

1
2 IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE STATE OF OREGON
3 FOR THE COUNTY OF MARION

4 BEVERLY CLARNO, GARY WILHELMS,
5 JAMES L. WILCOX, and LARRY
6 CAMPBELL,

7 Petitioners,

8 v.

9 SHEMIA FAGAN, in her official capacity as
10 Secretary of State of Oregon,

11 Respondent.

12 v.

13 JEANNE ATKINS, SUSAN CHURCH,
14 NADIA DAHAB, JANE SQUIRES,
15 JENNIFER LYNCH, and DAVID
16 GUTTERMAN,

17 Intervenors.

Case No. 21CV40180

**Senior Judge Mary M. James, Presiding Judge
of Special Judicial Panel
Senior Judge Henry C. Breithaupt, Special
Master to Special Judicial Panel**

RESPONDENT'S COMBINED RESPONSE TO
PETITIONERS' MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT
OF PETITION AND EVIDENTIARY
ARGUMENTS

ORS 20.140 - State fees deferred at filing

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1 **RESPONSE TO PETITIONERS' MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF PETITION**

2 **A. Introduction**

3 Petitioners—who have dismissed their claim under ORS 188.010(1)—no longer dispute
4 that the legislature properly considered the neutral criteria listed in that statute when it drew the
5 map enacted in SB 881. The extensive expert evidence developed in this case confirms that, as
6 the Special Master found, the map “shows no statistically significant partisan bias.”¹

7 Petitioners’ argument that this Court should nevertheless invalidate that map boils down
8 to this: Because SB 881 was enacted by a party-line vote and it would have been possible to
9 draw a congressional map that is more favorable to Republican candidates, SB 881 must have
10 been enacted for the purpose of favoring Democratic candidates. That conclusion does not
11 follow as a matter of law or logic. No doubt the enactment of SB 881 was politically
12 contentious, as legislation on significant issues often is. But the map is politically fair, and this
13 Court should uphold it.

14 Because by objective metrics SB 881 creates no partisan bias, Petitioners are forced to
15 resort to the unprecedented claim that the Court should adopt a single mechanical test: that any
16 plan with an efficiency gap of 7% or more, calculated based on past elections, is *per se*
17 unconstitutional. Not even proponents of using the efficiency gap in redistricting litigation
18 endorse that approach, and no court has ever suggested anything like it. Mathematically, the
19 efficiency gap is unreliable for maps with fewer than seven districts. Proponents of the
20 efficiency gap set the threshold much higher than Petitioners do—33% for maps with six
21 districts—and recognize that the metric is only one piece of a court’s fairness inquiry, not its
22 entirety.

23 Even more fundamentally, Petitioners’ arguments are inconsistent with basic principles
24 of Oregon statutory construction and constitutional interpretation. Courts interpret statutes to

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26 ¹ Special Master’s Recommended Findings of Fact and Report (hereinafter “SMRFOF”) ¶ 255.

1 determine the intent of the legislature that enacted them, looking primarily to text, context, and
2 legislative history to discern that intent. *State v. Gaines*, 346 Or 160, 171-72 (2009). Courts
3 interpret constitutional provisions by examining their text in historical context and in light of
4 relevant case law, to “determine the meaning of the provision at issue most likely understood by
5 those who adopted it,” with the objective of identifying underlying principles to inform
6 application of the constitutional text to modern circumstances. *Couey v. Atkins*, 357 Or 460,
7 490–91 (2015). Petitioners make no effort to show that the text, context, or history of any of the
8 statutory or constitutional provisions on which they rely support using the efficiency-gap as the
9 dispositive test for whether a redistricting plan is lawful. Nor, for that matter, do they show that
10 text, context, or history supports many of the other rules of law they propose. At bottom they
11 make a naked policy argument for their approach, but that is not how Oregon law works. *See*,
12 *e.g.*, ORS 174.010 (“In the construction of a statute, the office of the judge is simply to ascertain
13 and declare what is, in terms or in substance, contained therein, not to insert what has been
14 omitted, or to omit what has been inserted * * *.”).

15 For the reasons explained in more detail below, none of Petitioners’ arguments have
16 merit. This Court should affirm the legislatively enacted redistricting plan.

17 **B. The record does not support Petitioners’ allegations of partisan intent and partisan**
18 **purpose.**

19 Petitioners fail to meet their burden to produce admissible evidence to support most of
20 their allegations. Their thin evidentiary record does not meet their burden to prove their
21 allegations that SB 881 was enacted with partisan intent or partisan purpose, which is an element
22 of all three of their claims.

23 The “factual statement” section of Petitioners’ brief is based largely on speculation and
24 conjecture, and lacks citations to admissible evidence that support the inferences that they invite
25 the Court to draw. Much of it is contrary to, and rebutted by, the Special Master’s recommended

1 findings of fact, which found that SB 881 was enacted for legitimate purposes rather than for the
2 purpose of partisan favoritism. Indeed, the record demonstrates that SB 881 was enacted in
3 accordance with the traditional redistricting criteria that the legislature has directed itself to
4 consider, as reflected both in the districts of the enacted map and by the public testimony
5 received by the legislature.

6 Lacking any other evidence of improper partisan purpose, Petitioners resort to inferences
7 that, in addition to being speculative, disrespect the legislative process. Petitioners invite the
8 Court to assume, without direct evidence, that simply because SB 881 was enacted by elected
9 officials with party affiliations (as all laws are), that must mean that the motive behind
10 legislature's policy decision is suspect. The Court should decline this invitation to question the
11 underpinnings of the legislative process and find that Petitioners have failed to prove the element
12 of partisan intent.

13 **1. Allegations of legislators' reliance on public reporting**

14 Petitioners argue that the FiveThirtyEight and PlanScore ratings of the enacted map
15 support a finding of partisan intent, based on the contention that some legislators "frequently
16 considered" and "focused obsessively on" those ratings.² The evidence Petitioners rely on for
17 their claim that legislators reviewed those sites is inadmissible for that purpose and is irrelevant.
18 Even if the Court were to consider those sources, they would prove nothing about legislators'
19 intent, because Petitioners have not shown that those ratings even existed before the map was
20 enacted, let alone that legislators were aware of them and relied upon them.

21 The FiveThirtyEight and PlanScore ratings of the enacted map could not have influenced
22 the *drafting* of that map, because those websites could not have rated a map when it did not yet
23 exist. The only way those sites could have even conceivably influenced legislators' decision to
24

25 ² Petitioners' Memo in Support of Petition and in Support of Request for Evidentiary and
26 Procedural Rulings (hereinafter "Pets.' Trial Memo") at 8, 18.

1 vote in favor of the map is if the ratings were posted sometime between when the map was
2 released and when it was enacted.

3 Petitioners’ own FiveThirtyEight exhibit indicates that the enacted map was first released
4 on September 25, 2021, and enacted on September 27.³ The only exhibit of any FiveThirtyEight
5 webpage in the record was updated as of October 22.⁴ The exhibit does not indicate what the
6 page looked like earlier—so there is nothing in the record that shows what was on that page
7 during the two-day window between the release of the map and the enactment of it. Thus, there
8 is no evidence that it would even have been possible for anyone to look at the FiveThirtyEight
9 material before SB 881 was enacted.

10 A tweet from a FiveThirtyEight elections analyst on September 25 (the day the map was
11 released) said that FiveThirtyEight planned to analyze the map on September 27 (the day that the
12 map was eventually enacted), but it is unclear whether the eventual analysis was posted before or
13 after the vote on the map.⁵ There is no evidence of what the analysis page looked like on
14 September 27. Nor have any archived documents been introduced that might shed light on that
15 question.

16 Similarly, the exhibit showing the PlanScore ratings of the enacted map is dated
17 October 20, well after SB 881 was enacted.⁶ The PlanScore website currently indicates that its
18 ratings of the map were first “[a]dded to PlanScore” on September 28—the day after the map
19 was enacted.⁷ Petitioners have failed to establish the basic timeline upon which their argument
20

21 ³ See Ex. 1022 at 4.

22 ⁴ See Ex. 1022 at 1 (“Updated Oct. 22, 2021, at 10:54 AM”).

23 ⁵ See @baseballot, Twitter (Sept 25, 2021, 8:47 a.m.),
24 <https://twitter.com/baseballot/status/1441791363276705795?s=27> (“The latest Oregon, Maine,
and Nebraska congressional maps will be up and analyzed on FiveThirtyEight on Monday!”).

25 ⁶ See Ex. 2703 at 1.

26 ⁷ *Oregon Plan Library*, PlanScore, [https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/
library/oregon/](https://planscore.campaignlegal.org/library/oregon/) (last visited Nov 11, 2021).

1 depends, and in particular they have failed to explain how legislators could have “frequently
2 considered” a webpage that did not yet exist.

3 Further, Petitioners’ allegations related to FiveThirtyEight and similar sites depend
4 entirely on an unjustifiable inferences from vague statements by Melissa Unger in her deposition.
5 Ms. Unger testified that publicly available map ratings such as those posted on FiveThirtyEight
6 had come up in conversation with legislators, but she could not recall who participated in any
7 such conversation or when the conversation occurred.⁸ Nothing in her testimony supports the
8 inference that any legislators “focused obsessively” on those websites or even that they were
9 aware of those site’s ratings of SB 881 at any time before the vote on the SB 881 map.

10 **2. Party line vote**

11 Lacking any concrete evidence to support their allegations, Petitioners ask the Court to
12 infer that SB 881 was enacted for the purpose of favoring Democrats from the fact that it was
13 enacted by a party-line vote. This argument fails for the reasons set out at pages 31-33 of
14 Respondent’s Trial Memorandum, which Respondent does not repeat here.

