race from
4 time, yes.	4 2022, the Attorney General race from 2022, the
5 Q And you included the U.S. Senate race	5 endogenous District 9 election, and then we also
6 from 2018, right?	6 discussed that the statewide race featuring the
7 A Yes.	7 Native American candidate for the public service
8 Q So there's no reason not to include the	8 commission would also be one that would be one to
9 2022?	9 include.
10 A No. Certainly, if I had included a race	10 Is that right?
11 from a previous analysis, from a previous election	11 A Probably in that case, yes. I'm
12 cycle, I probably would include it again. As long	12 assuming, without knowing, that that was a
13 as it's contested. I mean, we don't learn a lot	13 two-party contested race.
14 from uncontested races in these types of analyses.	14 Q It was, yes. The Republican candidate
15 So	15 prevailed statewide, and then the Democratic
16 Q And do you understand from	16 candidate was Ms. Moniz, the Native American.
17 Dr. Collingwood's report that all of these	So that would be one to include? Did
18 eight or sorry seven statewide elections	18 you agree that that would be one to include?
19 from 2022 were contested that he included?	19 A Yes, yes.
20 A I think in 2022, there were, yes. I	20 Q What about the Secretary of State
21 guess I would say I typically use a two-party	21 position?
22 contested. So, you know, there's a Democrat and	22 A You know, certainly, it would be a
23 Republican candidate running.	23 possibility if it's two-party contested.
24 Q Okay. So the U.S. House race, my	24 Q And it was.
25 understanding, featured an independent candidate	25 A Okay.
106	108
1 who had the backing of the Democratic party.	1 Q So that would be one to include as well?
2 Does that match your understanding?	2 A Well, it would be one to consider
3 A Well, it's not these are choices that	3 including, certainly.
4 a researcher is going to make. Again, I probably	4 Q Any reason you can think of not to
5 would not have included that if there was an	5 include it?
6 independent candidate versus it being two-party	6 A Well, I mean, we're moving down ballot
7 contested.	7 at this point. So
8 Q But what if the RPV analysis showed that	8 Q So if we had done as we just discussed
9 that candidate was the candidate of choice of the	9 and added the 2022 U.S. Senate, the 2022 Attorney
10 Native American voters in the district?	10 General, the endogenous District 9 state senate
11 A Well, it could. But I mean, I'm making	11 election, and the public service commissioner
12 decisions about what races to analyze up front, I	12 election featuring the Native American candidate,
13 mean, is the way I do it.	13 that would add four additional races to the six
14 Q So you start by excluding races that	14 that you analyzed in the Walen report.
15 don't have a Democratic or Republican candidate?	15 Is that right?
16 A I typically I think I've been pretty	16 A Yes.
17 consistent in these types of analyses in saying	17 Q And do you understand, from
18 that I typically don't include races that aren't	18 Dr. Collingwood's report, that the Native
19 two-party contested.	19 preferred candidates lost all four of those 2022
20 Q But you agree, right, that if there is a	20 elections?
21 clear candidate of choice and racially polarized	21 A According to his report, yes.
22 candidates of choice in an election that doesn't	22 Q And you don't have any reason to dispute
23 have both political parties represented, there's	23 that?
24 nothing wrong with including that?	24 A Well, I don't have any reason to dispute
25 A I didn't say that. I'm just telling you	25 the calculations that he made. Again, I guess I
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February 13, 2023 109 111 had a little more detailed calculation I would 1 elections, then that would show 60 percent defeat make at that stage. So... rate for the Native American preferred candidates Q In your Walen report, you found that of in District 9? 4 the six elections that you analyzed, that the A Well, if I went -- again, with the Native preferred candidate won four of those six. caveat that I went through the same exercise and Is that your recollection? made my calculations and came to the same A That's my recollection sitting here, conclusion he did, then yes. 8 yes. Q And a 60 percent defeat rate for Native Q And so the Native preferred candidate preferred candidates would constitute usually 10 would have lost two of them, right, won four and 10 being defeated by white bloc voting, correct? 11 lost two? A Well, I guess it would meet the A Right. Yes, yes. 12 definition of more typically than not. 13 Q So if we were to add the elections that Q And that's the definition that you apply 14 we discussed that you agreed would make sense to 14 to your Gingles prong 3 analysis? 15 add from 2022, that would be six elections in A Correct, yes. 16 which Native preferred candidates lost and the Q Now, when we discussed that if you add 17 four elections in which the Native preferred 17 District 9 and District 9B together, the districts 18 candidate won in District 9, correct? 18 that are alleged to have insufficient voting 19 population for Native American voters, and we A Well, again, the losses are based on 20 Prof. Collingwood's report. I mean, I would, 20 found that 42 out of the 72 elections, the white 21 again, go through my calculations, as we detailed 21 preferred candidates prevailed -- do you recall 22 in the spreadsheets, before -- I mean, I could 22 that exercise we did just before this one? 23 come to the same conclusion; I might not. So... 23 A Yes. Q Well, assume for me that Dr. Collingwood 24 Q That was just equally weighing each 25 has accurately determined for the 2022 elections 25 election, right? So from 2016 -- or rather, 110 112 1 which candidate would have prevailed in equally weighing each election across all five years? 2 District 9. Assuming he's correct about that, 2 3 then that would yield six elections for your -- to 3 A That's correct. 4 add to your -- six total elections in which the 4 Q And so if we were to give more weight to 5 Native preferred candidate lost in the district, the more recent 2022 elections, more weight to the 6 and the four elections that you already reported elections in which there was Native American 7 in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed, candidates, and more weight to the endogenous 8 correct? elections, then the evidence showing white bloc 9 voting usually defeating the Native preferred A Correct. Q And so that would be 60 percent of the 10 candidates would be even greater, correct? 11 time, the white preferred candidate would have A If you subset those elections based on 11 12 defeated the Native preferred candidate in the 12 those criteria, then I believe that's correct. 13 district? Q For 9 and 9B together, it's 42 out of 72 A Well, under those calculations, yes. I 14 where the white preferred candidate wins, 15 mean, with the caveat that I didn't do that. 15 including all of the 2018 elections that 16 Dr. Collingwood has opined feature special 16 So... 17 Q So the caveat is that -- is whether or 17 circumstances that warrant excluding them? 18 not Dr. Collingwood is correct about the results. A If we were not excluding those, yes. I 19 But you agree that it would make sense to add 19 mean, I think we came to those calculations. I 20 those elections to the analysis you already 20 don't disagree with the calculations as they were 21 conducted? 21 made in that exercise. So... A I would agree they could be added, O And if we were --23 certainly, yes. A The numerical result of those

25

24 calculations. So...

Q If we were to take out the 2018

Q And to the extent Dr. Collingwood is

25 right about who won in District 9 in those 2022

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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 people were thinking exactly. So... 3 of 72 that we see including those elections, Q Doesn't that just -- isn't it just 4 right? purely logical? So if what you did glean was that A If we took out 2018, there would be they believed they needed to draw the subdistrict fewer Native preferred candidates who would have to comply with the Voting Rights Act and the won under those criteria, so yes. subdistricts are a portion of the full districts, MR. GABER: I think this is a good time the only reason to do that would be because there was concern that the full district would not for us to break. 10 (Recess from 1:25 p.m. until 2:02 p.m.) 10 provide an opportunity and, therefore, there MR. GABER: Back on the record. 11 11 needed to be at least one state house seat, or 12 BY MR. GABER: 12 there was that opportunity. 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? A I did. Thank you. MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it 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. A Well, you know, splitting the 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 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 a lot of cases, I guess there are many different 2 opinion and work on this case. possibilities or permutations. A Well, I mean, all I have to rely on in But if you draw a subdistrict like the 4 regard to that particular question is the legislature did or the redistricting committee 5 legislative record and the transcripts I read from did, then you're certainly going to increase the 6 meetings that were held with the redistricting odds that a Native American candidate of choice 7 committee and various groups around the state. can be elected from a subdistrict. And I mean, again, this is just my 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 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 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 legislature thought it was in compliance with the 18 their candidate of choice? 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. A I'm not sure if I can answer the second 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 24 the VRA is the reason that the legislature adopted 25 point, but I honestly am not very comfortable with 25 the subdistricts, then it follows that the concern

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1 was that the full district with respect to	1 be compact.
2 District 9 and with respect to District 4 would be	2 Is that right?
3 potentially in violation of the VRA.	3 A Yes.
4 Do you understand what I'm saying?	4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to the
5 A I guess you can infer that, you know.	5 whole line of questioning to the extent that it
6 Again, I'm not I didn't interview this group of	6 exceeds Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case.
7 people, for instance. So	7 And if we can just agree that there's a
8 Q But that would be if the VRA is the	8 standing objection for the whole line of
9 purpose and if the purpose is being logically	9 questioning.
10 applied, then the rationale is because there is	10 MR. GABER: Yeah, I'll agree to the
11 concern that the full district might violate the	11 standing objection. I don't agree to the
12 VRA?	12 objection.
	13 MR. PHILLIPS: Understood. I don't want
13 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for	
14 speculation.	14 to object after every question.
He has not opined on this issue in his	15 MR. GABER: Fair enough.
16 report. So you're veering pretty far off into	16 Q So Dr. Hood, do you recall that the crux
17 what other people believe, and these are things	17 of the plaintiff's case in Vesilind was a
18 that Dr. Hood has not opined on.	18 challenge to six particular state senate districts
19 That's my objection.	19 as being non-compact as contrary to law?
20 A Okay. So what was the last sorry.	20 A From what I I guess contrary to the
21 What was the last question?	21 Virginia state constitution. I think that's what
22 Q I think it's the point that if you're	22 it was technically.
23 logically applying the purpose to comply with the	23 Q Okay. And your ultimate opinion in that
24 VRA to draw the subdistrict, then the necessary	24 case was that the six districts that the
25 antecedent is that there's a belief that the full	25 plaintiffs challenged were, in fact, compact.
118	120
1 district is a problem under the VRA?	1 Is that right?
2 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection.	2 A I honestly have not looked at this in
3 A I guess you could say could be a	3 quite some time. I'm sure I have some kind of
4 problem, potentially. Not an absolute that it is	4 summary statement in the report.
5 a problem.	5 I think I argued that the districts
6 Q So let's shift gears. I think we	6 certainly were not that the districts were not
7 discussed a little earlier, you have testified as	7 compact to the extent to which it was a violation
8 an expert about the compactness of districts in	8 of the state constitution, I guess. But again, I
9 previous cases, right?	9 haven't looked at this in a while.
10 A Yes.	10 Q Let's turn to page 6 of the report,
11 MR. GABER: So I'm going to mark as	11 which I think is probably page no, it's page 6
12 Exhibit 7 the document Hood Vesilind versus	12 of the PDF as well.
13 Virginia State Board of Elections Expert Report.	13 And one of the things you note is
	14 that so you have two tables here. They list
` ·	
15 identification and attached to the transcript.)	15 the districts that are being challenged, right?
16 BY MR. GABER:	16 A Yes, correct.
17 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as your	17 Q And those were and this is the 2011
18 expert report in the Virginia State court case,	18 Virginia state senate plan, Districts 19, 21, 28,
19 Rema Ford Vesilind versus Virginia State Board of	19 29, 30, and 37, correct?
20 Elections?	20 A Correct.
21 A Yes.	21 Q And so looking at you have the
22 Q And you were retained by the	22 baseline plan, the one that preceded the 2011
23 Commonwealth of Virginia there to defend them for	23 plan, and then you have the 2011 plan, right?
24 the 2011 state senate plan as compliant with the	24 A Correct.
25 Virginia constitution's requirement that districts	25 Q And you note that there was a decrease

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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 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
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.	25 to some actual numbers, not just a district as
122	124
1 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 0.22.	4 here. This was a while ago. But I think 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 Q And the Polsby-Popper scores ranged from	7 Q Okay. And the second sort of
8 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.
12 0.1 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."
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
Do you recall that?	23 Niemi method, and that's on page 13 of the
24 A Ves	24 Vesilind report And then so we can see the

24 Vesilind report. And then so we can see the

25 bottom paragraph, please.

24 25

A Yes.

Q And that would be -- in your view,

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1 And I'll let you take a look at those.	1 composite score, that that alone allowed you to
2 A Okay.	2 opine, with respect to this methodology, that it
3 Okay.	3 was a compact district, because if you'd just
4 Q The methodology that you applied here	4 looked at the Reock cutoff point, it would have
5 and that's written about in the Profs. Niemi and	5 been in the non-compact category, right?
6 Pildes report is in response to the racial	6 A Yes, yes, yes. Using these various
7 gerrymandering line of cases, right?	7 cutoff points that are provided for this
8 A Correct, correct.	8 particular methodology, yes.
9 Q And the methodology here is that if the	9 MR. GABER: I'm going to introduce as
10 Reock score is above 0.16, or if the Polsby-Popper	10 Exhibit 8. Exhibit 8 will be the file Virginia
11 score is above 0.06, or if the sum of those two is	11 2012 to 2020 Maps.
12 above 0.22, then the district is considered	12 And David, I will send that to you now.
13 compact.	13 (Exhibit Hood-8 marked for
14 Is that correct?	14 identification and attached to the transcript.)
15 A Well, that's not how I would term it. I	15 BY MR. GABER:
16 would term it as what these two political	16 Q Dr. Hood, in the appendix to your
17 scientists are saying is that if it's below if	17 Vesilind report, you included sort of composite
18 it's at this level or below, it's certainly	18 maps that showed in that case the plaintiffs'
19 non-compact. I guess that's how I would phrase	19 alternative plans overwritten over the enacted
20 it.	20 ones. And we can look at those, too, if it's
21 Q The conclusion you reached an example	21 necessary. But I've pulled the 2011 enacted plan
22 here is Senate District 28 from Virginia. You	22 without that alternative map mapped onto it so we
23 noted that it had a Reock score of 0.15, which was	23 could see it better.
24 below the cutoff for compactness for the Reock	24 Do you recognize this as we can zoom
25 measure alone, but you concluded that it was, in	25 in if you need to but as the 2011 Virginia
126	128
1 fact, compact because it satisfied the composite	1 state senate plan?
2 index that they propose.	2 A From what I remember. I mean, again,
3 Is that right?	3 it's not I haven't looked at this lately.
4 A I'm reading.	4 Q Okay. I assume you spent a fair bit of
5 Q Sure.	5 time with it at the time.
6 A Well, again, it's compactness is hard	6 A Well, yeah, at the time.
7 to judge. We know it ranges on a lot of these	7 Q Okay.
8 measures from 0 to 1.	8 A There's been many maps drawn since then.
9 So what's being said here is that this	9 So
10 particular district, at least under a composite	10 Q Yeah. So the let's scroll down to
11 score, didn't reach a point to where these	11 the second page of this, please. And Districts 19
12 researchers, Pildes and Niemi, would say that it	12 and 21 were among the maps or among the
13 was not compact. So it was above that threshold.	13 districts that were challenged by the plaintiff in
14 It doesn't mean that it's compact, I	14 the case.
15 mean, because you can go quite further up the	15 Is that right?
16 scale, right. But it doesn't meet this threshold	16 A From what I remember, yes.
17 that they're talking about here.	17 Q And your opinion was that Districts 19
18 Q And you considered this threshold and	18 and 21 were compact districts.
19 this article by these professors to be a reliable	19 Is that correct?
20 methodology that you used in your as one of the	20 A Well, I don't know exactly what I said
21 bases for your conclusion in the Vesilind case,	21 about them without looking at the report.
22 right?	22 Q We can come back to it, but give me
23 A I did make use of it, yes.	23 one second.
24 Q And, in fact, with respect to that	24 MR. PHILLIPS: Just to be clear, my
25 Senate District 28, it was only through the	25 standing objection relating to this prior case
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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 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 Q What word would you use to describe how	
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 18 just I don't remember what I said.	17 Q And is the same true with respect to 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	25 11 Correct 1 mount that was my concrusion	132
1 we've seen that, let's go back to the maps.	1 in this case.	102
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 A Yes.	
9 page, please. This is getting close to where I am	9 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.	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 BY MR. GABER:	
25 was sufficiently compact, correct?	25 Q Now, Dr. Hood, one of the North Dakota	

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1 legislature's stated goals in the committee report	1 file, Grand Forks Close Up Enacted Plan.
2 that you included or that you cited to was that	2 And let me send that to you, David.
3 districts be compact, correct?	3 (Exhibit Hood-10 marked for
4 A Yes.	4 identification and attached to the transcript.)
5 Q And is it your view that the legislature	5 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to any
6 satisfied that goal?	6 questioning to this exhibit for the same reason,
7 A Well, I did not do a complete state	7 it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and
8 analysis of the 2021 plan.	8 work in this case.
9 Q Did you have any indication to believe	9 BY MR. GABER:
10 that the legislature failed to meet that	10 Q Okay. This is Exhibit 10. So this is a
11 requirement in some respect?	11 close-up of the Grand Forks area districts and the
12 A Not necessarily, no.	12 legislature's enacted plan.
13 Q What I'm showing you here is as with	13 And maybe is it possible to zoom in a
14 any area of the map where there's cities, it can	14 bit on this so Dr. Hood doesn't have to get so
15 be kind of hard to see the particular districts	15 close to his computer. Thank you.
16 because they're smaller. There's more dense	16 Are there any districts here in the
17 population. So I've narrowed in to the Fargo,	17 Grand Forks area that appear to you to be not
18 North Dakota area.	18 reasonably compact?
	1
19 Do you see that here? 20 A Yes.	19 A Not necessarily, just looking at what
	20 looking at it with my eyes.
21 Q Are there any districts here that you	21 Q You wouldn't expect to conclude that
22 see that appear to you to be not reasonably	22 something here was not compact?
23 compact?	A Well, again, I would not just use my
MR. PHILLIPS: I'm going to object that	24 eyes; I would calculate the compactness scores.
25 this is outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion	25 That's what they're for. So we sort of have an
134	136
1 and work in this case.	1 apples-to-apples comparison that we can use.
2 Again, maybe so I don't have to object	2 Because sometimes things you're looking at with
3 every question about it, can we agree to a	3 your eyes can be slightly deceiving in terms of
4 standing objection on that?	14 how compact it is you know based on which score
	4 how compact it is, you know, based on which score
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this	5 you're using.
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit?	5 you're using.6 Q And some of the things that can affect
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes.	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure.	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries.
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right?
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of 10 the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of 10 the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so 11 we're not just using our eyes, though.	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So 11 obviously there's no coastline in North Dakota,
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of 10 the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so 11 we're not just using our eyes, though. 12 Q But just part of it is looking at the	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So 11 obviously there's no coastline in North Dakota, 12 but rivers could.
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139 A Right, right. But, you know, I guess it Q Okay. So in your view, looking at the 2 depends on how much the river is winding and how maps and comparing them is actually totally within 3 many indents there are. It might not make a huge the scope of the work that you did? difference. It might make a difference. A I believe so, yes. 5 MR. GABER: And let's pull up as Q Okay. Now -- and I can pull up the Exhibit 11 the Bismarck Close Up Enacted Plan. compactness report if that would be helpful, or I MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to any could pull up the spreadsheet that you created. questioning on this exhibit for the same reason, 8 But is it your understanding that each it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and of the enacted districts in the North Dakota state 10 work on this case. 10 legislative plan exceed the compactness scores (Exhibit Hood-11 marked for 11 that you analyzed for the challenged districts in 11 12 identification and attached to the transcript.) 12 the Virginia case? 13 BY MR. GABER: 13 Let me rephrase that because I'm not 14 sure that's entirely correct. Q And this is a close-up of the enacted 15 districts passed by the legislature in the That the least compact district in the 16 Virginia case that you found to be compact had a 16 Bismarck area. Are there any districts here that appear 17 lower compactness score than all of the enacted 18 to you to be not reasonably compact? 18 North Dakota state legislative districts. A Well, I don't know about reasonably. 19 Does that sound right to you? 20 Again, I would calculate the scores for these. 34 20 A It sounds right, but I don't know. I 21 is going to be less compact by some measures. 21 mean --Q Any other ones? 2.2. MR. PHILLIPS: Just note my objection. 23 A Well, I mean, we would derive scores for 23 Objection, outside the scope of the opinion and 24 all of these, and we can make comparisons. But 24 calls for speculation. 25 let's say 34 in this map is probably the least Q So you recall the one district had a 138 140 1 compact. I mean, I can't see all of 31, 33, Reock score of .15. Do you recall that, in the 2 et cetera, 8, so I don't know about those. Virginia case? Q So here you would say 34 is less compact A Yes. 4 than the others, but you wouldn't go so far as to 4 Q I think that was District 28. say that it's not reasonably compact? 5 A We can certainly make that comparison, A Not necessarily. But again, I would obviously. probably need some more information on this. Q And if we make that comparison, that Q So in your Virginia report, one of the district had a lower compactness score than any of 9 things you did is compare to other districts in the North Dakota enacted districts? 10 the state to see whether the challenged districts 10 A Well, again, if I can see, then I could 11 were at or perhaps better than some of the other 11 tell you. 12 districts in the state, right? Q Yeah. Let me do that for you. 12 13 A That's correct, yes. 13 This is not an exhibit that I sent to Q So that is actually the type of analysis 14 the court reporter, but what I'm going to do, if 15 that one would do -- it's one type of analysis you 15 I'm allowed to, is share my screen and show you 16 could do in determining whether a district is 16 the spreadsheet that you produced in discovery. Does that work? 17 sufficiently or reasonably compact? 17 A Sure. A Yes, and it's certainly a comparison 18 MR. PHILLIPS: Is this the one that was 19 I've made in the past. So... 19 Q And, in fact, in your report in this 20 produced in response to the subpoena to Dr. Hood? 21 case, you compared the plaintiffs' proposed MR. GABER: It came with the -- I think 22 districts to the other districts enacted by the 22 that's the same as the one that came with the 23 legislature? 23 initial report. But that's what it is. A Yes. That was the primary comparison I THE WITNESS: I think I sent it again, 25 was making, yes. 25 possibly.