15 The arguments that Petitioners advance in their brief on this point are meritless. First,
16 their contention that a party-line vote evinces legislative malintent rather than an honest policy
17 disagreement is contrary to the basic principle that “in passing upon the validity of legislative
18 action the courts must presume that such action is constitutional unless the contrary is clearly
19 shown.” *State ex rel. Overhulse v. Appling*, 226 Or 575, 585–86 (1961).

20 They claim that they are “unaware of any case anywhere in the country, that has ever
21 held that a redistricting map adopted by a party-line vote by a legislature was not drawn with
22 partisan intent, and there is no record basis for this Panel to become the first here.” Pets.’ Trial
23 Memo at 7, 15–17. Notably, Petitioners do not provide any *direct* citations to case law as
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26 ⁸ Ex. 1045, at 61, 67, 69, Unger Depo. Trans.

1 support for this proposition. Instead, they cite to out-of-jurisdiction cases as examples of this
2 reasoning.⁹ These cases are inapposite.

3 One of the cases that Petitioners cite in support of their proposed rule of law that a party-
4 line vote is evidence of legislative malintent—*League of Women Voters v. Pennsylvania*,
5 178 A3d 737, 817 (Pa 2018)—did not involve a finding of partisan intent at all, because the court
6 adopted a standard that relied solely on effects. And in the other cases, there was no serious
7 factual question about whether the map was a partisan gerrymander; the only question was
8 whether gerrymandering was illegal under the law at issue:

- 9 • In Ohio, a national Republican involved in the map-drawing
10 explained that certain decisions were made to “try[] to lock down
11 12 Republican seats.” *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Inst. v.*
12 *Householder*, 373 F Supp 3d 978, 1103 (SD Ohio), *vac’d and*
13 *rem’d*, 140 S Ct 102 (2019) (emphasis in original).
- 14 • In Florida, “the trial court found that there was ‘just too much
15 circumstantial evidence’ and ‘too many coincidences’ to reach any
16 conclusion other than that the political operatives had ‘infiltrate[d]
17 and influence[d] the Legislature’ in order to ‘obtain the necessary
18 cooperation and collaboration’ to ‘taint the redistricting process
19 and the resulting map with improper partisan intent.’” *League of*
20 *Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner*, 172 So 3d 363, 385 (Fla
21 2015).

22 Based on the record here—ample evidence that SB 881 was based on legitimate policies,
23 overwhelming expert testimony that the enacted map does not have a partisan effect, and no
24

25
26 ⁹ See Pets.’ Trial Memo at 15 (citing case law as examples).

1 direct evidence of partisan intent—this case is not remotely comparable to those cited by
2 Petitioners.

3 Finally, Petitioners cannot reconcile their party-line-vote argument with Republican
4 legislators’ decision to suspend the rules immediately prior to the passage of SB 881, which is
5 what allowed the vote to go forward.¹⁰ Had Republican representatives required the bill to
6 comply with the rule that the bill be read on three separate days,¹¹ the statutory deadline to enact
7 a redistricting plan would have lapsed.¹²

8 **3. Committee assignments**

9 Petitioners continue to rely on irrelevant allegations about committee assignments and
10 internal legislative business in attempting to prove partisan intent. In so doing, they improperly
11 ask the Special Judicial Panel to exceed its authority—they ask that the Special Judicial Panel
12 reverse the Presiding Judge’s ruling that legislative committee assignments are irrelevant to their
13 claims.¹³ That request is improper; SB 259 vests sole authority over procedural and evidentiary
14 rulings in the Presiding Judge and contains no provision authorizing the panel to review the
15 Presiding Judge’s procedural and evidentiary rulings. Or Laws 2021, ch. 419, § 1(6) (SB 259)
16 (providing that the Presiding Judge will “preside over the special judicial panel” and “make all
17 rulings on procedural and evidentiary matters before the panel”).¹⁴ This Court should summarily
18 reject Petitioners’ request.

19 _____
20 ¹⁰ See Respondent’s Trial Memorandum (hereinafter Respondent’s Trial Memo”) at 10–11, 32;
21 SMRFOF ¶¶ 13–15 (describing lack of quorum on September 25, and vote counts on September
22 27).

23 ¹¹ Ex. 2103 at 5 (House Rule 3.50(1)); Ex. 2006 (Measure History of SB 881 showing
24 suspension of the rules and vote counts); Ex. 3018-C at 5 (Sept 27 House transcript).

25 ¹² SB 259 (2021), § 1(2)(b)(A) (establishing a September 27 deadline).

26 ¹³ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 20–21.

¹⁴ See *id.* §§ (7)–(9) (providing that the Special Judicial Panel has authority to consolidate
petitions, allow *amicus* participation, request appointment of a special master, receive
memoranda and evidence, hear oral argument, and decide petitions); ORS 174.010 (“In the
construction of a statute, the office of the judge is simply to ascertain and declare what is, in

1 Furthermore, as the Presiding Judge held, under separation of powers principles,
2 “discretionary acts governing the internal procedures of the legislative branch are not subject to
3 scrutiny or control by the judicial branch where those procedures do not conflict with
4 constitutional provisions”—and the determination of committee composition is one such act.¹⁵
5 Even if such evidence were admissible, it would not be relevant to the issue of partisan intent
6 under that same rationale.¹⁶

7 **4. Floor and committee statements of legislators opposed to SB 881**

8 In support of their argument that SB 881 was designed to favor Democratic candidates,
9 Petitioners cite floor and committee statements of Republican legislators expressing their
10 opposition to the map.¹⁷ Those statements prove nothing about the intent of the map’s
11 proponents. “In general, an examination of legislative history is most useful when it is able to
12 uncover the manifest general legislative intent behind an enactment.” *State v. Gaines*, 346 Or
13 160, 172 n 9 (2009) (quoting *Errand v. Cascade Steel Rolling Mills, Inc.*, 320 Or 509, 539 n 4
14 (1995)). The statements of legislators who *opposed* an enactment contribute nothing to that
15 analysis.

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20 terms or in substance, contained therein, *not to insert what has been omitted . . .*” (Emphasis
21 added.)).

22 ¹⁵ Order on Non-Parties' Mot. to Quash; Protective Order at 3-4 (October 21, 2021) (citing *State*
ex rel. Overhulse v. Appling, 226 Or 575, 586 (1961)).

23 ¹⁶ Beyond all of that, these allegations suffer from evidentiary problems, among other things, that
24 Petitioners attempt to establish what legislators said and subjectively believed through hearsay
25 testimony that also lacks a foundation. 5 See Respondent’s Evidentiary Mot. & Memo at 3, 4, 6,
26 7, 15 (Nov. 10, 2021) (hearsay and foundation objections to the testimony of Petitioner Clarno
and Representative Bonham).

¹⁷ See Pets.’ Trial Memo at 11 (citing Ex. 1028, Video Clip 3; Ex. 1029, Video Clip 4; Ex. 1030,
Video Clip 5; Ex. 1031, Video Clip 6; Ex. 1036, Video Clip 11; Ex. 1039, Video Clip 14)

1 **5. Representative Bonham**

2 Even if it were admissible, Representative Bonham’s testimony does not show that the
3 legislature enacted SB 881 with partisan intent.¹⁸ This testimony lacks probative value for the
4 same reasons that the Special Master recommended that it be excluded, including that the post-
5 enactment views of a single legislator are not probative of the intent of the body as a whole, and
6 that the testimony consists of lay opinion, conjecture, and hearsay. The post-enactment
7 testimony of a single legislator, made for purposes of litigation, would be a thin reed upon which
8 to judicially circumvent legislation enacted by the body as a whole.

9 Furthermore, Representative Bonham’s testimony shows that he was a bystander during
10 the period that SB 881 was under consideration, as he served on the House Redistricting
11 Committee only until September 20, 2021.¹⁹ He was not part of the reconstituted committee
12 during the critical period leading up to the enactment of SB 881 on September 27, 2021, and was
13 therefore not in a position to gain personal knowledge about proceedings during that time.²⁰
14 Though Petitioners characterize Representative Bonham as having a “first-hand view of the
15 process,” the testimony shows otherwise; it relies almost exclusively on his opinions about
16 redistricting decisions and what others purportedly told him about what was happening.²¹

17 Representative Bonham testified that he believed that he would have likely been
18 informed of any communications by his caucus’s members regarding redistricting,²² yet admitted
19 that he had no basis to testify that no members of the Republican caucus had private

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21 ¹⁸ See Pets.’ Memo in Support of Pet. at 11–13, 20–21 (relying on Representative Bonham’s
testimony).

22 ¹⁹ See Ex. 1003, at ¶ 1, Declaration of Daniel Bonham; 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at
102:3-12.

23 ²⁰ SB 881 was not before the House until Representative Bonham was no longer a member of the
24 congressional-redistricting committee. Ex. 1003, ¶¶ 17-21, Bonham Dec; see Ex. 2006, at p. 4,
2021 1st Special Session (showing vote of House committee).

25 ²¹ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 11.

26 ²² 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 168:2–19.

1 conversations with Democratic legislators without his participation. That concession undermines
2 his assertions that no political negotiations took place, and it shows that his testimony was not, in
3 fact, based on upon direct personal knowledge.²³ Without personal knowledge of his colleagues’
4 subjective intent, Representative Bonham’s belief of partisan purpose is pure speculation based
5 on the form of the final map. He implicitly admits as much by asserting that the “partisan
6 design” is apparent, because, in his view, the redistricting maps broke up the greater Portland
7 area into four districts.²⁴ Petitioners do not offer the representative’s testimony as expert
8 testimony (nor would it be appropriate to do so).²⁵ Although Representative Bonham is certainly
9 entitled to his personal opinion, it is of no probative value.