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1 MR. PHILLIPS: I'm sorry, Mark. I think	1 Q And then I'm going to sort by the
2 we named that file with, like, a Bates stamp	2 Polsby-Popper scores. And here, the lowest
3 number for just reference purposes, the one that	3 Polsby-Popper score is again District 34, and
4 Dr. Hood produced. That might be a good way to	4 actually, it matches District 46. They're both
5 reference it.	5 0.19.
6 MR. GABER: All right. That works.	6 Do you see that?
7 (Reporter interruption.)	7 A Right.
8 MR. GABER: So this is Bates stamped	8 Q Now, we can pull it up again, but in the
9 HOOD-0001. I put it in the chat, and I am going	9 Virginia case, the challenged districts, the
10 to since I put it in the chat, can you all do	10 Polsby-Popper scores ranged from 0.08 to 0.14.
11 the screen share? Let me do it because I'm going	Does that sound right to you?
12 to do some sorting functions.	12 A If that's if you're representing
13 A/V TECH: Not a problem. I can also	13 that's what it is, then
14 allow you to control the PC.	14 Q I have it in front of me.
15 MR. GABER: That's a bad idea.	15 A Okay. Okay.
16 (A discussion was held off the record.)	16 (Cross-talk.)
17 (Exhibit Hood-12 marked for	17 Q So assuming that's correct and I
18 identification and attached to the transcript.)	18 think we actually when it was up in front of
19 BY MR. GABER:	19 you, I think you testified about it.
20 Q So this is the Excel spreadsheet that	The 0.19 that's the lowest in the
21 you produced or you created with the	21 enacted plan for North Dakota would be higher than
22 compactness scores for the enacted districts in	22 any of the six that were challenged in Virginia
23 the North Dakota legislative plan.	23 that you found to be reasonably compact?
24 Is that right?	24 A Yes.
25 A Yes.	25 Q And so using that comparison, under that
142	144
1 Q So I'm going to use the sort function	1 framework you employed, all of the North Dakota
2 here and sort the Reock scores from well, let's	2 enacted districts would likewise be reasonably
3 see. I don't want to sort it alphabetically.	3 compact?
4 Let's see if this works.	4 A Under that framework, yes.
5 All right. So in the enacted plan, do	5 Q And you don't see anything wrong with
6 you see that the lowest Reock score is 0.17 for	6 that framework, right? It was the framework you
7 District 34?	7 adopted and applied in the Vesilind case?
8 A Yes.	8 A Yes, that's correct.
9 Q And that's higher than the District 28	9 Q And so to the extent a district falls
10 from the Virginia case that was 0.15, correct?	10 within the range of the enacted North Dakota
11 A Correct.	11 legislative districts, it too would qualify as a
12 Q And in the Virginia case, you found that	12 reasonably compact district?
13 District 28 was compact, correct?	13 A Well, at least compared to those
14 A I think I said reasonably compact was	14 Virginia districts.
15 the term. So	15 Q And compared to the North Dakota
16 Q Okay. So using that measure, then it	16 districts?
17 would appear as though the North Dakota	17 A Well, I mean, we can make a comparison
18 legislature every one of the districts would	18 within the North Dakota districts if we're looking
19 satisfy that metric of reasonable compactness	19 within a state plan.
20 because they're all higher than the score for the	20 Q But to the extent that the lowest North
21 Virginia district you likewise found to be	21 Dakota district is reasonably compact by the
22 reasonably compact.	22 method that you have applied in cases, then a
23 Is that fair?	23 district that's higher than that district, or at
24 A That's a true statement. They're all	24 least equal to or higher, would itself be
25 higher than 0.15.	25 reasonably compact?

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1 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a	1 all of the North Dakota enacted districts are
2 legal conclusion, calls for speculation.	2 sufficiently or reasonably compact?
3 A Based on that Virginia comparison I did,	3 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form.
4 yes. Again, that was in Virginia. So it was a	4 A Well, again, comparing it to that
5 state-specific comparison.	5 Virginia case, they're above those threshold
6 Q Although part of that was not	6 levels, yes.
7 state-specific; it was looking at one of the	7 Q And so the same would hold true for
8 three methods you employed was to use the paper	8 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts; they are both
9 that Prof. Pildes and Niemi had written, correct?	9 above the Virginia level that you found to be
10 A That's correct. I did look at that.	10 compact, but they're also above other districts
11 Q And all of the North Dakota enacted	11 within the North Dakota plan that you also find to
12 state legislative plans are reasonably compact	12 be sufficiently compact.
13 under that metric, correct?	13 Is that right?
14 A Virginia?	14 A That's correct. None of the
15 Q All of the North Dakota	15 demonstrative districts are at the are the
16 A All the North Dakota well, they're	16 lowest literally the lowest in the state plan.
17 all higher than that, yes.	17 Q And with respect to your and they're
18 Q And so employing that methodology, which	18 higher than the Virginia plan as well, correct?
19 you have in the past, would lead you to conclude	19 A Yes, that's correct.
20 that all of the enacted North Dakota state	20 Q Now, you spend a bit of time comparing
21 legislative districts are reasonably compact?	21 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts to the enacted
MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the	22 version of District 9 in terms of compactness,
23 scope of his opinion.	23 correct?
24 A Well, I think it was, quote,	24 A Yes.
25 sufficiently compact, unquote, but	25 Q And in terms of the other districting
146	148
1 Q Okay. Do you see a different between	1 principles that you looked at, that's your main
2 sufficiently compact and reasonably compact?	2 comparison is between the proposed District 9 by
3 A I don't know. I mean, for some reason,	3 the plaintiffs and the enacted version of
4 I chose to use that qualifier, so I'll stick with	4 District 9, right?
5 it.	5 A Yes.
6 Q So in your expert report, when you were	6 Q The enacted version of District 9 is a
7 assessing District 9 or rather plaintiffs'	7 rectangle, more or less, right?
8 demonstrative versions of District 9, you compared	8 A Fair, yes.
9 it to the other enacted legislative districts, and	9 Q And do you understand the question, in
10 then you also narrowed and compared it to the	10 terms of compactness for Voting Rights Act
11 enacted version of District 9 in terms of	11 purposes, to be a comparison to a perfect
12 compactness.	12 rectangle, or is it about whether or not the
Does that sound right to you?	13 district is reasonably compact standing alone?
14 A Yes, that's correct. That's fair.	MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form.
15 Q And I take your point on the first score	15 A My understanding is that it would be
16 to be that when compared to other North Dakota	16 reasonably compact on its own.
17 districts, the demonstrative districts were on the	17 Q And so the real comparison that we would
18 lower end of the statewide districts.	18 want to do is determine whether or not the
19 Is that fair?	19 proposed district standing on its own is
20 A In terms of ranking, yes.	20 reasonably compact?
Q But they were not the lowest, right?	A Well, and we can do that from my report.
22 A I don't think I don't think any of	22 Q Correct.
23 them were ever the lowest, no.	23 A It places the demonstrative districts
	0.4:4b:4b4-4: dolo
24 Q And we've established that, by your own 25 methodology that you've employed in the past, that	24 within the statewide plan as a whole. So25 Q Right. And I think we just established

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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 comparison to what you did in Virginia except in
19 Q What is the salience of that 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 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?
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.	MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection on this
Does that seem right to you?	17 exhibit, that it's outside the scope.
18 A Yeah. I do recall that, yes.	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

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

February 13, 2023 153 155 plaintiffs were proposing to those same numbered A Yes, from what I recall, yes. districts in the enacted plan. Q And if you look at District 9 in this 3 Does that sound familiar? plan, in Benson County, do you see that it is --A Alittle bit, yes. the northern border of Benson County is a very Q And the point you make here is that, you squiggly line that is the Devils Lake boundary? know, sometimes it doesn't make sense to compare a A Okay. I mean, I see what you're talking numbered district in one plan to a numbered about, yes. district in another plan because those district Q And then just below that, do you see 9 boundaries are different, and it might make sense another river boundary that's the Sheyenne River 10 to look more at the statewide results for the map 10 in Eddy County? A Well, I'm just going to take your word 11 as a whole. 11 Does that fairly describe the point 12 for it. 13 you're making here? 13 Q You didn't look --A Let me look at this for a second. A I couldn't tell you where the Sheyenne 14 15 Q Sure. 15 River was necessarily. So... A Yeah, I do say that here. Q So in looking at the map, you didn't 16 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? 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 Again, I'm responding to a particular compactness scores? 2 measure that Prof. McDonald has been utilizing in A Well, those boundaries, if they are this particular -- in that case that we've been affecting the scores, are going to get picked up talking about in Virginia. in the scores that I ran. So... Q And that's the degradation from --Q Right. But the effect wouldn't, right; 6 A Yes, yes. 6 you would just get the score? Q -- from the alternative map to --A Well, to compare -- yeah, to compare an A Degradation measure. 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. (Recess from 3:08 p.m. until 3:19 p.m.) Q So as we discussed earlier, I think you 12 said in particular the Polsby-Popper and maybe the 12 BY MR. GABER: Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from the break. 13 Schwartzberg, because those are based on 13 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. A More so than Reock would, yes. 16 17 (A discussion was held off the record.) 17 Q So if this were a straight line, the (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 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

24 probably be higher.

23 boundary, then yes, the perimeter scores would

Q And this river -- sorry -- the Devils

23 me start that over.

Do you recognize this as Plaintiffs'

25 Demonstrative Plan 1 for the entire state view?

	15, 2025
157	159
1 Lake boundary, that is actually the county	1 that's currently included in enacted District 15,
2 boundary as well; the county itself has that	2 right?
3 Benson County itself has that sort of squiggly A David Leks have down	A Correct. I guess I would say most of
4 Devils Lake boundary.	4 it. You know, I'd have to do, like, a detailed
5 Is that right?	5 analysis to say everybody was included. But most
 A From what I recall, yes. MR. GABER: Okay. We can take this down 	6 people, yes, are included.
•	7 Q And so in that respect, the 8 demonstrative districts are themselves Gingles
8 for now.	
9 Q Now, looking back at your report,	9 prong 1 demonstrative districts that satisfy the
10 page 4, this is the analysis of LD 15 section of	10 requirement there, right?
11 your report?	11 A Well, they're majority Native American
12 A Okay.	12 districts, yes.
13 Q It's correct, right, that in your	MR. GABER: I'll mark as Exhibit 14 the
14 report, you don't contest that with respect to	14 document titled Government Admin Committee Report.
15 just looking at District 15, that Gingles prongs 2	15 (Exhibit Hood-14 marked for
16 and 3 are established there.	16 identification and attached to the transcript.)
17 Is that right?	17 BY MR. GABER:
18 A So say that one more time.	18 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as
19 Q That Gingles prongs 2 and 3, you agree,	19 it's a long report of the legislature, but it
20 are established with respect to District 15 in the	20 includes other things. But among what it includes
21 enacted plan?	21 is the joint redistricting committee's discussion
22 A Well, I state that, so yes.	22 of the history of redistricting in North Dakota,
23 Q Okay.	23 the legal framework, and then a discussion of the
24 A Yeah, I mean, it's stated there in the	24 priorities that guided this legislative
25 report.	25 redistricting process.
_	
158	160
1 Q What you do say, though, is that Gingles	1 A Yes, from what I recall, that's correct.
1 Q What you do say, though, is that Gingles 2 prong 1 is not established because District 15 is	1 A Yes, from what I recall, that's correct. 2 Q And if we can turn to page 28 of the
158 1 Q What you do say, though, is that Gingles 2 prong 1 is not established because District 15 is 3 not a majority Native American district.	1 A Yes, from what I recall, that's correct. 2 Q And if we can turn to page 28 of the 3 document, please. And maybe scroll down a bit,
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161	163
1 page 6, please. And this is again with respect to	1 Q Yeah. You see the area north of 9A
2 demonstrative District 1. The 3.14 percent that	2 there, the gray kind of more faded lines represent
3 demonstrative District 1 deviates, that's within	3 the county borders.
4 the goal of the legislature, right?	4 A Right. But is Rolette County wholly
5 A It would be in that plus or minus	5 contained within LD 9, I guess is the question.
6 5 percent, yes.	6 Q So I'm talking about the state house
7 Q Have you looked to rank demonstrative	7 version of the map.
8 District 1 with respect to the other districts as	8 A Okay. Fair enough. Yes.
9 you had done for the compactness scores?	9 Q So for purposes of the state house,
10 A I don't recall doing that comparison.	10 within District 9, Rolette, Towner, and Cavalier
11 Q Would you be surprised to find that it's	11 County are all split?
12 about in the middle of the districts in terms of	12 A Yes, yes.
13 population deviation?	13 Q Now, if you could look at we'll keep
14 A Not necessarily, no.	14 this up on the screen, please. But if you can
15 Q It's actually about within the middle of	15 look at page 7 of your report. In the Communities
16 the 5 percent 0 to 5 percent, right?	16 of Interest section on the bottom of page 7.
17 A Right.	17 A Okay.
18 Q So the demonstrative district satisfies	18 Q You talk about county splits, and then
19 the legislature's goal for population deviation?	19 you say, In the enacted plan, LD 9 splits only
20 A Again, it certainly falls within those	20 Towner County.
21 bounds.	21 Do you see that?
22 Q And that's the case with respect to both	22 A Yes.
23 demonstrative districts?	23 Q Now, setting aside the state house
24 A I believe so, yeah. The other was plus	24 version where all three of the counties are split,
25 4.53 percent. So	25 with respect to the state senate version of
162	164
MR. GABER: Now, if we could mark as	1 District 9, the entire district, your statement in
2 Exhibit 15 the file Enacted Map Statewide.	2 your report, that's not correct, right? You see
And let me get that over to you, David.	3 that it splits both Cavalier and Towner counties?
4 (Exhibit Hood-15 marked for	4 A It should say Cavalier as well.
5 identification and attached to the transcript.)	5 Q So that's two of the three counties are
6 BY MR. GABER:	6 split in the state senate version of District 9?
7 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as the	7 A Right.
8 2021 Enacted State Legislative Plan for North	8 Q And that's an error in your report, I
9 Dakota?	9 gather?
10 A Yes.	10 A Yeah, it definitely should say Cavalier
11 MR. GABER: And LaVar, would you mind	11 County.
12 zooming in to the top right part of this with the	12 Q And then let's pull up let's pull
13 yellow and pink district. Thank you.	13 back up, please, Exhibit 13. We're going to go
14 Q Now, for the district I'm sorry. For	14 back and forth between these. 13 is the
15 the state house map, District 9A District 9	15 Demonstrative Plan 1. If you could zoom in to the
16 splits Rolette County, Towner County, and Cavalier	16 District 9 and 15 area.
17 County.	17 So you note that plaintiffs'
18 Do you see that?	18 demonstrative plan 9 in your report, you note
19 A Yes.	19 that it splits Eddy County, Pierce County, and
20 Q So that's three out of three of the	20 Rolette County, right, so that's three of the four
21 counties that are included, the enacted plan	21 counties it covers.
22 splits for the state house map.	22 A Yes.
23 Is that right?	23 Q Now, the split that's contained in Eddy
24 A It's a little hard to see. Is Rolette	24 County, that's the same exact split that the
25 County split within District 9?	25 enacted plan District 15 has for Eddy County,

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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 Q And that's one of the state's in its	9 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
<u> </u>	_
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,
19 of the three counties that are split in	19 right?
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	MR. GABER: That's Exhibit 13. The
25 within 9, yes.	25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you.
166	25 time to the fast tab there, Ea var. Thank you.
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?
6 A Three and three, yes.	6 Q That term means more than split
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.
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	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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1 knowledge or experience about Native American	1 demonstrative plan, correct?	171
2 issues generally or voting patterns or	2 A Yes.	
3 sociological history or whatnot, right?	3 Q One example is its neighboring district,	
4 A That's correct.	4 I believe that's 8.	
5 Q Would it surprise you to know that the	5 MR. GABER: Can you Zoom into the gray	
6 trust lands are important, you know, holdings for	6 district for me, LaVar.	
7 the Turtle Mountain tribe?	7 Q I think it's actually not 8, I think	
8 A No.	8 it's 6.	
9 Q But you didn't look to see whether the	9 Do you see that?	
10 enacted plan keeps those in one district?	10 A 6.	
11 A Well, I used the reservation boundaries	11 Q So 6 is larger in geographic size than	
12 as defined by the census bureau, and under that	12 demonstrative District 9, right?	
13 definition, it is contained within the district.	13 A Looks to be, yes.	
14 Q You would agree that	14 Q It stretches further north to south than	
15 A I'm not sure you know, I'm honestly	15 does District 9 in this map?	
16 not sure that whether that contained these	16 A Yes.	
17 trust lands that we're talking about or not. I	17 Q And let's zoom out again, please.	
18 just don't know the answer to that. So	District 14 stretches from Pierce	
19 Q Okay. Would you agree that that would	19 County the northern boundary of Pierce County	
20 be a type of community of interest consideration	20 all the way to the southern boundary of is that	
21 that could be taken into account, whether the	21 Kidder County?	
22 reservation and the trust lands are included in a	Do you see that?	
23 single district?	23 A Yes.	
24 A Well, certainly, it could.	24 Q And that's a larger geographic distance	
25 Q Now, looking	25 than demonstrative District 9, correct?	
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1 MR. GABER: Maybe, LaVar, if you don't	1 A Yes.	
2 mind zooming out a little bit here so we can see	Q If you look at District 28, the	
3 the full map.	3 teal-colored district in the southeastern part of	
4 Q Now, is it your understanding that aside	4 the state, that district looks to be similar or	
5 from this is Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1.	5 possibly slightly larger in its east-west span as	
6 Aside from the changes to District 9, 15, and then	6 is demonstrative District 9 in its north to south	
7 some minor changes to 14 and 29, the rest of the	7 span, right?	
8 plan reflects the plan that was enacted by the	8 A Well, they certainly look on par. I 9 mean, I don't know without measuring. So	
9 legislature?	,	
10 A From what I recall, outside of those 11 changes, that would be correct, yes.	10 Q District the green district in the 11 corner, I believe is that 39?	
12 Q Now, with respect to some of the other	12 MR. GABER: Can you zoom to the	
13 districts in the plan, you understand that rural	13 southwest corner for me, please, LaVar. Yeah,	
14 North Dakota is somewhat sparsely populated,	14 District 39, north to south. Maybe scroll back	
15 right?	15 out so we can see the whole state again. Sorry.	
16 A Certainly, yes.	16 Q That looks to be slightly larger north	
17 Q So when that's the case, the	17 to south than demonstrative District 9 in this	
18 geographical size of districts has to increase	18 plan, right?	
19 because there's you have to go further to find	19 A Potentially, yes.	
20 population to get an equally populated district.	20 Q Do you see, in the western part of the	
21 Does that seem fair?	21 state, District 23, the kind of grayish-blue	
22 A Yes.	22 colored district?	
23 Q And there are other districts in the	23 A Yes.	
24 state's enacted plan that span a larger geographic	24 Q How would you describe the shape of that	
25 distance than does District 9 in plaintiffs'	25 district?	

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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 Q Or maybe a baby dinosaur.	6 sometimes courts have looked at whether precincts
7 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?
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1 Q Can you tell me on the map what the land	1 A Not necessarily, no.
2 bridge is?	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 Q The land bridge that you identify, that
8 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?16 A Not that I recall.	15 south central part of the state, the purplish-gray 16 district?
17 Q It wasn't in your report, but it was in 18 the data, I noticed.	17 A Yes. 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 Is that fair?
25 preemets is also a traditional districting	2.5 18 that fail;

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1 A Looks to be, yes, just looking at the	1 Q Now, do you see that in the prior	
2 map here.	2 decade's plan, District 15 included all of Towner	
3 Q Now, you see on the map here, Rolette	3 County?	
4 County and Benson County, they're pretty close to	4 A Yes.	
5 one another.	5 Q And so in plaintiffs' in the enacted	
6 Would you agree?	6 plan in 2021 splits Towner County between 15 and	
7 A Yes. Yeah.	7 9.	
8 Q They're just separated by that one	8 Is that right?	
9 voting precinct in Pierce County; the distance of	9 A That is correct.	
10 that precinct is the whole distance between	10 Q And so one of the benefits of	
11 Rolette and Benson County?	11 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 is it returns	
12 A If that's one precinct, then yes.	12 Towner County in whole to the district in which it	
13 Q Do you agree that Benson County is	13 previously was retained?	
14 physically more proximate to Rolette County than	14 A It does do that, yes.	
15 is Cavalier County?	15 Q Now, Benson County, in the prior	
16 A Yes.	16 decade's plan, was split between District 14 and	
17 Q And the enacted version of District 9	17 District 23.	
18 stretches from Rolette County to Cavalier County,	Do you see that?	
19 correct?	19 A Yes. Yes.	
20 A Correct.	20 Q And you'll recall, District 23 in the	
21 Q Do you see that in the enacted plan, the	21 enacted plan and we can look at it if you'd	
22 proposed District 15, which is altered to	22 like that's that dinosaur district that's now	
23 accommodate proposed District 9, is changed to	23 been moved all the way to the other side of the	
24 include all of Towner County?	24 state?	
25 A So you said in the enacted plan. You	25 A Right, right.	
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1 mean this	1 Q And the part of Benson County that	
2 Q I'm sorry. I'm reaching the point of	2 includes the Spirit Lake reservation is no longer	
3 the muddled brain.	3 in District 23, which is now on the other side of	
4 So in the demonstrative plan,	4 the state; instead, it's in District 15.	
5 plaintiffs' proposed demonstrative plan 1,	5 Does that seem right?	
6 District 15 includes all of Towner County.	6 A So say that one more time. Sorry.	
7 Do you see that?	7 Q Yeah. So do you know on this map where	
8 A Yes, it appears that that's the case.	8 the Spirit Lake reservation is?	
9 MR. GABER: And then, LaVar, if you	9 A Yes, yes.	
10 don't mind switching to the enacted map, which is	10 Q You see in Benson County there, it's	
11 the last tab.	11 previously in District 23?	
12 Q Do you see that the enacted map,	12 A Right.	
13 District 15 splits Towner County with District 9?	13 Q And so it's now in District 15, right?	
14 A Yes.	14 A Correct, correct.	
15 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	MR. GABER: Let's mark as Exhibit 17 the	
16 Exhibit 16 the file 2012 through 2020 North Dakota	16 document Enacted versus Benchmark Core	
17 Legislative Map.	17 Constituencies Report.	
18 (Exhibit Hood-16 marked for	18 (Exhibit Hood-17 marked for	
19 identification and attached to the transcript.)	19 identification and attached to the transcript.)	
20 BY MR. GABER:	20 BY MR. GABER:	
21 Q So this is do you recognize this,	21 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as a	
	22 report that you produced to us that compares the	
22 Dr. Hood, as the prior decade's legislative plan		
23 for North Dakota that was in effect from 2012 to	23 enacted district boundaries to the I'm going to	

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1 district with the highest remaining population in	1 District 9's state house voters. They're entirely
2 that district or core constituency?	2 in new state house districts?
3 Is that fair?	3 A Well, I mean, so District 9, which
4 A Yes.	4 includes the house districts, obviously, was
5 Q And if we could scroll down, I don't	
6 know what page it is, but it's District 9. So	6 didn't divide this up into the house districts.
7 it's probably page 2 or 3. Looks like right there	7 So I don't know exactly how that would parse out
8 at the top of page 3.	8 is what I'm saying.
9 So in your report, you talk about core	9 Q Yeah. Now, but with respect to
10 retention, right, as one of the traditional	10 Plaintiffs' Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1,
11 districting principles and one of the	11 with the exception of one voting precinct, all of
12 legislature's goals?	12 the Rolette County voters who were previously the
13 A Right.	13 entirety of District 9 are retained within the
14 Q And so you report that there is a	14 same district in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan,
15 75 percent core retention for the enacted plan	15 both for the state house and the state senate?
16 District 9.	16 A Yes, that's correct.
17 Is that correct?	17 Q Now, in your report, you talk about how
18 A Yes.	18 core retention is a good indicator of incumbency
19 Q And so and just so we understand,	19 protection.
20 from the report, what that means is that the in	20 Is that right?
21 the new version of enacted District 9, the largest	21 A It's one of them, yes.
22 component of it is old District 9, and that	22 Q The incumbent District 9 state senator,
23 accounts for 75 percent of new District 9's	23 Richard Marcellais, who was a Native American,
24 population.	24 lost re-election in the most recent election,
25 Do I have that right?	25 correct?
	25 correct:
· ·	
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1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but	1 A Yes.
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes.	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the
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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 I did not.
7 Q All right. No, no, that was my fault.	7 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	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 population
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 deviations.
2 across the state and you have to do that. I	
3 mean, this doesn't trump other redistricting	Q When you say "ad hoc commission," what
4 factors, especially population equality. You're 5 not going to necessarily be able to maximize this	4 do you mean by that?
1	5 A Well, I don't mean that in any kind of 6 negative sense. I just mean there was a
1 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	6 negative sense. I just mean there was a 7 commission put together charged by the legislature
Q And do you have, like, a threshold for	
8 what you consider to be a strong core retention?	8 with developing a redistricting plan.
9 Is it 50 percent?	9 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 12 know, it ranges it's pretty easy to grasp	11 legislators. 12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your
13 because it ranges from zero to 100, zero percent	12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your 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
24 2012 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 Q And demonstrative -- sorry -- enacted A Correct. 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 about as long as plaintiffs' demonstrative 4 district is sufficiently or reasonably compact, District 1 is from north to south, correct? correct? A From what I remember, yes. 6 A Correct. Q And the two most populous counties 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 are Benson County and Rolette County, correct? 9 respect to the number of counties, right, that the 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 A Correct. That's correct. 11 don't have the population figures in front of me. 11 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 A Correct. 15 County, and then that small piece of Eddy County 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 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 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? Q Okay. We discussed how Benson County A Correct. 25 and Rolette County are closer geographically than 190 192 So I mean, it's two -- should be two Rolette County is to Cavalier County, right? 2 county splits in the enacted plan versus three, 2 A That's true, yes. right. So... Q And so on all of these measures, Q For District 9 at the state senate demonstrative -- plaintiffs' demonstrative level, right? 5 district is similar to or in some instances better A Yeah. in terms of traditional districting criteria than Q And at the state house level, it splits either District 9 in the enacted plan, District 15 all three counties in the district? 8 in the enacted plan, or other districts in the A If you go down to the subdistricts, yes. 9 state. Q And we discussed how plaintiffs' 10 Is that fair? 11 demonstrative plan restores Towner County to its MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, that's 11 12 prior configuration in terms of core retention, 12 ambiguous and compound. 13 moving it to District 15 entirely. A Well, on some traditional redistricting 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 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 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? Can you explain to me what you mean by A That's correct, yes. 25 "results in a racial gerrymander."

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1 A I guess the question is, why was LD 9	1 is it?	1,00
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 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 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	
MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just state my	11 those cases?	
12 objection.	12 A That's one of the factors that's looked	
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	25 criteria, there was a diminishment on at least	
194		196
1 decisions, I gather, right?	1 some of those factors with the demonstrative	170
1	2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the	
2 A Yes.	2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the 3 enacted LD 9.	
2 A Yes. 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from	3 enacted LD 9.	
2 A Yes. 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from 4 the Supreme Court?	3 enacted LD 9.4 Q Anything else?	
 A Yes. Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from the Supreme Court? A Right. 	 3 enacted LD 9. 4 Q Anything else? 5 A Well, that's primarily it. 	
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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 Q And so to the extent that enacted 4 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 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

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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 A Sometimes.	5 those criteria in favor of a racial
6 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 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 9.
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 A Yes, yes.	7 questions.
8 Q 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?	1 2 7
	10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the
11 A Yes.	10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the 11 record?
11 A Yes. 12 Q And do you understand that Native	, ,
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	205	
1	CERTIFICATE	
2		
3	I, Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR, do	
4	hereby certify that the witness was first duly	
	sworn by me and that I was authorized to and did	
	report said proceedings.	
7	I further certify that the foregoing	
	transcript is a true and correct record of the	
	proceedings; that said proceedings were taken by	
10	me stenographically and thereafter reduced to	
11	typewriting under my supervision; that reading and	
	signing was not requested; and that I am neither	
	attorney nor counsel for, nor related to or	
	employed by, any of the parties to the action in	
	which this deposition was taken; and that I have	
	no interest, financial or otherwise, in this case.	
17		
18	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my	
19	hand this 15th day of FEBRUARY, 2023.	
20		
21	Luc V. Leinin	
22	Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR	
23	(The foregoing certification of this	
23	transcript does not apply to any reproduction of	
24	the same by any means, unless under the direct	
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1		

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EXHIBIT B

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 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

Case No. 3:22-cv-00022

Plaintiffs,

VS.

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

Defendant.

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:

- Matthew Campbell
 Native American Rights Fund
 1506 Broadway
 Boulder, CO 80301
 - Will Call
- 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 NewbyBroadband Program DirectorNorth Dakota Information Technology4201 Normandy StreetBismarck, ND 58503

- May Call

Legislative Witnesses:

 Former Senator Howard Anderson 721 21st 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 1837 15th Street SW Minot, ND 58701

- May Call

21. Representative Bill DevlinP.O. Box 505Finley, ND 58230-0505- May Call

22. Senator Robert Erbele 6512 51st 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 92nd 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 155th 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
 919 7th 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 25th day of May, 2023.

By: /s/ David R. Phillips

David R. Phillips Special Assistant Attorney General ND Bar # 06116 300 West Century Avenue P.O. Box 4247 Bismarck, ND 58502-4247 (701) 751-8188 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:

Michael S. Carter OK No. 31961 Matthew Campbell NM No. 138207, CO No. 40808 Native American Rights Fund 1506 Broadway Boulder, CO 80301 carter@narf.org mcampbell@narf.org

Molly E. Danahy DC Bar No. 1643411 Campaign Legal Center 1101 14th St. NW, Ste. 400 Washington, DC 20005 mdanahy@campaignlegal.org

Mark P. Gaber DC Bar No. 98807 Campaign Legal Center 1101 14th St. NW, Ste. 400 Washington, DC 20005 mgaber@campaignlegal.org

Bryan L. Sells GA No. 635562

The Law Office of Bryan L. Sells, LLC PO BOX 5493 Atlanta, GA 31107-0493 <u>bryan@bryansellslaw.com</u>

Nicole Hanson N.Y. Bar No. 5992326 Campaign Legal Center 1101 14th St. NW, Ste. 400 Washington, DC 20005 nhansen@campaignlegalcenter.org

Samantha Blencke Kelty AZ No. 024110 TX No. 24085074 Native American Rights Fund 1514 P Street NW, Suite D Washington, DC 20005 kelty@narf.org

Timothy Q. Purdon ND No. 05392 ROBINS KAPLAN LLP 1207 West Divide Avenue, Suite 200 Bismarck, ND 58501 TPurdon@RobinsKaplan.com

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

EXHIBIT A



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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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                                                                      1 APPEARANCES:
            FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA
                                                                      2 ON BEHALF OF PLAINTIFFS:
   ----- x
                                                                            MARK GABER, ESQUIRE
   TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF
                                                                            MOLLY E. DANAHY, ESQUIRE
   CHIPPEWA INDIANS et al., :
                                                                            NICOLE HANSEN, ESQUIRE
                             : Civil No.
                                                                            CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER
                             :3:22-cv-00022-PDW-ARS
                                                                            1101 14th Street NW
   MICHAEL HOWE, in his official :
                                                                            Suite 400
   capacity as Governor of the :
                                                                            Washington, DC 20005
10 State of North Dakota, et al.,:
                                                                      10
                                                                            202.736.2222
             Defendants
                                                                            mgaber@campaignlegal.org
12 ----- x
                                                                            {\tt mdanahy@campaignlegal.org}
13
                                                                            nhansen@campaignlegal.org
                 Oral deposition of
15
                  M.V. HOOD. Ph.D.
                                                                      15 ON BEHALF OF DEFENDANTS:
16
                                                                            DAVID R. PHILLIPS, ESQUIRE
17
               VIA VIDEO/TELECONFERENCE
                                                                      17
                                                                            BAKKE GRINOLDS WIEDERHOLT
               MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 2023
                                                                            300 West Century Avenue
19
                10:35 a.m. EASTERN TIME
                                                                            Bismarck, ND 58503
20
                                                                            701.751.8188
                                                                      21
                                                                            dphillips@bgwattorneys.com
22
                                                                      22
23 Job No.: 481134
24 Pages: 1 - 205
                                                                      24
25 Reported by: Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR
                                                                      1 ALSOPRESENT:
                                                                            LaVAR TAYLOR, A/V Technician
            Oral deposition of M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.,
                                                                            MICHAEL S. CARTER, ESQ., NARF
   held remotely, via Zoom, on Monday, February 13,
                                                                            SAMANTHA BLENCKE KELTY, ESQ., NARF
   2023, beginning at 10:35 a.m. Eastern time,
                                                                            ALLISON NESWOOD, ESO., NARE
   pursuant to Notice, before Lisa V. Feissner, RDR,
                                                                            BRYAN L. SELLS, ESQ.
   CRR, CLR, Notary Public.
                                                                            LAURIE STIRLING, paralegal, NARF
12
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                                                                      17
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19
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22
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			rebruary 13, 2023
1	CONTENTS		5 PROCEEDINGS
2	EXAMINATION OF M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.	PAGE	2 M.V. HOOD, Ph.D.,
-	By Mr. Gaber	7	
	by Mr. Gaber	/	3 having been first duly sworn, was examined and
	Е V U Т D Т Т С		4 testified as follows:
	EXHIBITS		5 EXAMINATION
	(Attached to transcript)	B. 05	6 BY MR. GABER:
_	HOOD DEPOSITION EXHIBIT	PAGE	7 Q Good morning, Dr. Hood.
3	1 Expert Report of M.V. Hood III	18	8 My name is Mark Gaber. I am an attorney
9	2 Expert Report of M.V. Hood III (Walen)	26	9 with the Campaign Legal Center, and I am counsel
	3 LD9 Hypothetical 2020 President	29	10 for the plaintiffs in this case. And I will be
	4 LD9 Hypothetical 2018 US Senate	33	11 taking your deposition today.
	5 Rebuttal Declaration (Rios-Andino)	39	12 I suspect you've done this a number of
1 3	6 HOOD-0244 - HOOD-0257	88	13 times before, so this might just be more of a
4	7 Expert Report of M.V. (Trey) Hood III	118	14 reminder for me.
15	(Vesilind)		
16	8 Virginia 2012-2020 plans	127	But it's important, obviously, that we
7	9 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	132	16 not talk over each other to allow the court
18	Fargo Close-Up View		17 reporter to be able to get our answers down. And
19	10 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	135	18 also important that we perhaps talk a little
20	Grand Forks Close-Up View		19 slower than we might otherwise, for Lisa's ease.
21	11 2021 Enacted ND Legislative Plan	137	20 If at any point today you need a break,
22	Bismarck Area Close-Up View		21 please let me know. And again, I may need them
23	12 Hood-00001	141	22 before you do. I just ask that if there are any
24	13 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1	154	23 questions pending, that you provide the answer to
25	14 HOOD-0211 - HOOD-0240	159	24 that question, and then we'll proceed to the
			25 break.
_			6
1	E X H I B I T S (cont'd)		1 Does that sound good?
2	(Attached to transcript)		2 A Yes, sir.
3	HOOD DEPOSITION EXHIBIT	PAGE	3 Q And I know you've been deposed before.
4	15 2021 Enacted State Legislative Plan	162	4 How many times would you say?
5	16 2012-2020 Legislative Plan	178	5 A Unknown. More than 40, probably.
5	17 HOOD-0002 - HOOD-0013	180	
7			
3			7 A I'm currently a professor of political
9			8 science at the University of Georgia.
10			
			9 Q And how long have you held that
			10 position?
1			
11			10 position?
11 12			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since
11 12 13			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank?
11 12 13 14			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita.
111 112 113 114 115			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a
111 112 113 114 115 116			 10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for
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11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents. 18 Is there anything from your file that 19 you relied upon in your expert opinions that you 20 have not produced?
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111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 20 21 22 23 24 25			10 position? 11 A Well, not rank, but job here, since 12 1999. 13 Q And how long in that rank? 14 A I think 2013. It's on my vita. 15 Q Now, you're here today pursuant to a 16 deposition a subpoena for a deposition and for 17 documents. 18 Is there anything from your file that 19 you relied upon in your expert opinions that you 20 have not produced? 21 A No. 22 Q Now, you're also a retained expert for

Febluary	7 13, 2023
9	11
1 A Correct.	1 In both those cases, though, you're
2 Q Now, aside from your expert retention in	2 defending the existing map against the challenges
3 these two cases, have you ever been retained by	3 under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.
4 any North Dakota entity before?	4 Is that right?
5 A No.	5 A Correct.
6 Q And in addition to these two cases, are	6 Q When were you first retained by the
7 you currently a retained expert in any other	7 State of North Dakota in this matter?
8 litigation?	8 A I would say last spring.
9 A Yes.	9 Q And was that in relation to the
10 Q And what cases is that?	10 preliminary injunction motion that was filed by
11 A Well, I don't know that there's a case.	11 the plaintiffs in the Walen case?
12 Q Okay. What matters?	12 A I believe so.
13 A It's a matter in New York state.	13 Q And just to clarify, I'll use the terms
	14 Walen and Turtle Mountain, and we can use
-	15 something else if that is easier for you. But
15 A Noncitizen actually well, 16 noncitizen voting, or the ability of noncitizens	
17 to vote.	16 when I refer to the Walen case, I'm referring to
	17 the challenge to subdistrict 4A in the MHA Nation
18 Q And is that a case that's in litigation	18 and 9A in Turtle Mountain that was brought by
19 right now, or is it sort of a pre-litigation	19 plaintiffs alleging a racial gerrymander.
20 matter?	Does that sound right to you?
21 A No, I don't believe it's in litigation.	21 A Yes. Please just use the Walen matter.
22 Q And who have you been retained by?	22 (Reporter interruption.)
23 A I'd have to look. This is very recent.	23 Q And then I'll refer to this matter
Q Is it by folks who intend to file a	24 challenging district 9 under Section 2 of the
25 lawsuit or by a governmental entity?	25 Voting Rights Act as either this matter or the
10	12
1 A It's a plaintiff group.	1 Turtle Mountain matter, if that works for you.
2 Q And what jurisdiction in New York?	2 A Okay. "This matter" is fine.
3 A I think the city.	3 Q So you were retained around the time of
4 Q New York City?	4 the preliminary injunction proceeding in the Walen
5 A New York City, yes.	5 matter.
6 Q In addition to that matter, are there	6 Was that also at that time to be an
7 any other matters in which you're currently	7 expert in this matter?
8 retained for existing or potential litigation?	8 A I believe so, you know, if necessary.
9 A Yes.	9 Q And who reached out to you to retain
10 Q And which ones is that?	10 you?
11 A Well, there are a number of cases that	11 A Mr. Phillips.
12 are just on hold currently. So the Alabama	12 Q And had you previously corresponded with
13 redistricting matter that's ongoing, which is a	13 or known Mr. Phillips?
14 before the U.S. Supreme Court currently. And a	14 A No.
15 similar case in Louisiana involving redistricting.	15 Q What was the scope of work that you were
16 Q Any others?	16 asked to perform?
17 A No.	17 A Well, in this particular matter, the
18 Q And the Alabama and the Louisiana case,	18 main scope was to respond to Prof. Collingwood's
19 you're an expert for the state.	19 report.
20 Is that correct.	20 Q And prior to receiving
21 A Some state entity, yes. Sometimes it's	21 Prof. Collingwood's report, had you done any work
22 the secretary of state. Sometimes it's the	22 in this matter?
23 legislature. It's difficult for me to keep it	23 A Well, I had done some consulting work,
24 straight.	24 which I guess touched upon this matter.
25 Q It does change from state to state.	25 Q And for whom were you doing consulting

4 (13 to 16)

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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 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 Q Were you involved at all in advising the	7 include a larger set of cases, yes.
8 North Dakota legislature about redistricting?	8 Q And what do you mean by that?
12	_
10 Q And how many times have you testified,	10 Q Okay. In the context of redistricting, 11 when the claim has been on behalf of racial
11 would you say, in redistricting cases?	
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	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 A Not that are jumping out at me right	7 Q It doesn't appear to me, and correct me
	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 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?
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?
2 , 1 ,	24 an expert in Native American pointies:
25 Is that right?	25 A No. I've never claimed that.

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17		19
Q And topics such as anthropology or	1 A Yes.	
2 sociology or history related to Native Americans?	Q You don't anticipate giving any opinions	
A No. No. I'm a political scientist.	3 that are not set forth in the report?	
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.	
Q And the same is true with respect to	7 Is that right?	
8 Spirit Lake Nation? 9 A Correct.	8 A That's correct.	
	9 Q And you didn't do any additional	
10 Q Have you ever been to North Dakota? 11 A No.	10 analysis in this case after submitting your	
	11 report? 12 A Correct.	
12 Q Have you ever spoken to a member of the		
13 Turtle Mountain or Spirit Lake tribes? 14 A No.	13 Q I might, during today's deposition, ask 14 you to do a little math, too.	
	I · ·	
15 Q And so you're not opining on anything 16 related to those two tribes with respect to their	Do you have a calculator in your office? 16 A I do.	
17 shared interests or common interests or	16 A I do. 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 (Exhibit Hood-1 marked for	9 follow along.	
10 identification and attached to the transcript.)	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	
So we've pulled up on the screen your	19 district.	
20 expert report.	20 Is that fair?	
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 25 matter contained in your expert report?	24 potential alternative district. 25 Is that correct?	