10 In sum, Petitioners’ reliance on Representative Bonham’s testimony as the linchpin for
11 their partisan-intent claim demonstrates the absence of evidence necessary to justify judicial
12 intervention. Personal opinion, conjecture, and hearsay offered through the post-enactment
13 statements of an individual legislator is not probative of partisan intent.

14 **6. The varied, conflicting public hearing testimony does not show that the map**
15 **was enacted with partisan intent.**

16 In support of their argument that the enacted map was intended to favor Democratic
17 candidates, Petitioners cite public hearing testimony in which residents expressed differing views
18

19 ²³ 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 125:9–126:16; *see also* Ex. 1003, ¶ 20, Bonham Dec.
20 (Representative Bonham no longer on congressional redistricting committee); *id.* at ¶ 22
21 (Representative Boshart Davis—not Representative Bonham—attended House Committee on
22 State Legislative Redistricting); 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 105:7–11 (Representative
23 Bonham did not converse with Speaker Kotek about the reconstitution of the redistricting
24 committee), 115:19–116:9 (Representative Bonham not involved in congressional redistricting;
25 instead limited to being “together in our caucus room”), 122:17–123:3 (Representative
26 Bonham’s belief that Minority Leader Drahan and Representative Boshart Davis received the
enacted map at the same time as him based solely on fact that “they were sitting with me when I
received it”), 126:13–16 (admitting inability to know about all conversations between Minority
Leader Drahan and Democratic leadership).

²⁴ Ex. 1003, at ¶ 11, Bonham Dec.

²⁵ 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 134:22–23.

1 on how Portland and Bend should be apportioned.²⁶ The fact that the enacted map reflects some
2 of that testimony and does not reflect other, conflicting testimony does nothing to show that the
3 map was enacted with partisan intent. As the Special Master found, there is no way that the map
4 could have fulfilled the wishes of every person who testified.²⁷

5 **7. Petitioners’ geographic policy preferences**

6 Petitioners assert the enacted map was “designed to favor Democratic Party candidates
7 for Congress” because (1) the map does not pack the Portland metropolitan area into one or two
8 districts; and (2) District 5 crosses the Cascade Range, therefore encompassing areas to the east
9 and to the west of that mountain range, including Bend. These arguments fail for all of the
10 reasons set out at pages 29-30 of Respondent’s Trial Memorandum.

11 In addition, Petitioners fail to support this allegation with persuasive evidence, given that
12 they rely on unhelpful and likely inadmissible lay opinion from Petitioner Clarno and
13 Representative Bonham.²⁸ They also rely on public testimony that advocates for the policies that
14 Petitioners favor (such as packing Portland and diluting the urban vote), but that were not
15 ultimately adopted by the legislature. As explained by the Special Master, the existence of
16 conflicting testimony in such a large legislative record is inevitable, and the fact the legislature
17 declined to adopt the policies favored by Petitioners and some of the witnesses who testified
18 does not support an inference that the legislature acted with partisan intent.

19 **8. Relevance of 188.010(1) compliance to rebut allegations of partisan intent**
20 **and noncompliance with ORS 188.010(2)**

21 Respondent requested extensive findings relating to SB 881’s compliance with the
22 ORS 188.010(1) traditional redistricting criteria, which the Special Master, determining that they

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24 ²⁶ Pets. Trial Memo at 11, 18–19.

25 ²⁷ See SMRFOF ¶ 213 (“The Redistricting Committees heard testimony expressing a variety of
views, and it was not possible to satisfy them all.”).

26 ²⁸ See Pets.’ Trial Memo at 11-12.

1 remain relevant, provided. Evidence of what the legislature *did* intend is clearly relevant to rebut
2 assertions that the legislature intended something different. This is so for all of the reasons set
3 forth in Respondent’s Trial Memorandum at pages 25-26, not repeated here.

4 Petitioners suggest that because ORS 188.010(1) and ORS 188.010(2) are separate
5 provisions of the same statute, they are unconnected and must be considered in isolation. This
6 argument is untethered from Oregon law. In determining legislative intent, courts must consider
7 a statute’s text, context, and legislative history. Here, ORS 188.010—in its entirety—is
8 important context to SB 881 because it is a related statute on the same subject, and
9 ORS 188.010’s closely related provisions should be read together, not in isolation. *See Vsetecka*
10 *v. Safeway Stores, Inc.*, 337 Or 502, 508 (2004) (“Ordinarily, however, ‘text should not be read
11 in isolation but must be considered in context.’ Context includes other provisions of the same
12 statute.”) (quoting *Stevens v. Czerniak*, 336 Or 392, 401 (2004)). And the legislative history of
13 SB 881 is clearly relevant and helpful to the Court under the circumstances here, for reasons that
14 have already been explained.

15 Petitioners also suggest that because there are cases in which courts from other
16 jurisdictions found that it was *possible* for a map to both comply with those states’ traditional
17 redistricting criteria and nonetheless constitute an unlawful partisan gerrymander, the Court
18 should *refuse to consider* evidence of compliance with traditional redistricting criteria here.²⁹
19 But there is no justification for this Court to refuse to consider relevant legislative history
20 evidence in interpreting what the legislature intended in enacting SB 881. And Petitioners,
21 unlike the challengers in the cases they cite, have failed to prove both partisan intent and partisan
22 effect. In the absence of such a showing, evidence of what the legislature did intend is
23 particularly relevant.

24

25

26 ²⁹ See Pets.’ Trial Memo at 23–24.

1 **C. Petitioners’ legal arguments regarding the first claim and partisan intent generally**
2 **fail.**

3 Petitioners’ legal arguments regarding the first claim are meritless and ignore basic tenets
4 of Oregon law.

5 **1. Petitioners offer no basis for reading “the purpose” in ORS 188.010(2) to**
6 **mean “motivating factor.”**

7 ORS 188.010(2) is implicated only if the legislature draws a district for the purpose of
8 partisan favoritism. Petitioners offer no persuasive reason for this Court to apply the “motivating
9 factor” standard from *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.*,
10 429 U.S. 252 (1977), when assessing what the legislature’s “purpose” was under
11 ORS 188.010(2).³⁰ Statutory construction of an Oregon statute is governed by a well-
12 established framework that considers text, context, and legislative history to determine the intent
13 of the legislature that enacted the statute. *State v. Gaines*, 346 Or 160, 171-72 (2009). Petitioner
14 offers no argument based on text, context, or history for importing the *Village of Arlington*
15 *Heights* standard.

16 Textually, the criterion that the legislature must consider under ORS 188.010(2) is that
17 districts not be drawn for “*the* purpose” of favoring a political party. (Emphasis added). By
18 using the definite article “the” instead of the indefinite article “a” for the word “purpose,” the
19 text suggests that partisan favoritism must be the sole or at least dominant purpose. *See State v.*
20 *Lykins*, 357 Or 145, 159 (2015) (“As a grammatical matter, the definite article, ‘the,’ indicates
21 something specific, either known to the reader or listener or uniquely specified.”). The text does
22 not support interpreting “the purpose” to mean “a motivating factor.”

23 Nothing in the statute’s context or legislative history supports a different conclusion than
24 the text suggests. ORS 188.010(2) was enacted in its present form in 1979. Or Laws 1979,
25 ch 667, § 1. The language was originally drafted by the House to guide the work of a proposed

26 ³⁰ *See* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 13.

1 bipartisan redistricting commission. *See* House Amendments to Printed A-Engrossed Senate
2 Bill 305, § 11 (June 28, 1979). A conference committee rejected the proposed commission but
3 kept the language as a guide to the redistricting work of the legislature and the Secretary of State.
4 *See* Conference Committee Amendments to Printed A-Engrossed Senate Bill 305 (July 3, 1979).
5 Nothing in the legislative history suggests that the legislature had in mind the then-recent ruling
6 in *Village of Arlington Heights*, which addressed how to determine if a municipality’s zoning
7 decision was racially discriminatory. 429 U.S. at 254. *Village of Arlington Heights* itself
8 emphasized that race discrimination was a uniquely pernicious problem that required a separate
9 legal standard. *Id.* at 265-66 (“But racial discrimination is not just another competing
10 consideration. When there is a proof that a discriminatory purpose has been a motivating factor
11 in the decision, this judicial deference is no longer justified.”). Petitioners offer no reason to
12 think that the 1979 Oregon legislature intended to codify that standard from a different area of
13 the law into ORS 188.010(2).

14 Thus, courts—including most of the courts cited by Petitioners³¹—generally *reject* the
15 motivating-factor standard as appropriate for claims of partisan gerrymandering and apply a
16 predominant-purpose standard instead. *See, e.g., Ohio A. Philip Randolph Inst. v. Householder*,
17 373 F Supp 3d 978, 1095 (SD Ohio), *vac’d and rem’d*, 140 S. Ct. 102 (2019); *Common Cause v.*
18 *Rucho*, 318 F Supp 3d 777, 864 (MDNC 2018), *vac’d and rem’d*, 139 S. Ct. 2484 (2019).

19 **2. Petitioners do not explain how their ORS 188.010(2) claim states a legally**
20 **cognizable claim.**

21 Petitioners do not take issue with the bedrock principle that a court cannot invalidate one
22 statute on the ground that it violates an earlier-enacted statute. They offer several undeveloped
23 assertions in response, but none has merit.

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26 ³¹ *See* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 14.

1 The principle that one statute cannot violate another draws on and relates to the well-
2 established case law disfavoring implied repeal. Although the court “will not *presume* an intent
3 to repeal” when a statute does not do so explicitly, “when a subsequent statute is repugnant to or
4 in conflict with a prior statute the prior statute is impliedly repealed.” *Buehler v. Rosenblum*,
5 354 Or 318, 325 (2013) (emphasis added; quotation marks and ellipsis omitted). Implied repeal
6 exists “when there is plain, unavoidable, and irreconcilable conflict between the new and the old
7 statute”; that is, “where the carrying out of the later act prevents the enforcement of any part of
8 the former.” *Id.* (quotation marks omitted).

9 Respondent is *not* arguing that SB 881 impliedly repealed ORS 188.010(2). SB 881 is
10 not a partisan gerrymander, there is no evidence that the legislature intended it as such, and the
11 Secretary of State³² strongly opposes partisan gerrymandering. The legislature fully complied
12 with ORS 188.010(2) when it enacted SB 881, and there is no conflict between those two
13 statutes. But *if* the Court were to disagree and conclude that the two statutes irreconcilably
14 conflicted, such that SB 881 could not be implemented if ORS 188.010(2) were enforced, it is
15 black letter law that the more recently enacted SB 881 would prevail.

16 Although Petitioners cite Article IV, section 6, of the Oregon Constitution, that provision
17 has nothing to do with congressional redistricting.³³ It governs Supreme Court review of the
18 *state* legislative maps.

19 Petitioners also argue that the argument that one statute cannot violate another statute was
20 waived.³⁴ This argument fails for three reasons.

21 First, an argument about the proper interpretation of a statute is not waivable; the Court
22 has an obligation to construe the statute correctly regardless of the parties’ arguments. *See*

23

24 ³² As the Court knows, the Secretary is the technical defendant here (*see* SB 259 (2021), § 1(3)),
though she had no role in the congressional redistricting process.

25 ³³ *See* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 16.

26 ³⁴ *See* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 16.

1 *Stull v. Hoke*, 326 Or 72, 77 (1997) (“In construing a statute, this court is responsible for
2 identifying the correct interpretation, whether or not asserted by the parties.”); *see also*
3 *Strasser v. State*, 368 Or 238, 260 (2021) (“While this court generally will confine itself to the
4 arguments that the parties have actually asserted in a case, we have an independent duty to
5 correctly interpret any statute that comes before us, regardless of the arguments and
6 interpretations offered by the parties.”); *State v. Vallin*, 364 Or 295, 300 (2019), *opinion adh’d to*
7 *as modified on recons*, 437 P3d 231 (Or 2019) (“At bottom, the issue here is one of
8 constitutional interpretation, and this court is duty-bound to interpret the law correctly, without
9 regard to the parties' arguments or lack thereof.”).

10 Second, the trial brief is not too late to make an argument that Petitioners’ statutory claim
11 under ORS 188.010(2) fails to state a claim upon which relief could be granted. Under
12 ORCP 21 G(3), such a defense “may be made in any pleading * * * *or* at the trial on the merits.”
13 (Emphasis added); *see also Vance v. Ford*, 187 Or App 412, 420 (2003) (“[E]ven if defendants
14 had failed to assert the defense in a pleading, they could have raised it for the first time at trial.”).
15 Because this Court has not yet held the “trial” of this special proceeding, the defense is timely
16 even if it were waivable. The only case Petitioners cite—*Fox v. Collins*, 213 Or App 451
17 (2007)—involved a statute-of-limitations defense. That defense, unlike failure to state a claim, is
18 waived if not included in the answer or an ORCP 21 motion. ORCP 21 G(2).

19 Finally, the Answer *did* expressly preserve the defense. The Answer’s First Affirmative
20 Defense was that the statutory claims under ORS 188.010 failed to state a claim upon which
21 relief could be granted, and the Fourth Affirmative Defense was that the claims are
22 nonjusticiable. Nothing more was required to preserve the argument that the ORS 188.010
23 claims fail as a matter of law.

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1 Petitioners also accuse the State of “repudiat[ing]” what it said about ORS 188.010(2) in
2 two U.S. Supreme Court amicus briefs.³⁵ Not so. Those briefs cited ORS 188.010(2) as part of a
3 list of state laws that bar officials from drawing district lines for the purpose of favoring or
4 disfavoring a political party.³⁶ And so it does. That law is binding on the Secretary of State
5 when she is called upon to draw state legislative maps, and it guides the courts when they draw
6 or redraw maps.

7 As a duly enacted law, ORS 188.010(2) also binds the legislature when it draws
8 districts—unless and until the legislature repeals it, either expressly or impliedly. The legislature
9 properly treated ORS 188.010(2) as binding and complied with it when enacting SB 881. The
10 two statutes are consistent. If, but only if, SB 881 conflicted irreconcilably with ORS
11 188.010(2), the more recent statute would control.

12 **D. Petitioners’ Free and Equal Election Clause Claim is Meritless.**

13 The parties agree that the Free and Equal Elections Clause prohibits partisan
14 gerrymandering, but they disagree about the standard. Respondent’s opening brief surveys the
15 text and Oregon Supreme Court case law to demonstrate that a partisan gerrymandering plaintiff
16 must “show (1) that the map is likely to entrench a particular party in power durably, regardless
17 of changes in the partisan preference; and (2) that entrenchment was the purpose, not merely an
18 incidental effect, of drawing the districts that way.”³⁷ Petitioners, on the other hand, simply
19 assert that Article II, section 2, requires the Court to adopt as a constitutional mandate their
20 proposed test under the efficiency gap, which they apparently gleaned from a 2015 law review
21 article.³⁸ They also cite an out-of-state case holding, correctly, that free-and-equal-elections
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³⁵ See Pets.’ Trial Memo at 16.

24 ³⁶ Ex. 1024, at 19; Ex. 1025, at 18.

25 ³⁷ Respondent’s Trial Memo at 41.

26 ³⁸ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 28–34.

1 clauses prohibit partisan gerrymandering.³⁹ But that case does not support their argument that
2 the Oregon Constitution prohibits a redistricting plan simply because it was adopted by a party-
3 line vote and fails to comport with their single preferred metric for partisan fairness.⁴⁰

4 **1. Petitioners failed to prove partisan intent**

5 As explained in Respondent’s opening brief (Section IV.A.1 (at 22–33) and above
6 (Section B), Petitioners have failed to prove partisan intent. A failure to establish partisan intent
7 is fatal to their constitutional claim.

8 **2. Petitioners failed to prove partisan effect**

9 **a. The efficiency gap alone cannot prove partisan effect.**

10 Petitioners’ argument about the effects prong centers entirely on a single metric—the
11 efficiency gap—and the proposition that the Court should automatically condemn any map that
12 exceeds a threshold Petitioners have chosen: 7%. The evidentiary record does not support that
13 approach. Even if the efficiency gap has value, it has well-known limitations, especially when,
14 as here, the map being analyzed has fewer than 7 districts. Moreover, not even the efficiency
15 gap’s academic proponents propose a 7% threshold. The efficiency gap was never meant to be a
16 stand-alone metric; at most an abnormally large efficiency gap (far in excess of the efficiency
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20 ³⁹ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 27 (citing *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, 178 A.3d 737,
97–123 (Pa. 2018)).

21 ⁴⁰ *League of Women Voters*, 178 A.3d at 816–17 (2018) (“an essential part of such an inquiry is
22 an examination of whether the congressional districts created under a redistricting plan are:
23 composed of compact and contiguous territory; as nearly equal in population as practicable; and
24 which do not divide any county, city, incorporated town, borough, township, or ward, except
25 where necessary to ensure equality of population.”); *id.* at 817 (“When, however, it is
26 demonstrated that, in the creation of congressional districts, these neutral criteria have been
subordinated, in whole or in part, to extraneous considerations such as gerrymandering for unfair
partisan political advantage, a congressional redistricting plan violates Article I, Section 5 of the
Pennsylvania Constitution.”). In dicta, the Court notes other methods may be used to prove a
redistricting plan violates the Pennsylvania Constitution, but *LWV* does not propose the standards
that would apply to such an inquiry. *Id.* at 817.

1 gap estimates here⁴¹) suggests the need for further inquiry to see whether the figure is sensitive to
2 small shifts in voter preference and whether it can be explained by political geography.

3 First, the efficiency gap's value here is questionable because of inherent shortcomings of
4 the metric. It "does not measure partisan symmetry ..."⁴² And, as recent peer-reviewed
5 research has conclusively established, the mathematical premises of the metric are simply
6 incorrect.⁴³ Moreover, the value of the efficiency gap for any purpose is limited because it
7 swings wildly depending on the parties' statewide vote share; here, all that "suggest[s is] that the
8 Enacted Map does not offer a durable advantage to either party."⁴⁴

9 Petitioners argue that the Court should nevertheless prefer the efficiency gap over any
10 other measure because it is "easy to calculate."⁴⁵ It's true that the efficiency gap is trivially
11 simple in one respect: *given a known election result*, the efficiency gap can be calculated using
12 fifth-grade math.⁴⁶ That simplicity also makes it of limited utility in answering the real question
13 here: how to predict the results of elections in the coming decade. Provided one knows how
14 many hits and at bats a baseball player has, it's easy to calculate a batting average,⁴⁷ but knowing
15 that formula does not make it possible to predict a player's batting average over the next 10
16 years.

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19 ⁴¹ SMRFOF ¶¶ 265–266, 281, 284–285.

20 ⁴² SMRFOF ¶ 237.

21 ⁴³ Ex. 2304 at 13–14 (adopted by reference Ex. 2300 at 3 (¶ 10)).

22 ⁴⁴ SMRFOF ¶ 285; *see also* Ex. 1048 at 3 (Brunell) (showing efficiency gap values ranging from
23 21.24% (2016 President) to -23.8% (2016 Secretary of State), a range of 45%.