21	23
1 A Well, yes, although it can be used to	1 Native American voting age population.
2 analyze an existing district as well, I would say.	2 That figure the source for that is
3 Q But to the extent someone is a	3 the state legislature's website.
4 plaintiff is challenging an existing district as	4 Is that right?
5 being dilutive, the Court would look to see	5 A Yes.
6 whether there was an alternative district that met	6 Q And your understanding is that the state
7 the Gingles 1 threshold, right?	7 reported the demographic data based upon
8 A An illustrative district, yes.	8 single-member minority groups. So it's someone
9 Q Now, the second factor is whether the	9 who identified on the census as being exclusively
10 minority group is politically cohesive. I think	10 Native American?
11 that, to my understanding, your you aren't	11 A Single-race Native American.
12 disputing Gingles prong 2 in this case.	12 Q And so that doesn't include
13 Is that right?	13 A I would say, just to be transparent,
14 A I am not.	14 that it's more than my belief; that I checked into
15 Q And the third Gingles prong is about	15 this, and that is how Native American is being
16 whether or not the minority group's candidates of	16 measured in this context.
17 choice are usually or typically defeated by the	17 Q And when you say that, you mean how the
18 candidate of choice of the majority bloc.	18 State of North Dakota, the legislature, how they
19 Is that right?	19 measured it?
20 A Yes.	20 A Correct, yes.
21 Q And in this case, the majority bloc is	21 Q Now, in the second sentence you say, As
22 white voters; the minority group is Native	22 such, under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, it
23 American voters.	23 would be described as a minority,
24 Right?	24 opportunity-to-elect district.
25 A Yes.	25 Do you see that?
1 Q So with respect to the third Gingles	24 1 A Yes.
	4 A Just simply the fact that it's a 5 majority Native American district and is defined
	6 by the Supreme Court under Bartlett v. Strickland. 7 That would be a minority opportunity-to-elect
, 5 1 5	
9 districts.	9 Q Now, with respect to the citation to
Is that your understanding of the law?	10 Bartlett, Bartlett is a case that required
11 A Well, my understanding would not that	11 plaintiffs raising Section 2 challenges to show
12 that would not be an effect that you would see	12 that they could draw an alternative district that
13 necessarily in a district that you describe like	13 was 50 percent plus 1 of a minority group.
14 that.	14 Is that right?
15 Q In a packed district, you would expect	15 A It's been a while. I mean, from what I
16 the minority candidate of choice to almost always	16 remember, yes. But I do remember that the Court
17 win and probably by a large margin, right?	17 set out, and there were definitions within that
18 A Well, just in a generic sense, yes.	18 case. And that's what I'm really referring to
19 Q Now I want to move down into part 4 of	19 there.
20 your on page 2, and focusing, to begin with, on	
	20 Q And those definitions were about
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9.	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts.
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9. Now, you say that, LD 9 in the enacted	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts. 24 Is that your recollection?
21 the first two sentences of that section. And this 22 is, I think, still on the same page, page 3 of the 23 PDF. Analysis of LD 9.	21 distinguishing between claims for crossover 22 districts or claims for influenced districts and 23 claims for coalition districts.

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25	27
1 Q Now, whether or not a district actually	Do you recognize this as your expert
2 functions to provide minority voters an	2 report in the Walen matter?
3 opportunity to elect their candidate of choice is	3 A Yes.
4 based upon more than just the demographics of the	4 Q Do you have a copy of that one with you?
5 district.	5 A No, I do not.
6 Do you agree with that?	6 Q If I need to direct you somewhere, I'll
7 A Yes.	7 do that. But we're probably going to set this one
8 Q And so a district that has a slight	8 aside for a moment.
9 majority may not, in fact, function as an	9 But in the Walen case, it's my
10 opportunity district based on factors such as	10 understanding that you did conduct a bit of an
11 turnout or other factors.	11 analysis about District 9 in terms of the Gingles
12 Is that fair?	12 preconditions.
13 A Hypothetically, yeah, I think that's	13 Is that right?
14 fair.	14 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to this
15 Q And the Supreme Court has addressed that	15 question and probably line of questions to the
16 issue in cases before, like the LULAC versus Perry	16 extent it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's
17 case.	17 opinion in this case.
18 Are you familiar with that?	18 A Well, I performed a functional analysis,
19 A Yes.	19 what I called a functional analysis. I didn't
20 Q And so to the extent you're calling it a	20 coin that. I'm not arguing I coined that term.
21 minority opportunity-to-elect district, that's	21 I'm just saying that's what I would call it.
22 based just upon the 51.7 percent and nothing more.	22 Q Yeah. And that works. And I may
23 Is that correct?	23 have my question might have been a little off
24 A Well, that sentence is based on that	24 there.
25 fact, yes. Now, later, I do look at what	25 What you were doing was, you looked at
26	28
1 Prof. Collingwood analyzed for that district as a	1 voter turnout; you analyzed that.
2 whole. So there's some evidence one way or the	2 Is that right?
3 other there as well, I would say.	3 A As part of this, yes.
4 Q Okay. And we'll get into that there.	4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object again.
5 But I just wanted to understand the sort of the	5 Mr. Gaber, can we agree to have a
6 nomenclature.	6 standing objection to this line of questioning
7 A That would be correct, yes.	7 MR. GABER: Sure.
8 Q The key, then, is combining the	8 MR. PHILLIPS: on the same basis as I
9 demographic data with election data to determine	9 stated before?
10 whether or not there's an actual opportunity to	10 MR. GABER: Yep.
11 elect in the district.	11 Q And you looked in particular at three
12 Is that correct?	12 elections from 2018, three state-wide elections,
13 A Well, yes, at some point, you have to	13 and three state-wide elections from 2020 to
14 look at some type of election data or you know,	14 determine whether or not the Native American
15 whether it's vote tallies or results or something	15 preferred candidates would have prevailed in the
16 related to an election, yes.	16 newly enacted District 9 in those elections.
· ·	
17 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	17 Is that right?
18 Exhibit 2 the file Hood Walen versus Burgum expert	18 A That was part of it, yes. I also looked
19 report.	19 to see if there was racially polarized voting, for
20 (Exhibit Hood-2 marked for	20 one thing, before that, before that step.
21 identification and attached to the transcript.)	21 Q And you found that there was racially
22 BY MR. GABER:	22 polarized voting in the district.
23 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this and	23 Is that right?
24 maybe we can scroll down a little bit to where it	24 A More often than not, yes. Can't
25 has the title.	25 remember without looking if it was a hundred

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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 Q And so this is where I'm going to ask
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.	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
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
2 2020 presidential election for District 9?	2 voters, that yields 57.7 percent of the electorate
3 A Yes.	3 in the district being white voters.
4 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 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
16 2020 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.)	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 Is that right?	25 well, as Exhibit 4, LD 9 Hypothetical 2018 U.S.

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33	35
1 Senate.	1 I think I already asked you this, but I
2 (Exhibit Hood-4 marked for	2 just want to confirm.
3 identification and attached to the transcript.)	3 You don't disagree with
4 BY MR. GABER:	4 Prof. Collingwood that in Northeastern
5 Q And so again, because there were	5 North Dakota and specifically in districts 9 and
6 there wasn't a title within the Excel spreadsheet,	6 15, Gingles prong 2 is satisfied.
7 and rather the folder had the title, I have added	7 Is that right?
8 that to this PDF at the top and converted it to a	8 A I don't disagree that racially polarized
9 PDF.	9 voting exists more often than not in that part of
Otherwise, do you recognize this as the	10 North Dakota.
11 backup files for your turnout analysis for the	11 Q Now, for your expert report in this
12 2018 U.S. Senate race in District 9?	
	12 matter, you did not conduct your own racially
13 A Yes.	13 polarized voting analysis, right?
14 Q And then just so the record is clear,	14 A Correct. I was just responding to what
15 this is District 9 as it was redrawn in the last	15 Prof. Collingwood had done.
16 redistricting cycle with the election results sort	16 Q Now, I know that you disagree with some
17 of reconstituted in the new lines.	17 of Prof. Collingwood's conclusions. But you don't
18 Is that fair?	18 have any criticism of the methodology or the way
19 A Yes. And same thing for the 2020 race	19 that he conducted his racially polarized voting
20 we just talked about as well.	20 analysis, right?
21 Q And so in the 2018 U.S. Senate race, if	21 A No. That's correct. I mean, you know,
22 we look in column 1 at the turnout figures, we see	22 again, at step 3 perhaps, or prong 3, as we just
23 that 60.4 percent of Native Americans eligible	23 saw, you know, I don't do exactly what he did.
24 voters turned out in your analysis.	24 But I recognize there are different ways to do the
25 Is that right?	25 same thing, I guess is what I'm saying. So
34	36
1 A Correct.	1 Q So you don't it's not your opinion
2 Q And 68.3 percent of white voters?	2 that his methodology for conducting ecological
3 A Correct.	3 inference, for example, was flawed?
4 Q And 49.8 percent of other race voters?	4 A No, no. I didn't say that.
5 A Correct.	5 Q And you don't have any issues with his
6 Q And then so if we do the same	6 data collection or the way that he inputted the
7 calculations here, I show that Native American	7 data into his analysis?
8 voters in the 2018 U.S. Senate election	8 A No, not that I saw.
9 constituted 49 percent of the electorate.	9 Q Did you seek to replicate
Does that look right to you?	10 Dr. Collingwood's analysis using the data he
11 A Yes.	11 produced?
12 Q And	12 A No, I did not, for a number of reasons.
13 A 49.0, I guess, if you round it off, yes.	13 One, I was using election data from the state. He
14 Q And white voters, I show as 47.3 percent	14 was apparently using election data from a slightly
15 of the electorate.	15 different source, Election Data Hub, I think. And
16 A Yes.	16 so, I mean, it's not easy to exactly replicate
17 Q So in neither the 2018 U.S. Senate race	17 things sometimes.
18 or the 2020 presidential race were Native American	18 And so, I mean, right off the bat there,
19 voters an actual majority of the electorate.	19 we're using different election data.
20 Is that right?	20 And again, at step 3, I would diverge a
21 A Correct.	21 little bit anyway, and I'm estimating what turnout
22 Q Okay. I'm going to set these two	22 is and decomposing the electorate by racial group
23 exhibits aside virtually for the moment. But we	23 and then by vote and then recomposing it into
24 will probably come back to that a little bit	24 which partisan candidate would have won or not.
25 later.	25 So long answer to your question, no, I

reduary		
37		39
1 did not try to replicate what he did.	1 gives equal weight, correct?	
2 Q But you didn't see any basically,	A Yes, that's true.	
3 you're not challenging the methodology or the	Q Now, it's the case, isn't it, that	
4 quality of his work as a matter of an expert	4 different elections in vote dilution contexts have	
5 opinion?	5 differing probative values, right?	
6 A No. I mean, I use ecological inference	6 A Yes, that's correct.	
7 as well. So	7 Q So for example, endogenous elections,	
8 Q Now, the next part of your report on	8 those are elections in which the election is for	
9 pages 2 to 3 2 to 4, actually, and that would	9 the type of district that is at issue in the	
10 be PDF pages 3 to 5, I think, is your review of	10 challenge. Endogenous elections is that your	
11 Dr. Collingwood's Gingles prong 3 analysis for	11 understanding of endogenous?	
12 District 9.	12 A Yes. So they would be legislative	
13 Is that right?	13 elections in this particular matter.	
14 A Yes, that's fair.	14 Q So as a methodological matter,	
15 Q And so my understanding of your analysis	15 academically and in your understanding of how	
16 here is essentially that you took the	16 courts look at this, endogenous elections have a	
17 reconstituted election results that	17 much higher probative value in terms of Gingles	
18 Dr. Collingwood showed for every election from	18 prong 3 than do exogenous elections.	
19 2014 through 2022, and then summed them up to see	19 Is that right?	
20 whether the Native American candidate of choice	20 A I think that's fair, yes. They have a	
21 was or the percentage of elections in which the	21 higher probative value.	
22 Native American candidate of choice was defeated.	MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	
23 Is that fair?	23 Exhibit 5 the file Hood Rios-Andino versus Orange	
24 A Yeah, that's through the end point.	24 County Expert Report.	
25 So	25 (Exhibit Hood-5 marked for	
38		40
1 Q And the Table 1 you have two tables	1 identification and attached to the transcript.)	
2 in this section, right? Table 1, you combine the	2 BY MR. GABER:	
3 races or the elections in District 9, 9A, and	3 Q Dr. Hood, do you recall being a retained	
4 9B, and then report the rate at which Native	4 expert in this case, Rios-Andino versus Orange	
5 American candidates were defeated when all three	5 County?	
6 of those districts are summed together.	6 A I do.	
7 Is that right?	7 Q And I don't know if this is this	
8 A Correct.	8 might be sort of a database version of your	
9 Q In reporting this analysis, you weigh	9 report.	
10 each of the elections equally.	Does this or is this what your report	
Is that right?	11 looked like?	
12 A Well, yes, that's true. I think that's	12 A That was a long time ago. To be	
13 true. It does matter whether or not racially	13 honest I mean, it looks like something I would	
14 polarized voting was present in the election in	14 have done	
15 question or not, so sort of backing up a step	15 Q Okay.	
16 there. But	16 A but I can't you know, I haven't	
17 (Cross-talk.)	17 looked at this in a long time.	
18 Q There's two elections that you took out	18 Q This is something you still have?	
19 because there was not racially polarized voting,	19 A I probably could find it, yes	
20 right?	20 Q Okay.	
21 A Yes, according to Prof. Collingwood's	21 A with a little time.	
22 Q But with respect to the I guess this	22 Q Well, I'm not going to make you do that.	
23 is across three districts, a total of 108	23 But if you have any reason to doubt the statements	
24 elections in which there's racially polarized	24 here, we can obviously go and look for that.	
25 voting, each of those elections, your analysis	25 But I want to direct your attention to	

43

44

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

February 13, 2023 41 1 page 3, and then it's section E towards the bottom part of the document.

And then in the first paragraph, you 4 talk a bit about endogenous and exogenous

elections.

Do you see the second sentence says, 6 Endogenous elections examine contexts from the

8 same office as those under legal scrutiny and,

9 because of their relevance, should be given more 10 probative value?

MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just -- I'm sorry.

12 Go ahead and finish your question, then I'll

13 insert my objection.

14 Q Do you still agree with that statement?

15 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it's

16 outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work

17 in this case. And can we just agree to have a

18 standing objection to this line of questioning

19 about this report?

20 MR. GABER: Sure.

21 MR. PHILLIPS: You can go ahead and

22 answer.

A I certainly seem to have written that 24 statement.

Q And then we'll skip the next sentence.

3 any other contest from local boards to

2 elections, on the other hand, could include almost

1 It's possible. I mean, certainly, there is a

distinction, I've agreed, between exogenous and

endogenous elections.

Q So another example would be that more recent elections are generally considered more

probative than elections that are further in time?

A True.

Q And elections that have a candidate who

9 is a member of the same minority group of the

10 group that is challenging the district are more

11 probative than elections that are between, say,

12 two white candidates.

13 Is that also true?

14 A Yes, that can be true.

Q So in this case, elections where there 15

16 is a Native American candidate are more probative

17 to determine whether Gingles prong 3 exists than

18 elections where both of the candidates are white, 19 correct?

20 A Correct.

21 Q So with respect to the elections that

22 Dr. Collingwood reported, the most probative

23 contests would be the most recent for endogenous

24 elections in which there was a Native American

25 candidate.

1 But the sentence after that, you say, Exogenous

Is that right? 1 2

Q And that sort of combination is about as

probative as you can get because it ticks off all

three of those factors that are considered more

probative than other types of elections.

Is that right?

A Correct.

A Correct.

Q And is it your -- I gather it's your

10 understanding that incumbency adds another benefit

11 to a candidate and their likelihood of success.

Is that a fair statement, sort of

13 generally, as a political science proposition?

A So we're talking about another topic

15 here, right?

16 Q Yeah, yeah.

A Okay. Yes, incumbency typically

18 benefits the incumbent officeholder, although in

19 more recent history, what we call the incumbency

20 advantage has diminished to some degree. This is

21 an ongoing debate in political science. So...

Q But if you -- so moving back to looking

23 at analyzing vote dilution, if you have an

24 election that's an endogenous election, that is

25 the most recent election, features a candidate of

42

7 reaching a conclusion concerning vote dilution

8 claims.

Do you recall having that opinion here?

4 presidential elections. As these elections are

5 not as directly relevant to the question at hand,

6 they should be accorded far less weight in

10 A Yes.

Q And does that remain your opinion today 12 methodologically, that exogenous elections have

13 far less weight in reaching conclusions for vote

14 dilution?

A I've written this more than once, I'm 16 sure, in academic work. So yes, I have to stand 17 by that statement.

18 MR. GABER: Okay. We can take down that 19 exhibit.

Q Now, in addition to endogenous elections

21 being more probative than exogenous elections,

22 there are other considerations that might make an

24 Is that right?

23 election more or less probative.

25 A Well, let's -- I guess let's discuss it.

	13, 2023	
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.	So if we can go to page 15 of the PDF.	
	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 A Yes, I do.	
4 A 2022?	4 Q And then do you understand I don't	
5 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 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 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 makes sense in the near future.	
Is that your understanding?		
14 A I don't recall, just sitting here. I'm	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	
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	24 Dr. Collingwood's conclusion that Marvin Nelson or	
25 to who the Native preferred candidates were in	25 Richard Marcellais were the candidates of choice	

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February 13, 2023 49 51 1 of Native American voters in those two elections? Q So the -- for the most part, the only Native Americans in District 9B are all A Well, I think this is what I was 3 remembering. I mean, so in terms of Marcellais, I concentrated in the area that's in 9B but close to 4 mean, a statistical analysis was conducted that the border of 9A. 5 showed that he was the Native American preferred 5 Is that your understanding? 6 candidate of choice. The same statistical A From what I remember, yes. 7 analysis was not conducted for Nelson. It's just Q And so to the extent those voting 8 being inferred. 8 precincts have a high concentration of Native American voters and is also the precinct in which That's what I was remembering, yeah. 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? A I would agree with that. A Well, I would respectfully, I guess, 16 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 2.2. 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. precinct analysis. 2 So that's not the typical procedure. Q With respect to the white voters, there is homogeneous precincts --If there's not enough statistical power, 4 there's just not enough statistical power. And I (Cross-talk.) 5 probably would agree there's not. A That's true, yes. But there has to be Q With respect to the Subdistrict 9B, it homogeneous precincts for both groups or however 7 covers part of Rolette County and then parts of many groups you're analyzing. So... 8 Towner and Cavalier County to the east of Turtle 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? 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 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 A Alittle bit, yes. 16 he's been elected to determine whether he was the 16 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

20

Is that fair?

25 for 2022 as well, right?

A If it's possible. You know, I would

Q And if there's a consistent pattern of

24 choice, then you would expect that to be the case

23 him being the Native American voters' candidate of

21 have to see if it were possible in the past.

19 close to 100 percent white?

25 Americans.

A Well, from my memory, this is what I

21 would say, you know, outside of the reservation in

22 that particular legislative district, in the areas

23 right around the reservation, the rest of the

24 district does not contain many, if any, Native

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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 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.
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
23 in the 2016 election?	23 a subdistrict where there's not been statistical
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,
1 the candidate of choice of Native American voters	1 in your report, make any criticism of
	2 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of Subdistricts 9A or
2 in the region.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 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 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	14 100 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 Liust don't know	25 defeat rate for that for endogenous elections

25 or not. I just don't know.

25 defeat rate for that -- for endogenous elections

	13, 2023
57	59
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 Q And then they combine that together with
8 subdistrict.	8 the precinct boundaries as set by the local
9 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
12 100 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	17 93.7 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 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 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?	
The state of the s	122 Does that seem fair?
123 A Yes.	Does that seem fair? A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to
23 A Yes. 24 O And do you	23 A Again, I mean, I'm just going to have to
 23 A Yes. 24 Q And do you 25 A I've not used it for a court case. 	