24 ⁴⁵ Pets.' Trial Memo at 30.

25 ⁴⁶ "A wasted vote is either (a) a vote cast for a losing candidate or (b) a vote cast for a winning
26 candidate beyond the 50% + 1 required for victory. Stephanopoulos and McGhee define the
27 efficiency gap as "the difference between the parties' respective wasted votes, divided by the
28 total number of votes cast in the election." Ex. 3001 at 13 n 34 (Caughey); *accord* Ex. 1006 at 7
(Brunell).

29 ⁴⁷ Hits divided by at-bats.

1 The wide-ranging estimates of the efficiency gap flowing from different methods used in
2 this case illustrate this fact vividly:⁴⁸

- 3 • Brunell (Oct. 25)⁴⁹: 19.85%
- 4 • FiveThirtyEight⁵⁰: 17.2%
- 5 • PlanScore⁵¹ / Caughey (average results, relying on PlanScore)⁵²: 8.5%
- 6 • Brunell (Oct. 28)⁵³: 7.7%
- 7 • Caughey (assuming statewide vote is tied)⁵⁴: “almost exactly 0”
- 8 • Princeton Gerrymandering Project⁵⁵: decline to calculate – too few seats

9 This wide variance in estimates of the efficiency gap in future elections shows that the metric
10 depends heavily on the method used. Dr. Brunell’s own estimate of the efficiency gap changed
11 from 19.85% in his original report to 7.7% in the supplemental report he filed after cross-
12 examinations were complete.⁵⁶

13 Second, not even the proponents of the efficiency gap as a measure of partisan bias
14 support using the 7% threshold that Petitioners suggest here. The original law review article
15 proposing the efficiency gap suggested that courts condemn a plan for congressional districts as a
16 partisan gerrymander only if the efficiency gap is equal to two seats.⁵⁷ For a 6-seat map, that is a

17 ⁴⁸ See Appendix 1, a summary of the experts’ methods.

18 ⁴⁹ Ex. 1005 at 3 (¶ 15). See also Ex. 1006 at 8 (calculating this number as the average of
21.07%, 21.24%, and 17.23%).

19 ⁵⁰ Ex. 1022 at 2.

20 ⁵¹ Ex. 2703 at 1.

21 ⁵² Ex. 3001 at 15 (¶ 28)

22 ⁵³ Ex. 1048 at 3. This is calculated as the average of 18 values ranging from 21.24% (2016
President) to -23.8% (2016 Secretary of State), a range of 45%.

23 ⁵⁴ Ex. 3001 at 15 (¶ 29).

24 ⁵⁵ Ex. 1023.

25 ⁵⁶ Compare Ex. 1005 at 3 (¶ 15) with Ex. 1048 at 3 (¶ 7).

26 ⁵⁷ Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos & Eric M. McGhee, *Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency
Gap*, 82 U. Chi. L. Rev. 831, 837 (2015) (“To take into account both the severity and the

1 33.33% efficiency gap.⁵⁸ None of the efficiency gap estimates in this case come anywhere close
2 to that mark. And the testimony in this case shows “that efficiency gaps of this magnitude are
3 hardly unusual”⁵⁹

4 Finally, the efficiency gap was never designed to be a stand-alone metric based on a
5 single figure. Judges who have found the efficiency gap relevant have recognized that even a
6 large gap might not be probative in a given instance.⁶⁰ Thus, even if the Court were to adopt a
7 7% threshold, it would have to consider other evidence of partisan bias or fairness to complete
8 the picture. No court has ever suggested that the efficiency gap alone is dispositive; no judge has
9 even proposed such a rule. The Special Master in this case found “[t]he efficiency gap alone
10 may not ‘measure the partisan fairness of a proposed electoral map.’”⁶¹ In short, no one believes
11 that the efficiency gap (or other partial metrics for that matter) offers a complete analytical
12 picture.

13 The discussion above of the efficiency gap’s shortcomings is entirely consistent with the
14 State’s amicus briefs in prior federal cases on which Petitioners rely.⁶² Those briefs did not
15 suggest that courts should use the efficiency gap and only the efficiency gap—however

16 _____
17 durability of gerrymanders, we recommend setting the bar at *two seats* for congressional
18 plans....”).

19 ⁵⁸ 10/28/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 2) at 109:21–111:3 (Katz); Ex. 2300 at 13 (noting that “since the
20 enacted Congressional map only has six districts,” “the seat share can only move by 1/6 or
21 16.67%”).

22 ⁵⁹ SMRFOF ¶ 284; *see also* SMRFOF ¶¶ 265–66.

23 ⁶⁰ *See, e.g., Rucho*, 139 S Ct at 2516 (“the State must come up with a legitimate, non-partisan
24 justification to save its map”); *Whitford v. Nichol*, 151 F Supp 3d 918, 931 (WD Wis 2015) *rev’d*
25 *on other grounds* 138 S. Ct. 1916 (“The defendants also might be able to show that a
26 large efficiency gap is justified by a legitimate state interest, which may include traditional
27 districting criteria such as equal population, compliance with the Voting Rights Act,
28 compactness, respect for political subdivisions or respect for communities of interest (step
29 three).”).

30 ⁶¹ SMRFOF ¶ 238.

31 ⁶² As a formal matter, these briefs are not relevant evidence. *See* Respondent’s Evid. Mot. &
32 Memo at 26-27. Even if they were, they would not establish that Respondent here—much less
33 the courts—are legally bound by the arguments advanced in those briefs.

1 inappropriate for the particular case—to determine whether there was an illegal partisan
2 gerrymander. Quite to the contrary, the briefs emphasized that the inquiry had to “look at a full
3 range of metrics,” and that even a large efficiency gap would not be ground for invalidating a
4 map if the gap could be explained by neutral considerations:

5 **Texas amici also err in focusing on a single metric - the**
6 **efficiency gap** - and assuming that if a State’s election results in a
7 single year yield a high efficiency gap, the effects prong is satisfied
8 and the map is unconstitutional. **A purpose-and-effects test in**
9 **this context would have to look at a full range of metrics**
10 And Texas amici ignore that even a large efficiency gap is not a
11 problem if it can be explained by something other than intentional
12 partisan entrenchment for the long-term
13 Properly applied, a purpose-and-effects standard will invalidate
14 only the most extreme maps....⁶³

11 The States’ brief in *Rucho* also expressly disclaimed reliance on a single metric.⁶⁴

12 That is as it should be. As the Special Master found, “the evidence shows that experts
13 also agree that no one metric should be used without consideration of other tests, because while
14 any one test may be acceptable, the reliability of the metric must be tested by consideration of
15 other metrics.”⁶⁵ The Special Master found that four common indicators were each within the
16 margin of error, with two leaning in favor of Democrats and two leaning toward Republicans.⁶⁶
17 For that reason, he concluded “[t]here is, in short, little compelling evidence that the Oregon
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20 ⁶³ Ex. 1024 at 17 (States Amicus Brief, *Gill v. Whitford*, 2017 WL 3948435, at *16-*17 (U.S.
21 2017)). *See also* Ex. 1025 at 15 (States Amicus Brief, *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 2019 WL
22 1167911, at *15 (U.S. 2019) (“[M]etrics such as the efficiency gap showing that a map is an
23 extreme partisan outlier merely ‘provide evidence that’ it violates constitutional standards. Pet.
24 App. 122. Thus, if a State’s election results in a single year yielded a high efficiency gap, that
25 alone would not likely satisfy the effects prong. And even if it did, the map still would be upheld
26 if the effect could be explained by something other than intentional partisan entrenchment....”)

⁶⁴ Ex. 1025 at 15 (States Amicus Brief, *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 2019 WL 1167911, at *15
(U.S. 2019) (“no single metric is likely to satisfy the effects prong by itself”).

⁶⁵ SMRFOF at p. 15.

⁶⁶ SMRFOF ¶ 286.

1 districting plan substantially favors the Democratic Party.”⁶⁷ That finding is well supported by
2 the record.⁶⁸

3 The context in which these amicus briefs were filed also matters. None of the cases had a
4 serious factual question at issue. All were obvious and extreme partisan gerrymanders that none
5 of the defendant states seriously contested; the only question was whether the Supreme Court
6 would determine there was a cognizable constitutional claim prohibiting partisan
7 gerrymandering:

- 8 • In North Carolina, the Republican chair of the redistricting committee said, in the
9 legislative record, that the legislature was “draw[ing] the maps to give a partisan
10 advantage to 10 Republicans and 3 Democrats because [I] d[o] not believe it[’s]
11 possible to draw a map with 11 Republicans and 2 Democrats.”⁶⁹
- 12 • In Maryland, Democratic leaders—admittedly—drew the lines intentionally “to
13 create a map that was more favorable for Democrats over the next ten years.’ ...
14 [The mapdrawer] received only two instructions: to ensure that the new map

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22 ⁶⁷ SMRFOF ¶ 287 (adopting Dr. Caughey’s conclusion).

23 ⁶⁸ See Ex. 3001 at 6 (¶ 12) (Caughey) (“no one indicator provides a dispositive test of partisan
24 gerrymandering”); 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 276:18–277:8 (Brunell) (Q: “would find
25 [partisan bias, mean median, declination] to be valid metrics of –” A. “Yeah, there’s a lot of
decent metrics out there to measure partisan gerrymandering and they all have -- you know,
there’s pluses and minuses to them.”).

26 ⁶⁹ *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S. Ct. 2484, 2510 (2019) (Kagan, J., dissenting).