61 63 1 rigorous statistical testing that we usually go THE WITNESS: I do want to just clarify 2 through in these types of cases. I mean, my position on that last line of questioning in 3 sometimes the data are just not there to make that I think it's very important to be able to 4 inferences with. statistically determine, using rigorous testing, Q In your report in the Walen case, you who the candidate of choice is for various groups. 6 reached the conclusion, based on six statewide BY MR. GABER: elections, that Native American voters in Q But nevertheless, in your Walen report, District 9A were able to elect their candidates of 8 you found it reliable and sufficient to draw the inferences, given the clear pattern in the choice. 10 Am I right about that? 10 district as a whole with respect to District 9? MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent 11 A Yes. 11 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to the extent 12 that reference to the Walen report is outside of 13 that it is outside of Dr. Hood's opinion and work 13 Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case. I'll 14 in this case. 14 just have a standing objection on that line of Q How did you make that determination? 15 questioning. A Well, I think I specifically said I was A I did do that in that particular matter, 17 making an inference from District 9 at large, and 17 and perhaps I should have relied more on 18 you apply that to the subdistrict. 18 statistical testing before I made those inferences O And the inference there was that the 19 as well. So ... 20 Democratic candidate was the candidate of choice Q But nevertheless, you made those 21 of Native American voters in District 9, and so, 21 inferences, and that's your opinion in that 22 therefore, it stood to reason that that person was 22 report, correct? 23 the candidate of choice in District 9A as well, 23 A Yes, it is. 24 correct? Q And you don't see any evidence to 25 suggest that those inferences are wrong, right? 25 A That was the inference I was making, 62 64 A Well, again, not necessarily wrong, but 1 yes. And do you stand by that inference? 2 based on, you know, my own position, which I don't A Well, it's in writing, so I have to, think has changed over the years, that sort of 4 yes. mandates more rigorous statistical testing, you Q And so applying that same inference to 5 know, maybe I shouldn't have gone that far in that 6 Dr. Collingwood's report, we would reach the particular -- making that inference in that 7 conclusion that -- we can infer that the particular matter, I guess. So... 8 Democratic candidate in these races for the state Q We can talk about it a little bit. I 9 senate and the state house is the Native American 9 don't think you should be so down on yourself. If 10 candidate of choice, and the Republican candidate 10 you -- if all of the Native American voters are 11 is the white voters' candidate of choice, correct? 11 concentrated in one part of District 9 as a whole, 12 A Correct. 12 and we're able to apply the statistical analysis O And so, therefore, Marvin Nelson, in 13 to the district as a whole, then the component 14 District 9B, would be the Native American 14 parts must add up to that district as a whole, 15 candidate of choice, correct? 15 right? A Well, he would be the Democratic A True, they do add up. But as I talked 17 candidate, correct. So yes. 17 about previously, sometimes we don't know how they Q And his white Republican opponent in 18 add up under the surface. 19 that election would be the white voters' candidate Q Given the high level of polarization 20 of choice in District 9B? 20 that Dr. Collingwood reports and that you find 21 A Correct. 21 with respect to Native American voting preferences 22 MR. GABER: Let's take a break now. 22 in District 9 as a whole, it would be surprising 23 (Recess from 11:53 a.m. until 12:09 23 if the data showed the opposite within either of 24 p.m.) 24 the subdistricts, right? 25 MR. GABER: Let's go back on the record. 25 A Well, that would be counter to the

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February 13, 2023 65 67 1 pattern uncovered at the district level. That's 1 to really make an inference from that. So... true. I can say that. Q But nevertheless, you would give greater Q Okay. And would you agree with me that weight to that -- when you're looking individually 4 it would be unlikely that the subdistricts would at each election, you would give significantly have a different voting pattern than the district greater weight to the endogenous election, to the extent it points in a different direction than the as a whole? MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for exogenous election? A I think someone like the Court would be speculation. 9 better positioned to do that than I would, A Again, I guess this is where I -- you 10 know, it's difficult to make inferences without 10 necessarily. So... Q And so the Court would need to be the 11 testing. 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? MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a A I made that inference, yes. 15 legal conclusion. Q Now, given that endogenous elections, 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 So I typically don't -- I guess what I'm 23 methodologically correct? 23 saying is, as a political scientist, I typically 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 Q If there's a limit to the number of 1 2 global stats that I do in this report that I endogenous elections and there are more recent 3 turned in. So... exogenous elections available, you would agree Q But in terms of interpreting the that the better approach -- or a good approach 5 election results, the proper methodology is to would be to go to those first because they have 6 accord greater weight to the endogenous elections, more probative value than more distant exogenous 7 the elections featuring Native American elections, correct? candidates, and the more recent elections. A Yeah. I mean, typically, in these kinds 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 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 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. A Well, I can't speak for the Court,

20 issue we have sometimes in vote dilution cases of

21 how many, you know, endogenous elections there are

22 to compare with the rest of the elections out

19 but -- and again, this sort of gets into another

23 there.

24 If there's -- I'm just saying

25 hypothetically, if there's two, then that's hard

17 closer to today? A Yes, as we've discussed, yes. I think 19 that's fair. 20 Q Now, if the endogenous election and the 21 more recent exogenous elections and the elections

22 in which there are Native American candidates of

24 finding, and the less probative elections point in

25 the opposite direction, then the Court would need

23 choice point in favor of a Gingles prong 3

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70

1 to consider more probative, in your view, or
2 academics would need to consider more probative
3 the elections pointing in favor of a Gingles
4 prong 3 conclusion.
5 Is that a fair statement?
6 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation,
7 calls for a legal conclusion, and object to form.
8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I

8 A So this is -- I guess this is what I
9 would say. As a researcher, you know, looking
10 into a vote dilution matter, I would make a
11 determination of what elections I'm going to
12 analyze up front.

13 And, you know, I don't disagree, legally
14 speaking, that some elections may be more
15 probative than others. But a researcher has
16 chosen a set of elections, and you can't just pick
17 and choose at that point which ones are going to

18 be included or not.

19 So if -- we have to, like -- you know,
20 if we're going to make an argument not to include
21 certain elections in our analysis that we've
22 already analyzed, or we're saying that they're
23 less probative for whatever, I mean, that's really
24 a matter for the Court to weigh, if that makes
25 sense.

cases more or less weight, then yes. But at that
 point, that's the Court making that determination,

3 not a researcher.

Q And the Court, in doing so, would be following, however, the generally accepted methodology, which, as we've discussed, involves placing, I think in your words, far greater weight on endogenous elections and more probative value to more recent elections and to racially contested elections, right?

A Yeah. I don't disagree with those

11 A Yeah. I don't disagree with those 12 points, as we've discussed. I've written about 13 that academically, in fact. So...

14 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood, in his report, 15 though he presented the -- all of the election 16 results from 2014 to 2022 for the statewide 17 contests reconstituted in the new districts, did 18 provide opinion and discussion about how to 19 interpret that for purposes of Gingles prong 3, 20 given the differences in the probative value of

21 different types of elections.22 Do you recall reading that?

23 A He provided some -- he provided some 24 context, yes.

25 Q And you don't -- in your report, you

1 Q So another way of saying that is that
2 that's a factual determination about how much
3 probative value to give each particular election?
4 A Yes. That's not something I think I can
5 do or any other researcher can do necessarily. I
6 mean, Prof. Collingwood chose these races to
7 analyze, and yes, within that subset, some may be
8 more probative than others, as we've discussed. I
9 don't disagree with that.

10 But nevertheless, he analyzed all these 11 races, and so they should be included in the 12 prong 3 component of the Gingles analysis. I 13 guess that's what I would say. So...

14 Q And the question then is how much weight 15 to give each particular election in terms of what 16 it says about whether white voters are usually 17 defeating the Native preferred candidates.

18 A Yes. Which is, I think, outside the 19 scope of what I normally would do personally.

20 Q But in order to make a determination 21 about whether Gingles prong 3 is satisfied or not, 22 that's a necessary part of that determination, 23 right, how much probative value to give the

24 individual elections?

25 A Well, if a court decided to give certain

1 didn't dispute any of that, correct?

2 A I don't think I disputed it directly. I 3 may have disputed it indirectly in the way that I

4 treated that set of races that he analyzed.

5 Q And that was by equally weighing the 6 races that he analyzed, correct?

A That's correct.

Q But as we've discussed, the Court will

9 have to ferret out what probative value to give

10 those races to make a Gingles prong 3 conclusion,

11 right?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And it's your view that, given the

14 differing probative values that should be afforded

15 different types of elections, you can't make that

16 Gingles prong 3 determination for the Court,

17 correct?

18 A Well, I mean, yes, that's correct.

19 So, you know, a similar example would be

20 hypothetically, and I'm speaking just

21 hypothetically here, if we had two experts in a

22 particular vote dilution case like this present

23 the Court with two different sets of elections

24 they had analyzed, maybe some overlap in a Venn

25 diagram, but some don't, same thing. The Court

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

February 13, 2023

1 would have to determine which elections analyzed

- 2 by those researchers were more probative than the
- 3 others.
- Q And that type of determination is
- 5 probably all the more important when there's mixed
- 6 signals, right, where the endogenous, the more
- 7 recent, and the racially contested elections, say,
- 8 point in favor of white bloc voting, and the other
- 9 types of elections that are given less probative
- 10 weight point in the other direction. That's a
- 11 factual determination for the Court to make with
- 12 respect to Gingles prong 3?
- 13 A I would say --
- MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a 14
- 15 legal conclusion.
- A I would say that the Court would have to 17 make that determination.
- Q You don't have any reason -- or you
- 19 don't, in your report, dispute Dr. Collingwood's
- 20 conclusion that within District 9 as a whole, the
- 2.1 elections in which there's a Native American
- 22 candidate, that the Native American candidate is
- 23 defeated in 60 percent of those contests.
- 24 Is that right?
- 25 A I don't remember that fact in

- Q How did you select those six contests?
- A Well, they were from -- not 2022, but
- when I had been working on those, 2022 had not
- occurred yet. And so they were recent, you know,
- 2020, 2018, high-profile statewide elections, even
- though I was sort of cutting it down to the
- district, you know.
- 8 But that's how I choose those elections.
- And they were some of the same elections,
- 10 obviously, that Dr. Collingwood had also utilized.
- Q Am I correct that none of the six that
- 12 you chose for the Walen report included elections
- 13 in which there was a Native American candidate on
- 14 the ballot?
- 15 A I don't think so.
- Q You don't think I'm correct, or you 16
- 17 don't think --
- 18 A No, I think you're correct. I don't
- 19 think I did.
- 20 Q Is there a particular reason why you
- 21 didn't analyze the 2022 elections?
- 22 A Just time.
- 23 Q Now, you don't dispute, I believe,
- 24 Dr. Collingwood's analysis of the 2022 elections
- 25 reconstituted into the District 9.

1 particular, just sitting here. I did not dispute 2 it in my report, I can say that.

- Q Okay. And in your report in the Walen
- 4 case, you analyzed six elections to -- six
- statewide elections to reach your conclusion.
- 6 Is that right?
 - A That's correct.
- MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object to this line
- 9 of questioning in a standing objection, outside 10 the scope.
- Q And that was a sufficient number, you
- 12 thought, to reach your conclusion regarding vote
- 13 dilution there?
- A That's how many I got done. You know,
- 15 certainly, I probably would have wanted to have
- 16 done more. That's how many I got completed. Some
- 17 of this is pretty time-intensive sometimes. So...
- Q But as a methodological matter, you were
- 19 able to draw a conclusion from six elections? A Well, that's how many elections were
- 21 utilized in that report, that's true.
- Q And you felt comfortable reaching that
- 23 conclusion?
- A I probably would have liked to have
- 25 gotten more done, to be honest.

- Am I right about that? 1
 - A Well, he used the same method he had
 - used previously for the, you know, subsequent
 - election cycles that were before that. So...
 - 5 And again, as we've talked about,
 - there's different ways to do that. And that's
 - certainly one of the ways that some researchers
 - utilize.

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- 9 Q So -- and there's eight elections that
- 10 he reports for 2022.
- Do you recall that? 11
- 12 A I think that's correct.
- O And that includes -- one of those is an
- 14 endogenous race for the state senate district
- 15 itself, right?
- A That's correct. That's correct. 16
- 17 Q And in all eight of those contests from
- 18 2022, the Native American preferred candidate
- 19 loses District 9 as a whole.
- 20 Is that your recollection?
- A I don't remember. I believe that's
- 22 correct. I mean, we could look at it again.
- Q Yeah. If we want to pull up, again,
- 24 it's TM Collingwood expert report which we have
- 25 not marked as an exhibit, and may not until the

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77		79
1 end.	1 elections featured special circumstances that	
2 And it's page 17 of the PDF. So if you	2 caution against equally weighing them or	
3 go to the far right tab at the top there, TM	3 potentially weighing them at all.	
4 Collingwood, page 17, and then show that graphic.	4 Do you recall that discussion?	
5 So you see the full District 9 is	5 A I do. I do.	
6 reported on the far left column, and the Native	6 Q In your report, you don't dispute that,	
7 American preferred candidate is shown in blue, the	7 correct?	
8 white preferred candidate is shown in green.	8 A Not directly. Again, I guess indirectly	
9 Do you see that the white preferred	9 dispute that by including the elections. I don't	
10 candidate wins all eight elections within the	10 really agree with his respectfully agree with	
11 bounds of District 9 for the 2022 elections?	11 his line of reasoning about 2018.	
12 A Yes, I do.	12 Q You don't express that opinion in your	
13 Q So this is actually more elections than	13 report, correct, other than to	
14 you analyzed in your Walen report, correct?	14 A Not directly, no.	
15 A Correct.	15 Q So you haven't studied the 2018	
16 Q And so on the basis of this, we could	16 North Dakota elections, correct?	
17 reach the opposite conclusion that you reached in	17 A Not specifically, no. Well, I mean,	
18 your Walen report with respect to Gingles prong 3	18 outside of what I've done and disclosed in this	
19 in District 9 as a whole?	19 case and the other case that we're discussing,	
20 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form, calls for	20 clearly.	
21 speculation.	21 Q Right. So the extent of your study was	
22 A Well, I haven't analyzed these	22 to gather the election data and report it for	
23 specifically. But, you know, on its face, yes.	23 2018?	
24 Q Now, in addition to the varying we	24 A And analyze it, I would say, yes.	
25 can take this down for a moment so we can see each	25 Q And by "analyze," you mean analyze the	
78		80
1 other better.	1 results in terms of what the numbers report the	
2 In addition to the varying probative	2 vote totals report within the district?	
3 values that different types of election contests	3 A Well, I mean, the racially polarized	
4 have, when we when an academic is analyzing	4 voting analysis is part of that.	
5 vote dilution cases with respect to Gingles	5 Q Right. I guess what I mean is, you	
6 prong 3, it's also possible that certain elections	6 didn't study anything about the underlying	
7 could be characterized by special circumstances	7 campaigns or the voter turnout. I take that back.	
8 that make them less relevant to the determination.	8 You did actually look at the voter	
9 Do you agree with that?	9 turnout, right?	
10 A Well, again, we've talked about what may	10 A Correct.	
11 make an election more or less probative. And I	11 Q But you didn't analyze the facts	
12 stand by that.	12 surrounding the campaigns or why that might have	
13 I think, as a researcher, if you're	13 affected the turnout.	
14 going to include an election, you know, it's more	14 Is that correct?	
15 of a statistical matter at that point as opposed	15 A That's fair.	
16 to assigning some kind of qualitative factors to	16 Q And you didn't study any of the	
17 the race to increase its significance or decrease	17 get-out-the-vote efforts for the 2018 elections?	
18 it. That's not typically what I do. So	18 A No, I did not.	
19 Q You understand, though, that courts, in	19 Q Are you familiar with any of the	
20 reviewing the presence of Gingles prong 3, part of	20 get-out-the-vote efforts that occurred during the	
21 the test is whether the election has the absence	21 2018 elections in North Dakota?	
22 of special circumstances, correct?	22 A Well, just from what I've read.	
23 A Correct.	23 Q And what have you read?	
24 Q Now, Dr. Collingwood in his report talks	24 A Well, that there was a larger effort on	
25 about the 2018 elections and discusses that those	25 the with Native Americans, especially in terms	

81 83 1 of that kind of effort in that election cycle. Q And then let's pull up Exhibit 3, which That's my understanding, sitting here. is the 2020 presidential election. Q And is that from Dr. Collingwood's And do you see that the Native American 4 report, or did you have independent awareness of turnout in District 9 dropped from over 60 percent that? to 38.9 percent? A Probably from his report. A Correct. By those estimates, yes. 6 Q Beyond reading what Dr. Collingwood O And at the same time, in the 2020 8 wrote, have you done any other examination to test presidential election, we see that white turnout 9 whether or not you think there were unique and other turnout ticked up slightly in the 2020 10 circumstances in the 2018 election in North 10 presidential election compared to the 2018 11 Dakota? 11 election. 12 A No. 12 A Correct. 13 Q So you're not offering an opinion one 13 Q Can you identify -- or does any example 14 way or the other whether there were special 14 come to mind anywhere else in the country where 15 circumstances that made it unique from another 15 you've seen a particular group have over 16 election or the usual election in North Dakota? 16 20 percent higher turnout -- or 20 percentage A Well, not outside of the generic things 17 points more turnout in a midterm election than in 18 I've said about, you know, including or not 18 a presidential election? 19 including elections, for instance. A I mean, I can't think of an example, Q Now, as a political scientist, I assume 20 just sitting here. 21 you agree with this statement, that voter turnout 21 Q You study elections frequently, right? 22 is typically higher in presidential elections than 22 A I do, yes. 23 it is in midterm elections. 23 Q That's what you do all day long? 24 24 A Most of the time, yes. A Some days. 25 Q And it's pretty unusual for more voters 25 So it's 20 percentage points higher 82 84 1 to turn out in a midterm election than turn out in turnout in 2018 for Native Americans in the 2 a presidential election? district than in 2020. A Most of the time, yes, that's true. I'm That's unusual, right? 4 just saying that generically. 4 A Well, I mean, as a general Q Right. It would not be the usual fact proposition -- I mean, I haven't -- this is the 6 pattern to encounter higher turnout in a midterm only study I've done of this particular election than in a presidential election? legislative district and turnout. A Not typically. That's correct. As we discussed, as a general Q Now I want to go back a little bit to 9 proposition, among most groups, you know, turnout 10 Exhibits 3 and 4, which are the calculations of 10 in presidential elections is typically higher than 11 the voter turnout for District 9 that you did for 11 midterm elections. 12 the 2018 and the 2020 elections. And let's start Q And I'm going to ask you to do a little 13 math with me again. 13 with Exhibit 3 to refresh our recollection. And again, this -- I don't remember 14 A Okay. 15 whether this is Exhibit 3 or 4, but what I do know 15 Q So it's 20 percentage points higher, but 16 it is is the 2018 U.S. Senate election data that 16 we can calculate the percentage increase, right, 17 was reconstituted in the new District 9 and your 17 if we take the -- let's see here. Going to the 18 other exhibit, the Exhibit 4, which is the 2018. 18 internal analysis. Is that right? So if we take the difference between 19 20 A Yes. 20 Native turnout in 2018, 3493, and then subtract Q So in the midterm 2018 election, we see 21 the Native turnout in 2020, which is 2250, we see 22 that Native American voters in District 9 turned 22 that, as a raw number, there's 1,243 more 23 out at a rate of 60.4 percent compared to 68.3 for 23 estimated Native Americans who turned out in 2018 24 white voters and 49.8 for other, right? 24 in District 9 than turned out in 2020? 25 A That's correct. 25 Is that correct?

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85	87
1 A Yes.	1 midterm to the presidential election for this
2 Q And then if we divide 1243 by the 2020	2 district?
3 turnout, which is 2250, we see that there's a	3 A Well, again, I would agree that
4 55 percent higher turnout rate among Native	4 typically turnout in presidential election years
5 American voters in the 2018 midterm than there was	5 is higher than in midterm years, for most groups.
6 in the 2020 presidential election in District 9.	6 Q Actually, that was the case for in
7 Does that did I do that right?	7 District 9 for white voters and for other voters,
8 A Well, I mean, I guess there are	8 right?
9 different ways to do this. If you're calculating	9 A Yes.
10 a rate of increase or decrease, it's it would	10 Q And sitting here, you're not able to
11 be 2020 minus 2018 divided by 2018.	11 think of another example elsewhere in the country
So, I mean, that's how I would calculate	12 where you've seen a turnout difference that high
13 a rate of increase or decrease.	13 where the midterm turnout among a racial group is
14 Q So you would take say that again.	14 so much higher than it was in a presidential
15 You would take 2020 minus 2018?	15 election?
16 A Right.	16 A Well, I can't recall an example. That
17 Q And is that because 2020 happened after	17 doesn't mean that there's not one that exists, but
18 2018?	18 I can't recall of one.
19 A Yes.	19 Q And you would agree that given the fact
20 Q You see what I'm getting, like, that	20 that courts that study vote dilution cases or
21 would be a negative number, then, right?	21 that adjudicate vote dilution cases are tasked
22 A Well, it is a negative rate of increase	22 with determining whether special circumstances
23 because turnout	23 make a certain election or set of elections ones
24 Q Decreased.	24 that should not be given great weight, that this
25 A I mean, it just did.	25 is the type of information that would be relevant
1 Q So but it's correct	1 to that determination?
2 A It would be a negative. It would be a	2 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
3 negative in that case. That would be correct,	3 legal conclusion.
4 though.	4 A I would agree that's the Court's
5 Q Okay. But it is also correct to say	5 decision to weigh, yes.
6 that the turnout in 2018 among Native American	6 Q And would you agree that your own
7 voters was 50 percent higher than it was in the	7 analysis shows significant evidence that should
8 2020 presidential election?	8 the Court should consider, this unusual pattern of
9 A So it's 60.4, and what was the other	9 turnout with respect to the 2018 election for
10 Q 38.9 percent.	10 Native American voters in District 9?
11 A Okay. So what did you how did you	11 A Well, it shows a turnout differential,
12 want to calculate this, I guess?	12 that's true. It's in black-and-white numbers
13 Q What I did is the raw number of Native	13 here.
14 American voters in 2018 minus the raw number in	14 Q And that's those numbers are relevant
15 2020 to get the difference. And then I divided by	15 to the ultimate Gingles prong 3 determination?
16 the total number in 2020 to see what the	16 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
17 percentage increase is.	17 legal conclusion.
· ·	
19 the percentage. We have the turnout rate, or at	19 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as
20 least an estimate of that. So	20 Exhibit 6 the file that's titled Hood Notes.
21 Q So it should be the same either way,	21 (Exhibit Hood-6 marked for
22 right? It's a 55 percent increase?	22 identification and attached to the transcript.)
23 A Yeah.	23 BY MR. GABER:
24 Q You would agree that that's a pretty	Q Do you recognize these as some of your
25 striking and unusual characteristic, comparing the	25 notes that you produced in this case?

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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 A It should be, yes.	8 looked at in the in your Walen report?	
9 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?	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	23 map:	92
1 Q And that would include a mix of at least	1 A Yes.)2
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 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 A 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	_	
19 most recent three election cycles, the white		
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?	Would you agree with that?	
23 A That would be correct.	23 A Yes.	
24 Q And that's we said is that 21	Q It's nearly 80	
25 contests, right?	25 (Reporter interruption.)	

95

73	75
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 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 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	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?	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.	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?
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97	99
1 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection.	1 Gingles prong 3 being present that the white
2 A Well, I would just say that the district	2 preferred candidate is usually defeating the
3 under challenge, I did look at it.	3 Native preferred candidate?
4 Q Okay. But let's take my proposition and	4 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a
5 assume that's true. And I think you've said you	5 legal conclusion.
6 didn't necessarily disagree with that, right?	6 A In 9 and 9B added together, yes.
7 A Correct.	7 Q Okay. Now, you understand, based on our
8 Q And if we exclude District 9A, the	8 discussion earlier did you review the Complaint
9 allegedly packed district, and look just at	9 and the supplemental Complaint that were filed by
10 District 9 and District 9B in combination, then	10 plaintiffs in this case?
11 there are across the five analyzed years, there	11 A I probably did. I can't tell you that I
12 are is it 72 total elections?	12 can remember much from it.
13 A I guess it would be.	13 Q But you understand and you did some
14 Q And among those 72 elections, the Native	14 analysis or rather, you reviewed
15 preferred candidate wins 30, and the white	15 Dr. Collingwood's analysis and understand that
16 preferred candidate wins 40.	16 District 15, the neighboring district, is also
17 Is that correct? Or 42, rather.	17 part of the claim in this case, right?
18 A Yes. 40, right? If I'm looking at this	18 A Yes, yes.
19 right.	19 Q And to the extent that plaintiffs claim,
20 Q Maybe it's 40. So it's I'm just	20 which I can represent it is, is about vote
21 trying to help myself do math here.	21 dilution as a regional matter, and not with regard
So there's 23 Native you counted 23	22 to, you know, the particular district lines,
23 Native victories in LD 9. And is that 7 in 9B?	23 because the challenge is to the lines, one could
24 A Yes, looks like 7 to me.	24 also add in District 15's results to District 9
25 Q So that's 30 for the Native preferred	25 and District 9B to get a full picture of the
98	100
candidates. And there's there are 72	1 racially polarized voting and the Gingles prong 3
2 elections. Maybe it's the case we're trying to	2 factors for the whole challenged area, correct?
get at whether it's 40 or 42 victories for the	3 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form,
4 white preferred candidate. It's possible that	4 compound question.
5 those are the two elections that didn't feature a	5 Q That was very compound. Let me break it
6 racially polarized voting, perhaps. But	6 down.
7 (Cross-talk.)	7 So to the extent given that
8 A I don't think those two races are being	8 plaintiffs are challenging the regional drawing of
9 counted in this table I drew out by hand.	9 the districts, then it would be it would make
10 Q Okay. So then it would be 42 contests	10 sense to as you did to some extent, to add
11 in which the white preferred candidate prevailed	11 together the challenged election results from both
12 when we sum up District 9 and District 9B, and 30	12 Districts 9 and 15?
13 in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed?	13 A Well, I mean, one could make that
14 A I believe that's correct, yes.	14 argument. I don't know that two I mean, we're
15 Q So that would be 58 percent of the time	15 using this term "region." I don't know that two
16 when we look at the districts that are alleged to	16 legislative districts are a region, per se.
17 have too little Native population to provide an	17 I mean, you can do what you're saying,
18 equal opportunity to elect; 58 percent of the	18 certainly. I mean, it's just a matter of
19 time, the white preferred candidate is winning,	19 arithmetic.
20 and 42 percent of the time, the Native preferred	20 Q And given the results that you saw in
21 candidate is winning.	21 given what we just saw with respect to District 9
Is that correct?	22 and District 9B, if we add in the results in
23 A Based on those calculations, that would	23 District 15, there's an even stronger indication
24 be correct, yes.	24 of the presence of Gingles prong 3 using that
25 Q And that would be indicative of a	25 approach, correct?

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

February 13, 2023 101 103 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form, calls for A I would have to honestly look at that. 2 speculation. I'm sure I would include some of the statewide A From what I remember in terms of the races. Probably the -- probably LD 9 as a whole. outcome of those races in LD 15, yes. Q So the 2022 LD 9 endogenous election is Q And, in fact, in your report, you don't one that you would have included? dispute that Gingles prong 3 exists in LD 15, A Yes, probably so. correct? Q The 2022 public service commissioner 8 8 race had a Native American candidate, Ms. Moniz. A Correct. Q Now, in your notes, you have the 2022 9 Is that an election that it would have made sense 10 election results. I think it's perhaps the 10 to include? 11 page -- let's see -- it's Bates stamped 0252, and A I certainly would have considered that 11 12 it would be pages 9 to 10 of the PDF, I believe. 12 factor, yes. 13 So you see here on page 9, you write Q There were statewide elections for the 14 down the general election results for the 2022 14 U.S. Senate in 2022 and the U.S. House in 2022. 15 election in District 9, 9A, and 9B? 15 Would those be ones that would have made sense to 16 Do you see that? 16 include? 17 A Yes, yes. 17 A Probably so. I mean, probably the Q And then on page -- well, just stick 18 senate race. 19 with this page. Is there a reason why you didn't 19 O Not the house race? 20 include this most recent and endogenous election 20 A Well, again, I didn't do this, so I will 21 results in your Walen report? 21 just say that I certainly would have included some MR. PHILLIPS: Objection. To the extent 22 statewide races. In the case of North Dakota, the 23 it applies to the Walen case, it's outside the 23 house is a statewide race. So... 24 scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case. Q I think you had included the 2018 A I did not get to a full analysis. I 25 Attorney General race. 102 104 1 mean, these are just some notes I took down off of Is that right? 1 2 the Secretary of State's election website. I did 2 A Yes, I think that's correct. 3 not -- I will state, I did not perform any kind of O I assume it would have made sense, then, 4 statistical analysis on the 2022 elections. to also include the 2022 Attorney General race? Q The reason for that was just simply a 5 A Yes, and perhaps the gubernatorial race. 6 matter of the timing you had available before you Q I can tell you, North Dakota elects the 7 had to submit the report? governor in the presidential cycle. A Yes, yes. A Okay. Well, scratch that, then. Q And do you agree that it would have been Q So then the other option is the 2022

9 Q And do you agree that it would have been 10 preferable to include all of the 2022 elections in

11 that report, given that they're the most recent

12 and some of them contain endogenous elections

13 including endogenous elections with Native

14 American candidates?

15 A Well, as we discussed, they certainly 16 are the most recent set of elections held, yes.

17 Q And your report would have been more 18 complete or would have been more fulsome had it 19 added in these -- the eight 2022 contests for 20 District 9?

21 A Well, I don't know that I would have 22 done eight. I mean, Prof. Collingwood did eight.

23 But some 2022 elections.

24 Q Which of the 2022 elections would you 25 have included, if you had had time?

10 agricultural commissioner race, there was a second

11 public service commissioner race in addition to

12 the one that featured the Native American

13 candidate, and the secretary of state rate race.

14 Are there any among those that you have

15 any reason to believe that you would not have

16 included?

17 A I don't know that I would or wouldn't

18 have included some of those other races. I guess

19 it would just depend. So...

20 Q What would it depend on?

21 A Well, I mean, usually, if I'm doing a

22 statewide race, I would probably start out with

23 the higher profile statewide races like U.S.

24 Senate, for instance. So...

25 Q So just so I can get a sense here, the

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1 U.S. Senate race, you definitely would include	1 how I would go about doing this. That's what we
2 that?	2 were talking about.
3 A Well, I guess if we were going back in	3 Q So I have the U.S. Senate race from
4 time, yes.	4 2022, the Attorney General race from 2022, the
5 Q And you included the U.S. Senate race	5 endogenous District 9 election, and then we also
6 from 2018, right?	6 discussed that the statewide race featuring the
7 A Yes.	7 Native American candidate for the public service
8 Q So there's no reason not to include the	8 commission would also be one that would be one to
9 2022?	9 include.
10 A No. Certainly, if I had included a race	10 Is that right?
11 from a previous analysis, from a previous election	11 A Probably in that case, yes. I'm
12 cycle, I probably would include it again. As long	12 assuming, without knowing, that that was a
13 as it's contested. I mean, we don't learn a lot	13 two-party contested race.
14 from uncontested races in these types of analyses.	14 Q It was, yes. The Republican candidate
15 So	15 prevailed statewide, and then the Democratic
16 Q And do you understand from	16 candidate was Ms. Moniz, the Native American.
17 Dr. Collingwood's report that all of these	So that would be one to include? Did
18 eight or sorry seven statewide elections	18 you agree that that would be one to include?
19 from 2022 were contested that he included?	19 A Yes, yes.
20 A I think in 2022, there were, yes. I	20 Q What about the Secretary of State
21 guess I would say I typically use a two-party	21 position?
22 contested. So, you know, there's a Democrat and	22 A You know, certainly, it would be a
23 Republican candidate running.	23 possibility if it's two-party contested.
24 Q Okay. So the U.S. House race, my	24 Q And it was.
25 understanding, featured an independent candidate	25 A Okay.
106	108
1 who had the backing of the Democratic party.	1 Q So that would be one to include as well?
2 Does that match your understanding?	2 A Well, it would be one to consider
3 A Well, it's not these are choices that	3 including, certainly.
4 a researcher is going to make. Again, I probably	4 Q Any reason you can think of not to
5 would not have included that if there was an	5 include it?
6 independent candidate versus it being two-party	6 A Well, I mean, we're moving down ballot
7 contested.	7 at this point. So
8 Q But what if the RPV analysis showed that	8 Q So if we had done as we just discussed
9 that candidate was the candidate of choice of the	9 and added the 2022 U.S. Senate, the 2022 Attorney
10 Native American voters in the district?	10 General, the endogenous District 9 state senate
11 A Well, it could. But I mean, I'm making	11 election, and the public service commissioner
12 decisions about what races to analyze up front, I	12 election featuring the Native American candidate,
13 mean, is the way I do it.	13 that would add four additional races to the six
14 Q So you start by excluding races that	14 that you analyzed in the Walen report.
15 don't have a Democratic or Republican candidate?	15 Is that right?
16 A I typically I think I've been pretty	16 A Yes.
17 consistent in these types of analyses in saying	17 Q And do you understand, from
18 that I typically don't include races that aren't	18 Dr. Collingwood's report, that the Native
19 two-party contested.	19 preferred candidates lost all four of those 2022
20 Q But you agree, right, that if there is a	20 elections?
21 clear candidate of choice and racially polarized	21 A According to his report, yes.
22 candidates of choice in an election that doesn't	22 Q And you don't have any reason to dispute
23 have both political parties represented, there's	23 that?
24 nothing wrong with including that?	24 A Well, I don't have any reason to dispute
25 A I didn't say that. I'm just telling you	25 the calculations that he made. Again, I guess I
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February 13, 2023 109 111 had a little more detailed calculation I would 1 elections, then that would show 60 percent defeat make at that stage. So... rate for the Native American preferred candidates Q In your Walen report, you found that of in District 9? 4 the six elections that you analyzed, that the A Well, if I went -- again, with the Native preferred candidate won four of those six. caveat that I went through the same exercise and Is that your recollection? made my calculations and came to the same A That's my recollection sitting here, conclusion he did, then yes. 8 yes. Q And a 60 percent defeat rate for Native Q And so the Native preferred candidate preferred candidates would constitute usually 10 would have lost two of them, right, won four and 10 being defeated by white bloc voting, correct? 11 lost two? A Well, I guess it would meet the A Right. Yes, yes. 12 definition of more typically than not. 13 Q So if we were to add the elections that Q And that's the definition that you apply 14 we discussed that you agreed would make sense to 14 to your Gingles prong 3 analysis? 15 add from 2022, that would be six elections in A Correct, yes. 16 which Native preferred candidates lost and the Q Now, when we discussed that if you add 17 four elections in which the Native preferred 17 District 9 and District 9B together, the districts 18 candidate won in District 9, correct? 18 that are alleged to have insufficient voting 19 population for Native American voters, and we A Well, again, the losses are based on 20 Prof. Collingwood's report. I mean, I would, 20 found that 42 out of the 72 elections, the white 21 again, go through my calculations, as we detailed 21 preferred candidates prevailed -- do you recall 22 in the spreadsheets, before -- I mean, I could 22 that exercise we did just before this one? 23 come to the same conclusion; I might not. So... 23 A Yes. Q Well, assume for me that Dr. Collingwood 24 Q That was just equally weighing each 25 has accurately determined for the 2022 elections 25 election, right? So from 2016 -- or rather, 110 112 1 which candidate would have prevailed in equally weighing each election across all five years? 2 District 9. Assuming he's correct about that, 2 3 then that would yield six elections for your -- to 3 A That's correct. 4 add to your -- six total elections in which the 4 Q And so if we were to give more weight to 5 Native preferred candidate lost in the district, the more recent 2022 elections, more weight to the 6 and the four elections that you already reported elections in which there was Native American 7 in which the Native preferred candidate prevailed, candidates, and more weight to the endogenous 8 correct? elections, then the evidence showing white bloc 9 voting usually defeating the Native preferred A Correct. Q And so that would be 60 percent of the 10 candidates would be even greater, correct? 11 time, the white preferred candidate would have A If you subset those elections based on 11 12 defeated the Native preferred candidate in the 12 those criteria, then I believe that's correct. 13 district? Q For 9 and 9B together, it's 42 out of 72 A Well, under those calculations, yes. I 14 where the white preferred candidate wins, 15 mean, with the caveat that I didn't do that. 15 including all of the 2018 elections that 16 Dr. Collingwood has opined feature special 16 So... 17 Q So the caveat is that -- is whether or 17 circumstances that warrant excluding them? 18 not Dr. Collingwood is correct about the results. A If we were not excluding those, yes. I 19 But you agree that it would make sense to add 19 mean, I think we came to those calculations. I 20 those elections to the analysis you already 20 don't disagree with the calculations as they were 21 conducted? 21 made in that exercise. So... A I would agree they could be added, O And if we were --23 certainly, yes. A The numerical result of those

25

24 calculations. So...

Q If we were to take out the 2018

Q And to the extent Dr. Collingwood is

25 right about who won in District 9 in those 2022

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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 people were thinking exactly. So... 3 of 72 that we see including those elections, Q Doesn't that just -- isn't it just 4 right? purely logical? So if what you did glean was that A If we took out 2018, there would be they believed they needed to draw the subdistrict fewer Native preferred candidates who would have to comply with the Voting Rights Act and the won under those criteria, so yes. subdistricts are a portion of the full districts, MR. GABER: I think this is a good time the only reason to do that would be because there was concern that the full district would not for us to break. 10 (Recess from 1:25 p.m. until 2:02 p.m.) 10 provide an opportunity and, therefore, there MR. GABER: Back on the record. 11 11 needed to be at least one state house seat, or 12 BY MR. GABER: 12 there was that opportunity. 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? A I did. Thank you. MR. PHILLIPS: I'll object that it 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. A Well, you know, splitting the 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 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 a lot of cases, I guess there are many different 2 opinion and work on this case. possibilities or permutations. A Well, I mean, all I have to rely on in But if you draw a subdistrict like the 4 regard to that particular question is the legislature did or the redistricting committee 5 legislative record and the transcripts I read from did, then you're certainly going to increase the 6 meetings that were held with the redistricting odds that a Native American candidate of choice 7 committee and various groups around the state. can be elected from a subdistrict. And I mean, again, this is just my 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 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 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 legislature thought it was in compliance with the 18 their candidate of choice? 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. A I'm not sure if I can answer the second 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 24 the VRA is the reason that the legislature adopted 25 point, but I honestly am not very comfortable with 25 the subdistricts, then it follows that the concern

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1 was that the full district with respect to	1 be compact.
2 District 9 and with respect to District 4 would be	2 Is that right?
3 potentially in violation of the VRA.	3 A Yes.
4 Do you understand what I'm saying?	4 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to the
5 A I guess you can infer that, you know.	5 whole line of questioning to the extent that it
6 Again, I'm not I didn't interview this group of	6 exceeds Dr. Hood's opinion and work in this case.
7 people, for instance. So	And if we can just agree that there's a
8 Q But that would be if the VRA is the	8 standing objection for the whole line of
9 purpose and if the purpose is being logically	9 questioning.
10 applied, then the rationale is because there is	10 MR. GABER: Yeah, I'll agree to the
11 concern that the full district might violate the	11 standing objection. I don't agree to the
12 VRA?	12 objection.
	13 MR. PHILLIPS: Understood. I don't want
13 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for	
14 speculation.	14 to object after every question.
He has not opined on this issue in his	15 MR. GABER: Fair enough.
16 report. So you're veering pretty far off into	16 Q So Dr. Hood, do you recall that the crux
17 what other people believe, and these are things	17 of the plaintiff's case in Vesilind was a
18 that Dr. Hood has not opined on.	18 challenge to six particular state senate districts
19 That's my objection.	19 as being non-compact as contrary to law?
20 A Okay. So what was the last sorry.	20 A From what I I guess contrary to the
21 What was the last question?	21 Virginia state constitution. I think that's what
22 Q I think it's the point that if you're	22 it was technically.
23 logically applying the purpose to comply with the	23 Q Okay. And your ultimate opinion in that
24 VRA to draw the subdistrict, then the necessary	24 case was that the six districts that the
25 antecedent is that there's a belief that the full	25 plaintiffs challenged were, in fact, compact.
118	120
1 district is a problem under the VRA?	1 Is that right?
2 MR. PHILLIPS: Same objection.	2 A I honestly have not looked at this in
3 A I guess you could say could be a	3 quite some time. I'm sure I have some kind of
4 problem, potentially. Not an absolute that it is	4 summary statement in the report.
5 a problem.	5 I think I argued that the districts
6 Q So let's shift gears. I think we	6 certainly were not that the districts were not
7 discussed a little earlier, you have testified as	7 compact to the extent to which it was a violation
8 an expert about the compactness of districts in	8 of the state constitution, I guess. But again, I
9 previous cases, right?	9 haven't looked at this in a while.
10 A Yes.	10 Q Let's turn to page 6 of the report,
11 MR. GABER: So I'm going to mark as	11 which I think is probably page no, it's page 6
12 Exhibit 7 the document Hood Vesilind versus	12 of the PDF as well.
13 Virginia State Board of Elections Expert Report.	13 And one of the things you note is
	14 that so you have two tables here. They list
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
15 identification and attached to the transcript.)	15 the districts that are being challenged, right?
16 BY MR. GABER:	16 A Yes, correct.
17 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as your	17 Q And those were and this is the 2011
18 expert report in the Virginia State court case,	18 Virginia state senate plan, Districts 19, 21, 28,
19 Rema Ford Vesilind versus Virginia State Board of	19 29, 30, and 37, correct?
20 Elections?	20 A Correct.
21 A Yes.	21 Q And so looking at you have the
22 Q And you were retained by the	22 baseline plan, the one that preceded the 2011
23 Commonwealth of Virginia there to defend them for	23 plan, and then you have the 2011 plan, right?
24 the 2011 state senate plan as compliant with the	24 A Correct.
25 Virginia constitution's requirement that districts	25 Q And you note that there was a decrease

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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 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
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.	25 to some actual numbers, not just a district as
122	124
1 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 0.22.	4 here. This was a while ago. But I think 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 Q And the Polsby-Popper scores ranged from	7 Q Okay. And the second sort of
8 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.
12 0.1 to 0.16.	12 Is that right?
13 Is that right?	13 A Yes, correct.
14 A Yes. Yes.	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."
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
Do you recall that?	23 Niemi method, and that's on page 13 of the
24 A Ves	24 Vesilind report And then so we can see the

24 Vesilind report. And then so we can see the

25 bottom paragraph, please.

24 25

A Yes.