1 produced 7 reliable Democratic seats, and to protect all Democratic
2 incumbents.”⁷⁰

- 3 • In Wisconsin, Republicans won the lower house of the state legislature by a
4 19-seat margin (60 seats to 39 seats) in an election in which Republican
5 candidates received fewer votes than Democratic candidates.⁷¹

6 Other metrics confirmed that these were extreme partisan gerrymanders.⁷²

7 Also not at issue in either amicus brief were the efficiency gap’s particular shortcomings
8 for evaluating a six-district plans, because those cases concerned a 13-member North Carolina
9 U.S. House delegation and a 99-seat Wisconsin Assembly.⁷³ As the Special Master found,
10 “Efficiency gap is an even less reliable measure of partisan fairness for congressional elections in
11 Oregon, because Oregon has only six seats.”⁷⁴ That finding is well supported by the record:

- 12 • Dr. Brunell’s own testimony admitted as much.⁷⁵
- 13 • PlanScore warns its readers: “This plan has 6 seats. Fairness metrics for plans
14 with fewer than seven seats should be interpreted with great caution.”⁷⁶
- 15 • Princeton Gerrymandering Project refuses to publish an efficiency gap metric for
16 Oregon at all: “Additional metrics: Not calculated because this map has either
17

18 ⁷⁰ *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S. Ct. 2484, 2510—11 (2019) (Kagan, J., dissenting).

19 ⁷¹ *Gill v. Whitford*, 138 S. Ct. 1916, 1923 (2018) (“In 2012, Republicans won 60 [of 99]
20 Assembly seats with 48.6% of the two-party statewide vote for Assembly candidates.”).

21 ⁷² See also Ex. 1025 at 2 (States Amicus Brief, *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 2019 WL 1167911, at
22 *2 (U.S. 2019)) (“North Carolina’s map maximized partisan advantage to a greater extent than
23 99 percent of all possible districting maps based on neutral criteria.”).

24 ⁷³ The Maryland claim in *Bensek* (which was consolidated with *Rucho*) was not based on a
25 statewide theory of partisan gerrymandering and metrics like efficiency gap were not at issue.
26 See *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S. Ct. 2484, 2518 (2019) (“the Maryland gerrymander
involved just one district”).

⁷⁴ SMRFOF ¶ 239.

⁷⁵ 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (Rough) at 230:8-232:14 (Brunell).

⁷⁶ Ex. 2703 at 1.

1 fewer than 7 districts or the voteshare is outside 45-55% causing the metrics to be
2 unreliable.”⁷⁷

3 Petitioners’ sole reliance on the efficiency gap, on which Petitioners’ entire proof of
4 partisan effects rests, should be rejected.

5 **b. The Special Master was correct to find Dr. Brunell unreliable.**

6 Contrary to Petitioners’ argument, the Special Master’s finding that “the methodology
7 [Dr. Brunell] employs, and therefore the conclusions he reached, lack credibility and are
8 therefore unreliable” is well grounded in the record.⁷⁸ If anything, the Special Master’s
9 conclusion that Dr. Brunell’s missteps were honest methodological errors was generous.⁷⁹ No
10 one disputes the Special Master’s conclusion that Dr. Brunell is a well-credentialed political
11 scientist, but his report in this case is not based on any methods recognized in that field. It is
12 therefore inadmissible under *State v. O’Key*.⁸⁰ Even if Dr. Brunell’s testimony is admissible, the
13 Court should give it no weight.

14 **i. Brunell’s methods to calculate efficiency gap and**
15 **proportionality are unreliable.**

16 Petitioners misunderstand the basis of the Special Master’s finding on of the “lack of
17 methodological rigor” in Dr. Brunell’s work:⁸¹ while it is true that there are problems with
18 relying on proportionality and efficiency gap as metrics of partisan effect in general,⁸² Dr.

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⁷⁷ Ex. 1023 at 2.

21 ⁷⁸ SMRFOF ¶ 289.

22 ⁷⁹ See Respondent’s Proposed Findings of Fact ¶¶ 262–91 (detailing four sets of material
23 inaccuracies in Dr. Brunell’s testimony). Dr. Brunell also decided not to disclose the results of
24 his analyses of the 2014, 2016, and 2018 Governor’s race when he knew those results severely
25 undermined the conclusions he presented to the Court. *Id.* at ¶¶ 263–73.

26 ⁸⁰ Respondent’s Evidentiary Mot. & Memo. at 29–32.

⁸¹ SMRFOF ¶¶ 296–302.

⁸² See § D.2.a, above.

1 Brunell’s method of estimating these metrics is not reliable.⁸³ Dr. Brunell reaggregates the raw
2 results of past statewide elections for other offices rather than make any effort to determine how
3 elections for the U.S. House are correlated to election results for other offices. He also provides
4 no probability or other estimate of uncertainty.⁸⁴ As Dr. Katz testified, this is not a recognized
5 method in political science.⁸⁵ And on the stand, Dr. Brunell could identify no peer-reviewed
6 publication in the history of political science that supports the methods used in his report. This
7 alone makes his testimony inadmissible.⁸⁶

8
9 **ii. Brunell’s testimony on county splits, compactness, and maps is unreliable.**

10 As the Special Master found, Dr. Brunell’s report passed along the work of an unnamed
11 mapmaker received from counsel, despite no independent verification and without disclosing that
12 fact.⁸⁷ That is quite different from relying on the raw data of election results from sources
13 ordinarily relied on by political scientists.

14 Dr. Brunell’s published views about the insignificance of county splits and compactness
15 as redistricting criteria are directly at odds with his testimony in this case. Nothing in
16 Dr. Brunell’s article was taken out of context: Petitioners point to no other part of Dr. Brunell’s
17 article that shows the parts he was asked about are not representative of his views. And, on
18 cross-examination, Dr. Brunell had no plausible explanation for the difference between his
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22 ⁸³ SMRFOF ¶¶ 300–02.

23 ⁸⁴ SMRFOF ¶¶ 296, 300; 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 212:24–213:6 (Brunell).

24 ⁸⁵ 10/28/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 2) at 156:16–20 (Katz) (offer of proof) (Q. “What ... do you
25 think the likelihood is that the methods presented here [by Dr. Brunell] would survive peer
26 review and be published in a refereed journal? A. None”).

⁸⁶ Respondent’s Evidentiary Mot. & Memo. at 29–32.

⁸⁷ SMRFOF ¶ 291.

1 longstanding published views and his testimony in this case.⁸⁸ If there is any doubt, the Panel’s
2 own review of the article in comparison to his report will easily resolve the issue.⁸⁹

3 The Special Master’s finding that Dr. Brunell’s testimony is not reliable is well founded.

4 **E. Petitioners’ Article I claims fail as a matter of law**

5 Petitioners make no attempt to square their claims with Oregon jurisprudence or the text,
6 context, or history of any of the provisions of Article I they assert in this case.⁹⁰ These claims
7 fail as a matter of law for the reasons articulated in Respondent’s opening brief.⁹¹ Even if these
8 constitutional provisions were reinterpreted to address partisan gerrymandering, Petitioners’
9 claims fail factually for the same reasons as their Free and Equal Elections claim fails:
10 Petitioners have not proven partisan intent or partisan effect.

11 **F. Petitioners have failed to propose a legally permissible map**

12 As explained in Respondent’s Trial Memorandum, Petitioners have not proposed a
13 legally permissible map, because it would unnecessarily divide communities of common interest
14 in violation of ORS 188.010(1), and it is biased in favor of Republican candidates in violation of
15 ORS 188.010(2).⁹² Petitioners now suggest that the Court should squeeze a remedy phase into
16 this trial to address these deficiencies, stating that they “would thus welcome Respondent,
17 Intervenors or any other interested parties submitting their own competing remedial maps, with
18 as close to an efficiency gap of 0 as possible.”⁹³

19 This Court has until November 24, 2021, to decide this case and, if the Court finds it
20 necessary, to “create its own reapportionment plan.” SB 259 § 1 (8)(a), (10)(a). Petitioners have

21 _____
22 ⁸⁸ SMRFOF ¶¶ 294–95 (citing Brunell cross-examination at 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at
175–76, 187).

23 ⁸⁹ Ex. 2701A.

24 ⁹⁰ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 26:19–27:14.

25 ⁹¹ Respondent’s Trial Memo at 45–51.

26 ⁹² See Resp’s Trial Memo at 51–55; see also SMRFOF ¶¶ 307–311.

⁹³ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 34.

1 failed to justify their proposed plan, and the Court should reject this eleventh hour request to
2 effectively amend the scheduling order.

3

4

5

RESPONSE TO PETITIONERS' EVIDENTIARY ARGUMENTS

6

This section of the response addresses evidentiary arguments introduced by Petitioners in
7 their merits brief.⁹⁴

8

A. Legal standard

9

The issues of admissibility discussed below are all questions of law. *See State v. Babson*,
10 355 Or 383, 417–28 (2014) (construing scope of Debate Clause); *State v. Henderson-Laird*, 280
11 Or App 107, 115 (2016) (“The admissibility of hearsay is a question of law that we review for
12 legal error.”); *State v. Hickman*, 355 Or 715, 731 (2014) (requiring proponent of testimony to
13 produce evidence “from which a rational juror could find” that witness has personal knowledge);
14 *State v. Davis*, 336 Or 19, 25 (2003) (rulings on relevance reviewed for legal error); *State v.*
15 *Etzel*, 310 Or App 761, 774 (2021) (“It is a question of law whether evidence is ‘scientific’ in
16 nature.”).

17

Under SB 259, the Presiding Judge has the exclusive authority to make procedural and
18 evidentiary rulings in this proceeding.⁹⁵ If Petitioners wish to appeal the Presiding Judge’s
19 evidentiary rulings, the court with jurisdiction to review those rulings is the Oregon Supreme
20 Court, not the Special Judicial Panel. *See id.* §§ (9)(c), (10)(b) (providing for direct appeal to
21 Supreme Court); *see also id.* § (11)–(13) (providing procedure and standards for appeal).

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⁹⁴ Respondent does not waive any of the objections previously set out in Respondent’s
24 Evidentiary Motion and Memorandum of October 10, 2021.

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⁹⁵ SB 259 provides that “The Chief Justice shall also select one of the appointed judges to
26 preside over the special judicial panel and to make all rulings on procedural and evidentiary
matters before the panel.” Or Laws 2021, ch. 419, § 1(6).

1 **B. The Special Master correctly concluded that the declaration and testimony of**
2 **Representative Bonham were inadmissible on legislative privilege grounds.**

3 The Special Master concluded that the declaration and hearing testimony of
4 Representative Daniel Bonham, purporting to describe communications of other legislators, were
5 inadmissible on the grounds of legislative privilege under the Debate Clause of the Oregon
6 Constitution.⁹⁶ The Special Master explained that “in the present instance, the legislative
7 privilege is a privilege of the Legislative Assembly as a whole, and allowing one member to
8 waive privilege on behalf of the body would both undermine and dilute the purposes of the
9 privilege identified in [*State v.*] *Babson*[, 355 Or 383 (2014)].”⁹⁷

10 Petitioners argue that the Special Master’s conclusion conflicts with how “Oregon courts
11 have long characterized the Debate Clause privilege.”⁹⁸ But *Babson*—the *only* case interpreting
12 Oregon’s Debate Clause, less than a decade ago⁹⁹—did not address the issue of whether one
13 legislator may waive the Clause’s protection of another legislator’s communications.¹⁰⁰
14 Accordingly, the Special Master’s analysis “relie[d] on the underpinnings and fundamental
15 teaching of *Babson*, while looking to guidance from other state courts that have more squarely
16 considered this question within the context of their own constitutional debate clauses.”¹⁰¹ The
17 Special Master’s approach thus reflected the approach of the Supreme Court in *Babson* itself,
18 where the court expressly endorsed the instructive value of other courts’ interpretations of

19 ⁹⁶ SMRFOF at pp. 3, 11–12.

20 ⁹⁷ SMRFOF at p. 11.

21 ⁹⁸ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 37.

22 ⁹⁹ See *Babson*, 355 Or at 417 (“This court has never interpreted [the Debate Clause]”);
23 *State v. Babson*, 249 Or App 278, 294 (2012) (“That provision has never been construed by an
24 Oregon court.”). The other case that Petitioners cite, *Adamson v. Bonesteele*, 295 Or 815 (1983),
25 did not address the Debate Clause. *Bonesteele* involved an assertion of a common law privilege
26 by a city council member, not a Legislative Assembly member, so the Debate Clause did not
apply. See 295 Or at 817; Or Const, Art IV, § 9 (referring to “Senators and Representatives”).

¹⁰⁰ See SMRFOF at p. 8 (noting that this case presents “a different question” from the question
considered in *Babson*).

¹⁰¹ SMRFOF at p. 8.

1 similar federal and state constitutional provisions. *See Babson*, 355 Or at 419 n 10 (noting the
2 “useful perspective” of federal Speech or Debate Clause cases); *id.* at 421–23 (discussing
3 *Coffin v. Coffin*, 4 Mass 1 (1808) and concluding that it is “in line with the text and context of”
4 the Debate Clause).

5 For the reasons stated by the Special Master, the Court should strike the declaration and
6 testimony of Representative Bonham.¹⁰²

7 **C. Petitioners cannot show that the Special Master erred in recommending exclusion of**
8 **Representative Bonham’s testimony on the alternative grounds of hearsay,**
9 **foundation, and relevance.**

10 Petitioners make no meritorious arguments for rejecting the Special Master’s
11 recommendation to exclude most of Representative Bonham’s testimony on the alternative
12 grounds of hearsay, foundation, and relevance.

13 **1. Hearsay statements offered through Representative Bonham are not**
14 **admissible under the state-of-mind exception.**

15 Petitioners rely on the state-of-mind exception to the rule against hearsay, but that
16 exception is unavailing here. They assert, without further explanation, that the hearsay
17 statements should come in under the exception because “Representative Bonham’s testimony
18 was about the state of mind, intent, and plans of legislators.”¹⁰³ That argument does not
19 withstand scrutiny.

20 Under OEC 803(3), a hearsay statement is admissible if it is a “statement of the
21 declarant’s then-existing intent or plan.” *State v. Clegg*, 332 Or 432, 441 (2001). There,
22 prosecutors sought to prove that the defendant had hired people to kill the victim and had caused
23 the victim to change her plan to go to lunch with a friend so that she would be present when the
24 killers arrived. *Id.* at 436. For that purpose, the prosecutors’ witness testified,

25 ¹⁰² *See* SMRFOF at pp. 5–12.

26 ¹⁰³ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 41.

1 And [the victim] said, “I just talked to [the defendant] and told him
2 Gladys was going to take me to the bank and he said, ‘No, no, no,’
and insisted I not let Gladys take me, that he was going to take me
when he took me to lunch.”

3 *Id.* That hearsay statement was admissible because it was offered for the purpose of proving that
4 the victim intended to go with Gladys to the bank before lunch, illustrating a straightforward
5 application of the state-of-mind exception. *Id.* at 441.

6 This situation is different. As the Special Master correctly noted, hearsay statements do
7 not come within the exception when they are “offered to prove the facts underlying the
8 declarant's state of mind.” *State v. Bement*, 363 Or 760, 765 (2018).¹⁰⁴

9 Here, the hearsay statements offered through Representative Bonham are not offered for
10 any permissible purpose. For example:

11 As to Speaker Kotek’s purported agreement to have equal membership on the
12 congressional redistricting committee, Petitioners do not offer that testimony about that
13 agreement for the purpose of proving that Speaker Kotek created an equal-membership
14 committee.¹⁰⁵ Rather, they offer it to argue that it “was done to ensure that the Committee
15 recommended a neutral, non-gerrymandered map.”¹⁰⁶ And they seek to use those hearsay
16 statements to further argue that, when Speaker Kotek reconstituted the congressional redistricting
17 committee into a three-person committee, the House Speaker did so with a partisan purpose, an
18 underlying and heavily disputed assertion.¹⁰⁷

19 As to Representative Bonham’s references to ratings by “non-partisan third parties—such
20 as FiveThirtyEight,” Petitioners offer it to prove Representative Bonham’s state of mind, namely
21 that he found it “entirely unsurprising.”¹⁰⁸ Petitioners offer no explanation for how the

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23 ¹⁰⁴ See SMRFOF at p. 4 (citing *Bement*).

24 ¹⁰⁵ Ex. 1003 ¶ 5, Declaration of Daniel Bonham.

25 ¹⁰⁶ Ex. 1003 ¶ 5, Bonham Dec.

26 ¹⁰⁷ Ex. 1003 ¶ 6, Bonham Dec.; Pets.’ Trial Memo at 20:19–23.

¹⁰⁸ Ex. 1003 ¶ 12, Bonham Dec.; Pets.’ Trial Memo at 39:12–13.

1 representative’s lack of surprise is relevant. *See Clegg*, 332 Or at 440–41 (asking whether state-
2 of-mind evidence was relevant).

3 For Democratic redistricting committee members’ purported statement that “negotiating a
4 compromise map between Plan A and the Republicans’ proposed map was out of the question,”
5 Petitioners do not offer the hearsay statement to prove that, at the time of the statement,
6 Democratic committee members were not interested in negotiating.¹⁰⁹ *See* OEC 803(3)
7 (providing exception for “statement of the declarant’s *then existing* state of mind . . .”). Indeed,
8 Representative Bonham never indicates when the statement was made, meaning it could have
9 happened in the thick of public hearings. And the statement is entirely irrelevant as to the crucial
10 time period between September 20 and September 27 during which SB 881 was discussed and
11 passed, during which Representative Bonham was essentially uninvolved in the substantive
12 discussions among legislative leaders. *See Clegg*, 332 Or at 440–41.

13 As a final example, for Senate President Courtney’s purported statement that “the maps
14 were the maps” when discussing the eventually enacted maps, Petitioners do not offer it to argue
15 that the maps were enacted without further input from Representative Bonham, who was no
16 longer on the congressional redistricting committee at that time.¹¹⁰ Instead, they seek to argue
17 that it proves that *no* Republican had *any* role in the form of those maps.¹¹¹ On this record, that
18 is pure speculation. *See Clegg*, 332 Or at 440–41.

19 In sum, the Special Master correctly recommend excluding Representative Bonham’s
20 testimony on the alternative grounds of hearsay.

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24 ¹⁰⁹ Ex. 1003 ¶ 15, Bonham Dec.

25 ¹¹⁰ 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 160:18–162:24.

26 ¹¹¹ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 21:24–26.