Q And that would be -- in your view,

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1 And I'll let you take a look at those.	1 composite score, that that alone allowed you to
2 A Okay.	2 opine, with respect to this methodology, that it
3 Okay.	3 was a compact district, because if you'd just
4 Q The methodology that you applied here	4 looked at the Reock cutoff point, it would have
5 and that's written about in the Profs. Niemi and	5 been in the non-compact category, right?
6 Pildes report is in response to the racial	6 A Yes, yes, yes. Using these various
7 gerrymandering line of cases, right?	7 cutoff points that are provided for this
8 A Correct, correct.	8 particular methodology, yes.
9 Q And the methodology here is that if the	9 MR. GABER: I'm going to introduce as
10 Reock score is above 0.16, or if the Polsby-Popper	10 Exhibit 8. Exhibit 8 will be the file Virginia
11 score is above 0.06, or if the sum of those two is	11 2012 to 2020 Maps.
12 above 0.22, then the district is considered	12 And David, I will send that to you now.
13 compact.	13 (Exhibit Hood-8 marked for
14 Is that correct?	14 identification and attached to the transcript.)
15 A Well, that's not how I would term it. I	15 BY MR. GABER:
16 would term it as what these two political	16 Q Dr. Hood, in the appendix to your
17 scientists are saying is that if it's below if	17 Vesilind report, you included sort of composite
18 it's at this level or below, it's certainly	18 maps that showed in that case the plaintiffs'
19 non-compact. I guess that's how I would phrase	19 alternative plans overwritten over the enacted
20 it.	20 ones. And we can look at those, too, if it's
21 Q The conclusion you reached an example	21 necessary. But I've pulled the 2011 enacted plan
22 here is Senate District 28 from Virginia. You	22 without that alternative map mapped onto it so we
23 noted that it had a Reock score of 0.15, which was	23 could see it better.
24 below the cutoff for compactness for the Reock	24 Do you recognize this as we can zoom
25 measure alone, but you concluded that it was, in	25 in if you need to but as the 2011 Virginia
126	128
1 fact, compact because it satisfied the composite	1 state senate plan?
2 index that they propose.	2 A From what I remember. I mean, again,
3 Is that right?	3 it's not I haven't looked at this lately.
4 A I'm reading.	4 Q Okay. I assume you spent a fair bit of
5 Q Sure.	5 time with it at the time.
6 A Well, again, it's compactness is hard	6 A Well, yeah, at the time.
7 to judge. We know it ranges on a lot of these	7 Q Okay.
8 measures from 0 to 1.	8 A There's been many maps drawn since then.
9 So what's being said here is that this	9 So
10 particular district, at least under a composite	10 Q Yeah. So the let's scroll down to
11 score, didn't reach a point to where these	11 the second page of this, please. And Districts 19
12 researchers, Pildes and Niemi, would say that it	12 and 21 were among the maps or among the
13 was not compact. So it was above that threshold.	13 districts that were challenged by the plaintiff in
14 It doesn't mean that it's compact, I	14 the case.
15 mean, because you can go quite further up the	15 Is that right?
16 scale, right. But it doesn't meet this threshold	16 A From what I remember, yes.
17 that they're talking about here.	17 Q And your opinion was that Districts 19
18 Q And you considered this threshold and	18 and 21 were compact districts.
19 this article by these professors to be a reliable	19 Is that correct?
20 methodology that you used in your as one of the	20 A Well, I don't know exactly what I said
21 bases for your conclusion in the Vesilind case,	21 about them without looking at the report.
22 right?	22 Q We can come back to it, but give me
23 A I did make use of it, yes.	23 one second.
24 Q And, in fact, with respect to that	24 MR. PHILLIPS: Just to be clear, my
25 Senate District 28, it was only through the	25 standing objection relating to this prior case
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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 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 Q What word would you use to describe how	
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 18 just I don't remember what I said.	17 Q And is the same true with respect to 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	25 11 Correct 1 mount that was my concrusion	132
1 we've seen that, let's go back to the maps.	1 in this case.	102
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 A Yes.	
9 page, please. This is getting close to where I am	9 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.	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 BY MR. GABER:	
25 was sufficiently compact, correct?	25 Q Now, Dr. Hood, one of the North Dakota	

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1 legislature's stated goals in the committee report	1 file, Grand Forks Close Up Enacted Plan.
2 that you included or that you cited to was that	2 And let me send that to you, David.
3 districts be compact, correct?	3 (Exhibit Hood-10 marked for
4 A Yes.	4 identification and attached to the transcript.)
5 Q And is it your view that the legislature	5 MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to any
6 satisfied that goal?	6 questioning to this exhibit for the same reason,
7 A Well, I did not do a complete state	7 it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and
8 analysis of the 2021 plan.	8 work in this case.
9 Q Did you have any indication to believe	9 BY MR. GABER:
10 that the legislature failed to meet that	10 Q Okay. This is Exhibit 10. So this is a
11 requirement in some respect?	11 close-up of the Grand Forks area districts and the
12 A Not necessarily, no.	12 legislature's enacted plan.
13 Q What I'm showing you here is as with	13 And maybe is it possible to zoom in a
14 any area of the map where there's cities, it can	14 bit on this so Dr. Hood doesn't have to get so
15 be kind of hard to see the particular districts	15 close to his computer. Thank you.
16 because they're smaller. There's more dense	16 Are there any districts here in the
17 population. So I've narrowed in to the Fargo,	17 Grand Forks area that appear to you to be not
18 North Dakota area.	18 reasonably compact?
	1
19 Do you see that here? 20 A Yes.	19 A Not necessarily, just looking at what
	20 looking at it with my eyes.
21 Q Are there any districts here that you	21 Q You wouldn't expect to conclude that
22 see that appear to you to be not reasonably	22 something here was not compact?
23 compact?	A Well, again, I would not just use my
MR. PHILLIPS: I'm going to object that	24 eyes; I would calculate the compactness scores.
25 this is outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion	25 That's what they're for. So we sort of have an
134	136
1 and work in this case.	1 apples-to-apples comparison that we can use.
2 Again, maybe so I don't have to object	2 Because sometimes things you're looking at with
3 every question about it, can we agree to a	3 your eyes can be slightly deceiving in terms of
4 standing objection on that?	14 how compact it is you know based on which score
	4 how compact it is, you know, based on which score
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this	5 you're using.
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit?	5 you're using.6 Q And some of the things that can affect
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes.	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure.	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries.
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right?
5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of 10 the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so	 5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So
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MR. GABER: With respect to this exhibit? MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. MR. GABER: Sure. A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so we're not just using our eyes, though. Q But just part of it is looking at the districts, right? That plays a role? A It can. I mean, again, visuals don't play a role with compactness scores necessarily. Compactness scores may be a reflection of what someone's seen. Q But just looking at these Fargo area districts, you're not identifying any that appear to you to be unreasonably to not be reasonably compact?	5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So 11 obviously there's no coastline in North Dakota, 12 but rivers could. 13 Q And the way it would affect it is 14 generally to decrease the compactness score if 15 there's a natural boundary that's a squiggly line 16 as opposed to a straight line? 17 A Some of them. Probably not Reock as 18 much as Polsby-Popper or Schwartzberg. They're 19 measuring different things. So 20 Q The Reock score, it would, to the extent 21 that the area of the district is smaller to where
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5 MR. GABER: With respect to this 6 exhibit? 7 MR. PHILLIPS: Yes. 8 MR. GABER: Sure. 9 A Not necessarily. Again, I mean, one of 10 the reasons we calculate compactness scores is so 11 we're not just using our eyes, though. 12 Q But just part of it is looking at the 13 districts, right? That plays a role? 14 A It can. I mean, again, visuals don't 15 play a role with compactness scores necessarily. 16 Compactness scores may be a reflection of what 17 someone's seen. 18 Q But just looking at these Fargo area 19 districts, you're not identifying any that appear 20 to you to be unreasonably to not be reasonably 21 compact? 22 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, asked and	5 you're using. 6 Q And some of the things that can affect 7 the score as opposed to what you're looking at are 8 the use of, for example, rivers as boundaries. 9 Is that right? 10 A It can. Rivers or coastlines. So 11 obviously there's no coastline in North Dakota, 12 but rivers could. 13 Q And the way it would affect it is 14 generally to decrease the compactness score if 15 there's a natural boundary that's a squiggly line 16 as opposed to a straight line? 17 A Some of them. Probably not Reock as 18 much as Polsby-Popper or Schwartzberg. They're 19 measuring different things. So 20 Q The Reock score, it would, to the extent 21 that the area of the district is smaller to where

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139 A Right, right. But, you know, I guess it Q Okay. So in your view, looking at the 2 depends on how much the river is winding and how maps and comparing them is actually totally within 3 many indents there are. It might not make a huge the scope of the work that you did? difference. It might make a difference. A I believe so, yes. 5 MR. GABER: And let's pull up as Q Okay. Now -- and I can pull up the Exhibit 11 the Bismarck Close Up Enacted Plan. compactness report if that would be helpful, or I MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just object to any could pull up the spreadsheet that you created. questioning on this exhibit for the same reason, 8 But is it your understanding that each it's outside the scope of Dr. Hood's opinion and of the enacted districts in the North Dakota state 10 work on this case. 10 legislative plan exceed the compactness scores (Exhibit Hood-11 marked for 11 that you analyzed for the challenged districts in 11 12 identification and attached to the transcript.) 12 the Virginia case? 13 BY MR. GABER: 13 Let me rephrase that because I'm not 14 sure that's entirely correct. Q And this is a close-up of the enacted 15 districts passed by the legislature in the That the least compact district in the 16 Virginia case that you found to be compact had a 16 Bismarck area. Are there any districts here that appear 17 lower compactness score than all of the enacted 18 to you to be not reasonably compact? 18 North Dakota state legislative districts. A Well, I don't know about reasonably. 19 Does that sound right to you? 20 Again, I would calculate the scores for these. 34 20 A It sounds right, but I don't know. I 21 is going to be less compact by some measures. 21 mean --Q Any other ones? 2.2. MR. PHILLIPS: Just note my objection. 23 A Well, I mean, we would derive scores for 23 Objection, outside the scope of the opinion and 24 all of these, and we can make comparisons. But 24 calls for speculation. 25 let's say 34 in this map is probably the least Q So you recall the one district had a 138 140 1 compact. I mean, I can't see all of 31, 33, Reock score of .15. Do you recall that, in the 2 et cetera, 8, so I don't know about those. Virginia case? Q So here you would say 34 is less compact A Yes. 4 than the others, but you wouldn't go so far as to 4 Q I think that was District 28. say that it's not reasonably compact? 5 A We can certainly make that comparison, A Not necessarily. But again, I would obviously. probably need some more information on this. Q And if we make that comparison, that Q So in your Virginia report, one of the district had a lower compactness score than any of 9 things you did is compare to other districts in the North Dakota enacted districts? 10 the state to see whether the challenged districts 10 A Well, again, if I can see, then I could 11 were at or perhaps better than some of the other 11 tell you. 12 districts in the state, right? Q Yeah. Let me do that for you. 12 13 A That's correct, yes. 13 This is not an exhibit that I sent to Q So that is actually the type of analysis 14 the court reporter, but what I'm going to do, if 15 that one would do -- it's one type of analysis you 15 I'm allowed to, is share my screen and show you 16 could do in determining whether a district is 16 the spreadsheet that you produced in discovery. Does that work? 17 sufficiently or reasonably compact? 17 A Sure. A Yes, and it's certainly a comparison 18 MR. PHILLIPS: Is this the one that was 19 I've made in the past. So... 19 Q And, in fact, in your report in this 20 produced in response to the subpoena to Dr. Hood? 21 case, you compared the plaintiffs' proposed MR. GABER: It came with the -- I think 22 districts to the other districts enacted by the 22 that's the same as the one that came with the 23 legislature? 23 initial report. But that's what it is. A Yes. That was the primary comparison I THE WITNESS: I think I sent it again, 25 was making, yes. 25 possibly.

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1 MR. PHILLIPS: I'm sorry, Mark. I think	1 Q And then I'm going to sort by the
2 we named that file with, like, a Bates stamp	2 Polsby-Popper scores. And here, the lowest
3 number for just reference purposes, the one that	3 Polsby-Popper score is again District 34, and
4 Dr. Hood produced. That might be a good way to	4 actually, it matches District 46. They're both
5 reference it.	5 0.19.
6 MR. GABER: All right. That works.	6 Do you see that?
7 (Reporter interruption.)	7 A Right.
8 MR. GABER: So this is Bates stamped	8 Q Now, we can pull it up again, but in the
9 HOOD-0001. I put it in the chat, and I am going	9 Virginia case, the challenged districts, the
10 to since I put it in the chat, can you all do	10 Polsby-Popper scores ranged from 0.08 to 0.14.
11 the screen share? Let me do it because I'm going	Does that sound right to you?
12 to do some sorting functions.	12 A If that's if you're representing
13 A/V TECH: Not a problem. I can also	13 that's what it is, then
14 allow you to control the PC.	14 Q I have it in front of me.
15 MR. GABER: That's a bad idea.	15 A Okay. Okay.
16 (A discussion was held off the record.)	16 (Cross-talk.)
17 (Exhibit Hood-12 marked for	17 Q So assuming that's correct and I
18 identification and attached to the transcript.)	18 think we actually when it was up in front of
19 BY MR. GABER:	19 you, I think you testified about it.
20 Q So this is the Excel spreadsheet that	The 0.19 that's the lowest in the
21 you produced or you created with the	21 enacted plan for North Dakota would be higher than
22 compactness scores for the enacted districts in	22 any of the six that were challenged in Virginia
23 the North Dakota legislative plan.	23 that you found to be reasonably compact?
24 Is that right?	24 A Yes.
25 A Yes.	25 Q And so using that comparison, under that
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1 Q So I'm going to use the sort function	1 framework you employed, all of the North Dakota
2 here and sort the Reock scores from well, let's	2 enacted districts would likewise be reasonably
3 see. I don't want to sort it alphabetically.	3 compact?
4 Let's see if this works.	4 A Under that framework, yes.
5 All right. So in the enacted plan, do	5 Q And you don't see anything wrong with
6 you see that the lowest Reock score is 0.17 for	6 that framework, right? It was the framework you
7 District 34?	7 adopted and applied in the Vesilind case?
8 A Yes.	8 A Yes, that's correct.
9 Q And that's higher than the District 28	9 Q And so to the extent a district falls
10 from the Virginia case that was 0.15, correct?	10 within the range of the enacted North Dakota
11 A Correct.	11 legislative districts, it too would qualify as a
12 Q And in the Virginia case, you found that	12 reasonably compact district?
13 District 28 was compact, correct?	13 A Well, at least compared to those
14 A I think I said reasonably compact was	14 Virginia districts.
15 the term. So	15 Q And compared to the North Dakota
16 Q Okay. So using that measure, then it	16 districts?
17 would appear as though the North Dakota	17 A Well, I mean, we can make a comparison
18 legislature every one of the districts would	18 within the North Dakota districts if we're looking
19 satisfy that metric of reasonable compactness	19 within a state plan.
20 because they're all higher than the score for the	20 Q But to the extent that the lowest North
21 Virginia district you likewise found to be	21 Dakota district is reasonably compact by the
22 reasonably compact.	22 method that you have applied in cases, then a
23 Is that fair?	23 district that's higher than that district, or at
24 A That's a true statement. They're all	24 least equal to or higher, would itself be
25 higher than 0.15.	25 reasonably compact?

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1 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, calls for a	1 all of the North Dakota enacted districts are
2 legal conclusion, calls for speculation.	2 sufficiently or reasonably compact?
3 A Based on that Virginia comparison I did,	3 MR. PHILLIPS: Object to the form.
4 yes. Again, that was in Virginia. So it was a	4 A Well, again, comparing it to that
5 state-specific comparison.	5 Virginia case, they're above those threshold
6 Q Although part of that was not	6 levels, yes.
7 state-specific; it was looking at one of the	7 Q And so the same would hold true for
8 three methods you employed was to use the paper	8 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts; they are both
9 that Prof. Pildes and Niemi had written, correct?	9 above the Virginia level that you found to be
10 A That's correct. I did look at that.	10 compact, but they're also above other districts
11 Q And all of the North Dakota enacted	11 within the North Dakota plan that you also find to
12 state legislative plans are reasonably compact	12 be sufficiently compact.
13 under that metric, correct?	13 Is that right?
14 A Virginia?	14 A That's correct. None of the
15 Q All of the North Dakota	15 demonstrative districts are at the are the
16 A All the North Dakota well, they're	16 lowest literally the lowest in the state plan.
17 all higher than that, yes.	17 Q And with respect to your and they're
18 Q And so employing that methodology, which	18 higher than the Virginia plan as well, correct?
19 you have in the past, would lead you to conclude	19 A Yes, that's correct.
20 that all of the enacted North Dakota state	20 Q Now, you spend a bit of time comparing
21 legislative districts are reasonably compact?	21 plaintiffs' demonstrative districts to the enacted
MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, outside the	22 version of District 9 in terms of compactness,
23 scope of his opinion.	23 correct?
24 A Well, I think it was, quote,	24 A Yes.
25 sufficiently compact, unquote, but	25 Q And in terms of the other districting
146	148
1 Q Okay. Do you see a different between	1 principles that you looked at, that's your main
2 sufficiently compact and reasonably compact?	2 comparison is between the proposed District 9 by
3 A I don't know. I mean, for some reason,	3 the plaintiffs and the enacted version of
4 I chose to use that qualifier, so I'll stick with	4 District 9, right?
5 it.	5 A Yes.
6 Q So in your expert report, when you were	6 Q The enacted version of District 9 is a
7 assessing District 9 or rather plaintiffs'	7 rectangle, more or less, right?
8 demonstrative versions of District 9, you compared	8 A Fair, yes.
9 it to the other enacted legislative districts, and	9 Q And do you understand the question, in
10 then you also narrowed and compared it to the	10 terms of compactness for Voting Rights Act
11 enacted version of District 9 in terms of	11 purposes, to be a comparison to a perfect
12 compactness.	12 rectangle, or is it about whether or not the
Does that sound right to you?	13 district is reasonably compact standing alone?
14 A Yes, that's correct. That's fair.	MR. PHILLIPS: Object to form.
15 Q And I take your point on the first score	15 A My understanding is that it would be
16 to be that when compared to other North Dakota	16 reasonably compact on its own.
17 districts, the demonstrative districts were on the	17 Q And so the real comparison that we would
18 lower end of the statewide districts.	18 want to do is determine whether or not the
19 Is that fair?	19 proposed district standing on its own is
20 A In terms of ranking, yes.	20 reasonably compact?
Q But they were not the lowest, right?	A Well, and we can do that from my report.
22 A I don't think I don't think any of	22 Q Correct.
23 them were ever the lowest, no.	23 A It places the demonstrative districts
	0.4:4b:4b4-4: dolo
24 Q And we've established that, by your own 25 methodology that you've employed in the past, that	24 within the statewide plan as a whole. So25 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 of analyses that you did in the Vesilind case, 2 that all of the enacted districts are reasonably 3 compact or sufficiently compact, whichever term we however, right? 4 want to use, given that the demonstrative 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 that had made certain specific observations about compact? compactness in districts. So... A Again, with the caveat based on what I Q If the -- say the U.S. Supreme Court has 9 said in the Virginia case, yes. determined a particular district to be reasonably 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 MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, speculation, 15 16 boundary. 16 calls for a legal conclusion. 17 Do you see that? 17 A That comparison could be made, yes. Q And that would be a similar type 18 A Yes. 18 19 O 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 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 23 observation, which is the case, that part of the 23 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 Q I just want to know what your -- I need Q Now, Dr. Collingwood noted in his report 1 to know what your opinions are about it. So I that the overall compactness score for the plan as guess I didn't understand --a whole in the enacted plan was the same as that A Right. I don't know that it means any in plaintiffs' demonstrative plans. more than literally what it says. 5 You don't dispute his report in that Q Okay. That actually -- one of the 6 regard, correct? 7 state's -- or one of the legislature's criteria A Yeah, I think he was just looking at 8 from its report is respecting the boundaries of maybe the mean score for the state. 9 the reservations in the state. Is that correct? 10 Do you recall that? 10 O I think so. 11 A Something like that. No, not A Yes, that's correct. 11 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 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. 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. Mark, maybe a short bio break whenever Q In your analysis of the compactness of 19 it makes the most sense. MR. GABER: Yep. 20 plaintiffs' proposed demonstrative districts, you 20 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

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

February 13, 2023 153 155 plaintiffs were proposing to those same numbered A Yes, from what I recall, yes. districts in the enacted plan. Q And if you look at District 9 in this Does that sound familiar? plan, in Benson County, do you see that it is --A Alittle bit, yes. the northern border of Benson County is a very Q And the point you make here is that, you squiggly line that is the Devils Lake boundary? know, sometimes it doesn't make sense to compare a A Okay. I mean, I see what you're talking numbered district in one plan to a numbered about, yes. district in another plan because those district Q And then just below that, do you see 9 boundaries are different, and it might make sense another river boundary that's the Sheyenne River 10 to look more at the statewide results for the map 10 in Eddy County? A Well, I'm just going to take your word 11 as a whole. 11 Does that fairly describe the point 12 for it. 13 you're making here? 13 Q You didn't look --A Let me look at this for a second. A I couldn't tell you where the Sheyenne 14 15 Q Sure. 15 River was necessarily. So... A Yeah, I do say that here. Q So in looking at the map, you didn't 16 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? 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 Again, I'm responding to a particular compactness scores? 2 measure that Prof. McDonald has been utilizing in A Well, those boundaries, if they are this particular -- in that case that we've been affecting the scores, are going to get picked up talking about in Virginia. in the scores that I ran. So... Q And that's the degradation from --Q Right. But the effect wouldn't, right; 6 A Yes, yes. 6 you would just get the score? Q -- from the alternative map to --A Well, to compare -- yeah, to compare an 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. (Recess from 3:08 p.m. until 3:19 p.m.) Q So as we discussed earlier, I think you 12 said in particular the Polsby-Popper and maybe the 12 BY MR. GABER: Q Dr. Hood, welcome back from the break. 13 Schwartzberg, because those are based on 13 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. A More so than Reock would, yes. 16 17 (A discussion was held off the record.) 17 Q So if this were a straight line, the (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 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

24 probably be higher.