1 **2. Petitioners did not lay sufficient foundation for how Representative Bonham**
2 **would personally know the facts he testified to.**

3 Petitioners also insist that they have laid sufficient foundation for how Representative
4 Bonham would personally know the facts excluded by the Special Master. But that insistence
5 does not stand up to scrutiny. *See* OEC 602 (requiring proponent of testimony to introduce
6 evidence “sufficient to support finding that the witness has personal knowledge of the matter”);
7 *cf. State v. Lawson*, 352 Or 724, 753 (2012) (providing, for eyewitness testimony, that proponent
8 “must offer evidence showing both that the witness had an adequate opportunity to observe or
9 otherwise personally perceive the facts to which the witness will testify, *and did, in fact, observe*
10 *or perceive them, thereby gaining personal knowledge of the facts*” (emphasis added)). In
11 particular:

12 There was no foundation laid for how Representative Bonham would personally know
13 that the Democratic committee members’ initial proposal, Plan A, was a “partisan
14 gerrymandered map, designed to create a disproportionately Democratic advantage.”¹¹²
15 Petitioners contend that the statements are “consistent with his knowledge and perception as an
16 Oregon legislator and member of the redistricting committee and caucus.”¹¹³ But Representative
17 Bonham is not an expert in detecting partisan intent in redistricting plans.¹¹⁴ And he has given
18 no admissible testimony on the subjective intent of Democratic legislators.

19 There was also no foundation laid for how the representative would personally know that
20 “Democrats never once attempted to negotiate with Republicans on the congressional map.”¹¹⁵
21 On that point, Petitioners argue that the representative’s testimony came from “his personal
22 knowledge and experiences on the redistricting committee and in Republican leadership as point

23 ¹¹² Ex. 1003 ¶ 10, Bonham Dec.

24 ¹¹³ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 39:6–17 (discussing Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 10–12).

25 ¹¹⁴ *See* 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 134:22–23 (“[W]e’re not putting up Representative
26 Bonham as an expert . . .”).

26 ¹¹⁵ Ex. 1003 ¶ 15, Bonham Dec.

1 man on redistricting issues.”¹¹⁶ But the representative was not part of the reconstituted
2 committee during the critical period leading up to the enactment of SB 881 on September 27,
3 2021, and was thus not in a position to gain personal knowledge about the Legislative
4 Assembly’s intent during congressional-redistricting proceedings. And he admitted that he had
5 no basis to testify that no members of the Republican caucus had private conversations with
6 Democratic legislators without his participation, which renders meaningless his assertions that no
7 political negotiations took place.¹¹⁷

8 Representative Bonham certainly has personal knowledge of what did and did not happen
9 to him personally. His testimony should therefore be limited accordingly. For example, when he
10 says that no Democratic legislators “attempted to negotiate with Republicans on the
11 congressional map,” it should be read to assert that no Democratic legislators attempted to
12 negotiate with *Representative Bonham*. Otherwise, this Court should adopt the Special Master’s
13 recommendation to exclude the testimony on the alternative grounds of foundation.

14 Lastly, even if the Special Master were to have erred in excluding the testimony on those
15 alternative grounds, this Court should defer to the Special Master’s implicit factual finding that
16 Representative Bonham did not, in fact, have personal knowledge of the facts he testified to. *See*
17 Laird C. Kirkpatrick, *Oregon Evidence* § 602.03 (7th ed 2020) (“The determination of the
18 personal knowledge of a witness is ultimately a question for the trier of fact under Rule
19 104(2).”).

20 **D. This Court has already correctly ruled that Speaker Kotek’s committee assignments**
21 **are irrelevant.**

22 As discussed above in Section A.3 of merits response, Petitioners improperly seek to
23 revisit this Court’s ruling that legislative committee assignments are irrelevant to their claims.¹¹⁸

24 ¹¹⁶ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 39:18–40:6 (discussing Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 13–15, 27–30, 32).

25 ¹¹⁷ 10/27/2021 Hrg. Trans. (vol. 1) at 125:9–126:16.

26 ¹¹⁸ *See* above at 7-8; *see also* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 20–21.

1 This Court’s authority over procedural and evidentiary rulings is vested solely with the Presiding
2 Judge, who has already ruled that committee assignments are irrelevant to Petitioners’ partisan-
3 intent claim.¹¹⁹ Nor do Petitioners offer any valid bases to reconsider the ruling.

4 **E. Petitioners’ other relevance arguments fail, and this Court should adopt the Special**
5 **Master’s recommendation.**

6 Petitioners’ other arguments for relevance fail as well. Although “the threshold for
7 admissibility under [OEC 401] is ‘very low,’” it still requires that “the evidence, based on logic
8 and experience, can support a reasonable inference that is material to the case.” *State v.*
9 *Turnidge*, 359 Or 507, 512–13 (2016). Inferences are not reasonable if they amount to “mere
10 speculation.” *Hedgpeth*, 365 Or at 732. The testimony excluded by the Special Master does not
11 meet that minimum standard.

12 First, Representative Bonham’s opinion about whether the Plan A redistricting map was a
13 “plainly partisan gerrymandered map” is irrelevant to whether the Legislative Assembly enacted
14 SB 881 with partisan intent.¹²⁰ Even assuming that the creation of Plan A is relevant to the
15 legislature’s intent when enacting a different map under SB 881, it is not reasonable to infer that
16 Plan A was a “plainly partisan gerrymandered map” simply because an individual legislator
17 opposing the plan believes it to be so.

18 Second, as discussed, Representative Bonham only had personal knowledge of what did
19 or did not happen to him, and his assertions based on that knowledge are irrelevant.
20 Representative Bonham thus has personal knowledge to assert that Democratic legislators did not
21 attempt to negotiate the congressional maps *with him*.¹²¹ But it is not reasonable to infer that,

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23 ¹¹⁹ Or Laws 2021, ch. 419, § 1(6) (SB 259); Order on Non-Parties’ Motion to Quash (Oct. 21,
2021), at 3–4.

24 ¹²⁰ Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 10, Bonham Dec.; *see* Pets.’ Trial Memo at 39:6–17 (arguing that Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 10–
12 are relevant).

25 ¹²¹ *See* Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 15 (“Democrats never once attempted to negotiate with Republicans on the
26 congressional map.”), 32 (“All three maps . . . were drawn without any Legislative Assembly

1 because Democratic legislators did not attempt to negotiate with Representative Bonham (who
2 was not a member of the congressional redistricting committee during the crucial time period
3 between September 20–27), Democratic legislators did not attempt to negotiate with *any*
4 Republican legislators, such as Minority Leader Christine Drazan.

5 Third, the hearsay statement of Representative Marty Wilde is facially irrelevant. The
6 purported fact that Democratic leadership acknowledged a risk that that Petitioners’ counsel had
7 publicly threatened litigation¹²² is entirely irrelevant to whether the legislature had partisan intent
8 when it enacted SB 881.¹²³

9 Finally, Representative Bonham’s belief that Republican legislators “provided quorum
10 for a vote on SB 881-A because of fears of possible worse maps” has no tendency to prove or
11 disprove the Assembly’s partisan intent.¹²⁴ Even if the representative could have personal
12 knowledge of that fact, it would only tend to prove that the intent of Republican legislators was
13 based on their own subjective, speculative fear.

14 In sum, the Special Master correctly excluded Representative Bonham’s testimony on the
15 alternative grounds of relevance.

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20 Republicans’ input whatsoever”); Pets.’ Trial Memo at 39:18–40:6 (arguing that Ex. 1003
¶¶ 13–15, 27–30, and 32 are relevant).

21 ¹²² See Hillary Borrud, “Oregon House Republicans say they’re at impasse over Democrats’
22 redistricting plan,” *Oregonian/Oregon Live* (Sept 16 2021, updated Sept 19, 2021),
23 [https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2021/09/oregon-house-republicans-say-theyre-at-impasse-
24 over-democrats-redistricting-plan.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2021/09/oregon-house-republicans-say-theyre-at-impasse-over-democrats-redistricting-plan.html) (quoting Mr. Tsyetlin as saying in a statement “‘If the
Oregon Democrats adopt anything like the maps that they proposed on September 3, those maps
will be in violation of Oregon law and will not survive a legal challenge.’”).

25 ¹²³ Ex. 1003 ¶ 31, Bonham Dec.; Pets.’ Trial Memo at 40:4–6 (arguing relevance of Ex. 1003 ¶
31).

26 ¹²⁴ Pets.’ Trial Memo at 40:16–23 (arguing relevance of Ex. 1003 ¶¶ 33–35).

1 **F. The FiveThirtyEight and Princeton Gerrymandering Project webpages submitted**
2 **by Petitioners are inadmissible**

3 The FiveThirtyEight webpage submitted by Petitioners is irrelevant.¹²⁵ Petitioners rely
4 on the FiveThirtyEight page to show that legislators were aware of FiveThirtyEight's ratings of
5 the map when they were drafting and voting on it.¹²⁶ As explained above in Section B.1,
6 Petitioners have failed to show that the FiveThirtyEight ratings even existed before the map was
7 enacted, rendering the webpage irrelevant.¹²⁷

8 The Princeton Gerrymandering Project webpage submitted by Petitioners is inadmissible
9 hearsay.¹²⁸ Petitioners argue that they rely on the Project's rating of the enacted map not for the
10 truth of its conclusions but rather to illustrate that using multiple metrics to measure partisan
11 effect can lead to differing outcomes.¹²⁹ But that argument depends on the assumption that the
12 Project properly applied the metrics on which its rating relies. Petitioners thus rely on the
13 Princeton Gerrymandering Project for the truth of its assertions, and therefore the Project's
14 analysis is inadmissible hearsay.

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¹²⁵ See Ex. 1022.

24 ¹²⁶ Pets.' Trial Memo at 42.

25 ¹²⁸ See Ex. 1023.

26 ¹²⁹ Pets.' Trial Memo at 42–43.

1 **CONCLUSION**

2 This Court should affirm the legislatively adopted redistricting plan.

3
4 DATED November 12, 2021.

5 Respectfully submitted,

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1 **CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**

2 I certify that on November 12, 2021, I served the foregoing Respondent’s Combined
3 Response to Petitioners’ Memorandum in Support of Petition and Evidentiary Arguments upon
4 the parties hereto by the method indicated below, and addressed to the following:

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