23 boundary, then yes, the perimeter scores would

Q And this river -- sorry -- the Devils

23 me start that over.

Do you recognize this as Plaintiffs'

25 Demonstrative Plan 1 for the entire state view?

1 Lake boundary, that is actually the county 2 boundary as well; the county itself has that	TColuary	13, 2023
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1 page 6, please. And this is again with respect to	1 Q Yeah. You see the area north of 9A
2 demonstrative District 1. The 3.14 percent that	2 there, the gray kind of more faded lines represent
3 demonstrative District 1 deviates, that's within	3 the county borders.
4 the goal of the legislature, right?	4 A Right. But is Rolette County wholly
5 A It would be in that plus or minus	5 contained within LD 9, I guess is the question.
6 5 percent, yes.	6 Q So I'm talking about the state house
7 Q Have you looked to rank demonstrative	7 version of the map.
8 District 1 with respect to the other districts as	8 A Okay. Fair enough. Yes.
9 you had done for the compactness scores?	9 Q So for purposes of the state house,
10 A I don't recall doing that comparison.	10 within District 9, Rolette, Towner, and Cavalier
11 Q Would you be surprised to find that it's	11 County are all split?
12 about in the middle of the districts in terms of	12 A Yes, yes.
13 population deviation?	13 Q Now, if you could look at we'll keep
14 A Not necessarily, no.	14 this up on the screen, please. But if you can
15 Q It's actually about within the middle of	15 look at page 7 of your report. In the Communities
16 the 5 percent 0 to 5 percent, right?	16 of Interest section on the bottom of page 7.
17 A Right.	17 A Okay.
18 Q So the demonstrative district satisfies	18 Q You talk about county splits, and then
19 the legislature's goal for population deviation?	19 you say, In the enacted plan, LD 9 splits only
20 A Again, it certainly falls within those	20 Towner County.
21 bounds.	Do you see that?
22 Q And that's the case with respect to both	22 A Yes.
23 demonstrative districts?	23 Q Now, setting aside the state house
24 A I believe so, yeah. The other was plus	24 version where all three of the counties are split,
25 4.53 percent. So	25 with respect to the state senate version of
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1 MR. GABER: Now, if we could mark as	1 District 9, the entire district, your statement in
2 Exhibit 15 the file Enacted Map Statewide.	2 your report, that's not correct, right? You see
3 And let me get that over to you, David.	3 that it splits both Cavalier and Towner counties?
4 (Exhibit Hood-15 marked for	4 A It should say Cavalier as well.
5 identification and attached to the transcript.)	5 Q So that's two of the three counties are
6 BY MR. GABER:	6 split in the state senate version of District 9?
7 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as the	7 A Right.
8 2021 Enacted State Legislative Plan for North	8 Q And that's an error in your report, I
9 Dakota?	9 gather?
10 A Yes.	10 A Yeah, it definitely should say Cavalier
11 MR. GABER: And LaVar, would you mind	11 County.
12 zooming in to the top right part of this with the	12 Q And then let's pull up let's pull
13 yellow and pink district. Thank you.	13 back up, please, Exhibit 13. We're going to go
14 Q Now, for the district I'm sorry. For	14 back and forth between these. 13 is the
15 the state house map, District 9A District 9	15 Demonstrative Plan 1. If you could zoom in to the
16 splits Rolette County, Towner County, and Cavalier	16 District 9 and 15 area.
17 County.	So you note that plaintiffs'
Do you see that?	18 demonstrative plan 9 in your report, you note
19 A Yes.	19 that it splits Eddy County, Pierce County, and
20 Q So that's three out of three of the	20 Rolette County, right, so that's three of the four
21 counties that are included, the enacted plan	21 counties it covers.
22 splits for the state house map.	22 A Yes.
23 Is that right?	23 Q Now, the split that's contained in Eddy
24 A It's a little hard to see. Is Rolette	24 County, that's the same exact split that the
25 County split within District 9?	25 enacted plan District 15 has for Eddy County,

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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 Q And that's one of the state's in its	9 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
<u> </u>	_
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,
19 of the three counties that are split in	19 right?
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	MR. GABER: That's Exhibit 13. The
25 within 9, yes.	25 third to the last tab there, LaVar. Thank you.
166	25 time to the fast tab there, Ea var. Thank you.
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?
6 A Three and three, yes.	6 Q That term means more than split
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.
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	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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1 knowledge or experience about Native American	1 demonstrative plan, correct?	171
2 issues generally or voting patterns or	2 A Yes.	
3 sociological history or whatnot, right?	3 Q One example is its neighboring district,	
4 A That's correct.	4 I believe that's 8.	
5 Q Would it surprise you to know that the	5 MR. GABER: Can you Zoom into the gray	
6 trust lands are important, you know, holdings for	6 district for me, LaVar.	
7 the Turtle Mountain tribe?	7 Q I think it's actually not 8, I think	
8 A No.	8 it's 6.	
9 Q But you didn't look to see whether the	9 Do you see that?	
10 enacted plan keeps those in one district?	10 A 6.	
11 A Well, I used the reservation boundaries	11 Q So 6 is larger in geographic size than	
12 as defined by the census bureau, and under that	12 demonstrative District 9, right?	
13 definition, it is contained within the district.	13 A Looks to be, yes.	
14 Q You would agree that	14 Q It stretches further north to south than	
15 A I'm not sure you know, I'm honestly	15 does District 9 in this map?	
16 not sure that whether that contained these	16 A Yes.	
17 trust lands that we're talking about or not. I	17 Q And let's zoom out again, please.	
18 just don't know the answer to that. So	District 14 stretches from Pierce	
19 Q Okay. Would you agree that that would	19 County the northern boundary of Pierce County	
20 be a type of community of interest consideration	20 all the way to the southern boundary of is that	
21 that could be taken into account, whether the	21 Kidder County?	
22 reservation and the trust lands are included in a	Do you see that?	
23 single district?	23 A Yes.	
24 A Well, certainly, it could.	24 Q And that's a larger geographic distance	
25 Q Now, looking	25 than demonstrative District 9, correct?	
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1 MR. GABER: Maybe, LaVar, if you don't	1 A Yes.	
2 mind zooming out a little bit here so we can see	Q If you look at District 28, the	
3 the full map.	3 teal-colored district in the southeastern part of	
4 Q Now, is it your understanding that aside	4 the state, that district looks to be similar or	
5 from this is Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1.	5 possibly slightly larger in its east-west span as	
6 Aside from the changes to District 9, 15, and then	6 is demonstrative District 9 in its north to south	
7 some minor changes to 14 and 29, the rest of the	7 span, right?	
8 plan reflects the plan that was enacted by the	8 A Well, they certainly look on par. I 9 mean, I don't know without measuring. So	
9 legislature?	,	
10 A From what I recall, outside of those 11 changes, that would be correct, yes.	10 Q District the green district in the 11 corner, I believe is that 39?	
12 Q Now, with respect to some of the other	12 MR. GABER: Can you zoom to the	
13 districts in the plan, you understand that rural	13 southwest corner for me, please, LaVar. Yeah,	
14 North Dakota is somewhat sparsely populated,	14 District 39, north to south. Maybe scroll back	
15 right?	15 out so we can see the whole state again. Sorry.	
16 A Certainly, yes.	16 Q That looks to be slightly larger north	
17 Q So when that's the case, the	17 to south than demonstrative District 9 in this	
18 geographical size of districts has to increase	18 plan, right?	
19 because there's you have to go further to find	19 A Potentially, yes.	
20 population to get an equally populated district.	20 Q Do you see, in the western part of the	
21 Does that seem fair?	21 state, District 23, the kind of grayish-blue	
22 A Yes.	22 colored district?	
23 Q And there are other districts in the	23 A Yes.	
24 state's enacted plan that span a larger geographic	24 Q How would you describe the shape of that	
25 distance than does District 9 in plaintiffs'	25 district?	

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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 Q Or maybe a baby dinosaur.	6 sometimes courts have looked at whether precincts
7 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?
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1 Q Can you tell me on the map what the land	1 A Not necessarily, no.
2 bridge is?	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 Q The land bridge that you identify, that
8 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?16 A Not that I recall.	15 south central part of the state, the purplish-gray 16 district?
17 Q It wasn't in your report, but it was in 18 the data, I noticed.	17 A Yes. 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 Is that fair?
25 preemets is also a traditional districting	23 18 that fail;

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1 A Looks to be, yes, just looking at the	1 Q Now, do you see that in the prior	
2 map here.	2 decade's plan, District 15 included all of Towner	
3 Q Now, you see on the map here, Rolette	3 County?	
4 County and Benson County, they're pretty close to	4 A Yes.	
5 one another.	5 Q And so in plaintiffs' in the enacted	
6 Would you agree?	6 plan in 2021 splits Towner County between 15 and	
7 A Yes. Yeah.	7 9.	
8 Q They're just separated by that one	8 Is that right?	
9 voting precinct in Pierce County; the distance of	9 A That is correct.	
10 that precinct is the whole distance between	10 Q And so one of the benefits of	
11 Rolette and Benson County?	11 Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1 is it returns	
12 A If that's one precinct, then yes.	12 Towner County in whole to the district in which it	
13 Q Do you agree that Benson County is	13 previously was retained?	
14 physically more proximate to Rolette County than	14 A It does do that, yes.	
15 is Cavalier County?	15 Q Now, Benson County, in the prior	
16 A Yes.	16 decade's plan, was split between District 14 and	
17 Q And the enacted version of District 9	17 District 23.	
18 stretches from Rolette County to Cavalier County,	Do you see that?	
19 correct?	19 A Yes. Yes.	
20 A Correct.	20 Q And you'll recall, District 23 in the	
21 Q Do you see that in the enacted plan, the	21 enacted plan and we can look at it if you'd	
22 proposed District 15, which is altered to	22 like that's that dinosaur district that's now	
23 accommodate proposed District 9, is changed to	23 been moved all the way to the other side of the	
24 include all of Towner County?	24 state?	
25 A So you said in the enacted plan. You	25 A Right, right.	
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1 mean this	1 Q And the part of Benson County that	
2 Q I'm sorry. I'm reaching the point of	2 includes the Spirit Lake reservation is no longer	
3 the muddled brain.	3 in District 23, which is now on the other side of	
4 So in the demonstrative plan,	4 the state; instead, it's in District 15.	
5 plaintiffs' proposed demonstrative plan 1,	5 Does that seem right?	
6 District 15 includes all of Towner County.	6 A So say that one more time. Sorry.	
7 Do you see that?	7 Q Yeah. So do you know on this map where	
8 A Yes, it appears that that's the case.	8 the Spirit Lake reservation is?	
9 MR. GABER: And then, LaVar, if you	9 A Yes, yes.	
10 don't mind switching to the enacted map, which is	10 Q You see in Benson County there, it's	
11 the last tab.	11 previously in District 23?	
12 Q Do you see that the enacted map,	12 A Right.	
13 District 15 splits Towner County with District 9?	13 Q And so it's now in District 15, right?	
14 A Yes.	14 A Correct, correct.	
15 MR. GABER: I'm going to mark as	MR. GABER: Let's mark as Exhibit 17 the	
16 Exhibit 16 the file 2012 through 2020 North Dakota	16 document Enacted versus Benchmark Core	
17 Legislative Map.	17 Constituencies Report.	
18 (Exhibit Hood-16 marked for	18 (Exhibit Hood-17 marked for	
19 identification and attached to the transcript.)	19 identification and attached to the transcript.)	
20 BY MR. GABER:	20 BY MR. GABER:	
21 Q So this is do you recognize this,	21 Q Dr. Hood, do you recognize this as a	
	22 report that you produced to us that compares the	
22 Dr. Hood, as the prior decade's legislative plan		
23 for North Dakota that was in effect from 2012 to	23 enacted district boundaries to the I'm going to	

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1 district with the highest remaining population in	1 District 9's state house voters. They're entirely
2 that district or core constituency?	2 in new state house districts?
3 Is that fair?	3 A Well, I mean, so District 9, which
4 A Yes.	4 includes the house districts, obviously, was
5 Q And if we could scroll down, I don't	
6 know what page it is, but it's District 9. So	6 didn't divide this up into the house districts.
7 it's probably page 2 or 3. Looks like right there	7 So I don't know exactly how that would parse out
8 at the top of page 3.	8 is what I'm saying.
9 So in your report, you talk about core	9 Q Yeah. Now, but with respect to
10 retention, right, as one of the traditional	10 Plaintiffs' Plaintiffs' Demonstrative Plan 1,
11 districting principles and one of the	11 with the exception of one voting precinct, all of
12 legislature's goals?	12 the Rolette County voters who were previously the
13 A Right.	13 entirety of District 9 are retained within the
14 Q And so you report that there is a	14 same district in plaintiffs' demonstrative plan,
15 75 percent core retention for the enacted plan	15 both for the state house and the state senate?
16 District 9.	16 A Yes, that's correct.
17 Is that correct?	17 Q Now, in your report, you talk about how
18 A Yes.	18 core retention is a good indicator of incumbency
19 Q And so and just so we understand,	19 protection.
20 from the report, what that means is that the in	20 Is that right?
21 the new version of enacted District 9, the largest	21 A It's one of them, yes.
22 component of it is old District 9, and that	22 Q The incumbent District 9 state senator,
23 accounts for 75 percent of new District 9's	23 Richard Marcellais, who was a Native American,
24 population.	24 lost re-election in the most recent election,
25 Do I have that right?	25 correct?
	25 correct:
· ·	
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1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but	1 A Yes.
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes.	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct?
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct?
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you 5 understand that was mapped the boundaries of	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct? 5 A Well, he I just want to make sure I
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you 5 understand that was mapped the boundaries of 6 Rolette County, right? 7 A Right.	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct? 5 A Well, he I just want to make sure I 6 get all this straight. He previously represented 7 District 9; is that correct?
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you 5 understand that was mapped the boundaries of 6 Rolette County, right? 7 A Right. 8 Q With respect to the state house core	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct? 5 A Well, he I just want to make sure I 6 get all this straight. He previously represented 7 District 9; is that correct? 8 Q Since 2006.
1 A Yes, yeah. Not geography, but 2 population, yes. 3 Q Right. Now, in the prior decade, all of 4 the voters in District 9, which was you 5 understand that was mapped the boundaries of 6 Rolette County, right? 7 A Right. 8 Q With respect to the state house core 9 retention, this is only a report for the state	1 A Yes. 2 Q And so at least with respect to him, the 3 legislature's enacted plan does not satisfy the 4 incumbency protection goal, correct? 5 A Well, he I just want to make sure I 6 get all this straight. He previously represented 7 District 9; is that correct? 8 Q Since 2006. 9 A And so again, 75 percent of his
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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 I did not.
7 Q All right. No, no, that was my fault.	7 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	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 population
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
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1 know, in the case of some districts being moved	1 constitutional bounds in terms of population 2 deviations.
2 across the state and you have to do that. I	
3 mean, this doesn't trump other redistricting	Q When you say "ad hoc commission," what
4 factors, especially population equality. You're 5 not going to necessarily be able to maximize this	4 do you mean by that?
	5 A Well, I don't mean that in any kind of 6 negative sense. I just mean there was a
1 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	6 negative sense. I just mean there was a 7 commission put together charged by the legislature
Q And do you have, like, a threshold for	
8 what you consider to be a strong core retention?	8 with developing a redistricting plan.
9 Is it 50 percent?	9 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 12 know, it ranges it's pretty easy to grasp	11 legislators. 12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your
13 because it ranges from zero to 100, zero percent	12 Q On page 9 and 10 of your report, in your 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
24 2012 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 Q And demonstrative -- sorry -- enacted A Correct. 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 about as long as plaintiffs' demonstrative 4 district is sufficiently or reasonably compact, District 1 is from north to south, correct? correct? A From what I remember, yes. 6 A Correct. Q And the two most populous counties 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 are Benson County and Rolette County, correct? 9 respect to the number of counties, right, that the 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 A Correct. That's correct. 11 don't have the population figures in front of me. 11 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 A Correct. 15 County, and then that small piece of Eddy County 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 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 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? Q Okay. We discussed how Benson County A Correct. 25 and Rolette County are closer geographically than 190 192 So I mean, it's two -- should be two Rolette County is to Cavalier County, right? 2 county splits in the enacted plan versus three, 2 A That's true, yes. right. So... Q And so on all of these measures, Q For District 9 at the state senate demonstrative -- plaintiffs' demonstrative level, right? 5 district is similar to or in some instances better A Yeah. in terms of traditional districting criteria than Q And at the state house level, it splits either District 9 in the enacted plan, District 15 all three counties in the district? 8 in the enacted plan, or other districts in the A If you go down to the subdistricts, yes. 9 state. Q And we discussed how plaintiffs' 10 Is that fair? 11 demonstrative plan restores Towner County to its MR. PHILLIPS: Objection, that's 11 12 prior configuration in terms of core retention, 12 ambiguous and compound. 13 moving it to District 15 entirely. A Well, on some traditional redistricting 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 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 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? Can you explain to me what you mean by A That's correct, yes. 25 "results in a racial gerrymander."

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1 A I guess the question is, why was LD 9	1 is it?	1,00
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 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 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	
MR. PHILLIPS: I'll just state my	11 those cases?	
12 objection.	12 A That's one of the factors that's looked	
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	25 criteria, there was a diminishment on at least	
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1 decisions, I gather, right?	1 some of those factors with the demonstrative	170
1	2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the	
2 A Yes.	2 districts compared to the original LD 9 or the 3 enacted LD 9.	
2 A Yes. 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from	3 enacted LD 9.	
2 A Yes. 3 Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from 4 the Supreme Court?	3 enacted LD 9.4 Q Anything else?	
 A Yes. Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from the Supreme Court? A Right. 	 3 enacted LD 9. 4 Q Anything else? 5 A Well, that's primarily it. 	
 A Yes. Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from the Supreme Court? A Right. Q The Miller case from the Supreme Court? 	 3 enacted LD 9. 4 Q Anything else? 5 A Well, that's primarily it. 6 Q But is there anything else? 	
 A Yes. Q You're familiar with the Shaw case from the Supreme Court? A Right. Q The Miller case from the Supreme Court? A Right. 	 3 enacted LD 9. 4 Q Anything else? 5 A Well, that's primarily it. 6 Q But is there anything else? 7 A No. That's my primary argument or 	
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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 Q And so to the extent that enacted 4 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 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

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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 A Sometimes.	5 those criteria in favor of a racial
6 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 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 9.
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 A Yes, yes.	7 questions.
8 Q 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?	1 2 7
	10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the
11 A Yes.	10 COURT REPORTER: Anything else for the 11 record?
11 A Yes. 12 Q And do you understand that Native	, ,
	11 record?
12 Q And do you understand that Native	11 record? 12 MR. GABER: I do not believe so.
12 Q And do you understand that Native 13 American tribes might have shared interests that 14 relate to issues with respect to representation in	11 record? 12 MR. GABER: I do not believe so. 13 (Transcript orders discussed.) 14 COURT REPORTER: I think that's all we
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	205	
1	CERTIFICATE	
2		
3	I, Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR, do	
4	hereby certify that the witness was first duly	
	sworn by me and that I was authorized to and did	
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7	I further certify that the foregoing	
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	signing was not requested; and that I am neither	
	attorney nor counsel for, nor related to or	
	employed by, any of the parties to the action in	
	which this deposition was taken; and that I have	
	no interest, financial or otherwise, in this case.	
17		
18	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my	
19	hand this 15th day of FEBRUARY, 2023.	
20		
21	Luc V. Leinin	
22	Lisa V. Feissner, RDR, CRR, CLR	
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EXHIBIT B

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 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

Case No. 3:22-cv-00022

Plaintiffs,

VS.

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

Defendant.

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:

- Matthew Campbell
 Native American Rights Fund
 1506 Broadway
 Boulder, CO 80301
 - Will Call
- 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 NewbyBroadband Program DirectorNorth Dakota Information Technology4201 Normandy StreetBismarck, ND 58503

- May Call

Legislative Witnesses:

 Former Senator Howard Anderson 721 21st 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 1837 15th Street SW Minot, ND 58701

- May Call

21. Representative Bill DevlinP.O. Box 505Finley, ND 58230-0505- May Call

22. Senator Robert Erbele 6512 51st 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 92nd 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 155th 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
 919 7th 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 25th day of May, 2023.

By: /s/ David R. Phillips

David R. Phillips Special Assistant Attorney General ND Bar # 06116 300 West Century Avenue P.O. Box 4247 Bismarck, ND 58502-4247 (701) 751-8188 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:

Michael S. Carter OK No. 31961 Matthew Campbell NM No. 138207, CO No. 40808 Native American Rights Fund 1506 Broadway Boulder, CO 80301 carter@narf.org mcampbell@narf.org

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