

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
CHARLESTON DIVISION

- - -

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STATE	:	3: 21-cv-03302-MGL-TJH-RMG
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP,	:	
<i>et al.</i>	:	OCTOBER 14, 2022
	:	
Plaintiffs,	:	VOLUME VIII
	:	
v.	:	
	:	
THOMAS C. ALEXANDER, <i>et al.</i> ,	:	(PAGES 1913 - 2038)
	:	
Defendants.	:	

- - -

TRANSCRIPT OF BENCH TRIAL PROCEEDINGS  
BEFORE THREE-JUDGE PANEL:  
HONORABLE MARY GEIGER LEWIS, HONORABLE TOBY J. HEYTENS,  
HONORABLE RICHARD M. GERGEL,  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT JUDGES

- - -

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transcript produced by computer.

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PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBITS

Exhibit	Description	Identified	Admitted
32	Dr. Imai's Report	1929, 1983	
33	Figure 1 of Dr. Imai's Report	1958	
34	Figure 2 of Dr. Imai's Report	1959	
35	Figure 3 of Dr. Imai's Report	1961	
36	Figure 4 of Dr. Imai's Report	1964	
37	Figure 5 of Dr. Imai's Report	1965	
38	Figure 6 of Dr. Imai's Report	1966	
39	Figure 7 of Dr. Imai's Report	1968	
40	Figure 8 of Dr. Imai's Report	1969	
42	Frequency of Pairings of Districts in Sumter County in Statewide VRA Simulation (Imai Report Table 1)	1972	
138	Deposition of Thomas Brunell, Ph.D. - March 31, 2022	1920	
175	Criteria Used by the Ad Hoc Committee for Redistricting Exercise	1939	
216	C. Murphy Text Message Thread	1920	
651	January 19, 2022 B. John Draft Talking Points	1923	2035

1916

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SENATE DEFENDANTS' EXHIBITS

2

**Exhibit****Description****Identified Admitted**

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Senate Guidelines

1939, 1950  
1983

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1                   *(The following bench trial proceedings resumed on*  
2                   *Friday, October 14th, 2022, at 9:00 a.m.)*

3                   JUDGE GERGEL: Good morning. Please be seated. Good  
4 morning, everybody.

5                   Let me first address the issue of the data matter. I  
6 read some e-mails back and forth this morning at 5:30 in the  
7 morning. Great morning reading. Mr. Gore's e-mail I thought  
8 was very interesting. And what it revealed was y'all know a  
9 lot about data than I do, okay? And I met with Mr. Rainwater  
10 this morning in an effort to try to figure out where we are,  
11 because, I'm an agnostic about what we use. I just want it  
12 right. And I want the parties -- let me say this: Everything  
13 is sort of an estimate. We want to be as precise as we can,  
14 but we know using the censuses is in some ways an estimate.  
15 But what I don't want is someone reading an order saying, you  
16 got the numbers wrong.

17                  So, here's what we're going to do. I've asked Mr.  
18 Rainwater and Mary Katherine to confer with your IT people,  
19 share the data, and in five days, if there is a dispute, you  
20 let me know the areas of dispute. And in five days, if you've  
21 got areas of agreement, tell us what those are. That's easy.  
22 If there are areas of disagreement, tell me what you think it  
23 should be, and we'll just have to make a ruling, okay? But we  
24 won't close the record, because we need the data. Because  
25 with all these voluminous records, 700, 800 exhibits, or

1 whatever, y'all didn't give us the data, and we need it. So,  
2 I would just ask all counsel to work with each other, and then  
3 in five days, if there is a dispute, tell me where the dispute  
4 is, or if there is not a dispute -- I understand there's just  
5 a question about some split VTDs, is where there's just a  
6 little bit of uncertainty. And hopefully, y'all can work that  
7 out. We don't care how you work it out, we just want you to  
8 work it out. And if you don't, you'll tell us why you  
9 disagree, we'll consult with the technical expert and we'll  
10 enter an order about what data to use, okay? Our clear  
11 preference -- clear preference -- is y'all work it out, okay?  
12 Y'all know it better than we do.

13 Okay. Let me talk a second about schedule from here  
14 out. This is going to get everybody's attention. We want  
15 proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law filed by  
16 November 3, 2022. And we want to have closing arguments on  
17 November 22nd, 2022, at 9:00 a.m. This is not a debate  
18 society. I won't put the clock on you, but I'll turn off your  
19 microphone at some point. You know, we know -- y'all have  
20 done just a great job of giving us the details, and we kind of  
21 know where the disputes are. I mean, we really do. And, you  
22 know, y'all just need to help us. The findings of fact and  
23 conclusions of law will kind of lay out clearly where y'all  
24 are and it will help refine our closing argument. And if the  
25 occasion arises after the findings of fact and there are

1 particular issues we want you to address, we'll let you know  
2 that, okay? But what we're trying to do is have an orderly  
3 end to this in a timely manner. And I think having the  
4 findings of fact and conclusions of law before argument makes  
5 so much sense.

6 Okay. Are there further matters to come before the  
7 Court for the plaintiff?

8 MR. CHANEY: Your Honor, just that the two exhibits  
9 that reflect the agreement between us and the House should be  
10 filed today.

11 JUDGE GERGEL: Good.

12 MR. CHANEY: I just wanted to flag for the Court that  
13 that would be coming in, because it would be after our last  
14 witness.

15 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay. We're not closing the -- that's  
16 great. We do need it. We need the designations. You said  
17 y'all were going to color-code it. Will you give us an  
18 original copy of that, or only digital copies?

19 MR. CHANEY: Whatever the Court would prefer, we can  
20 accommodate.

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Well, certainly the digital would be  
22 fine, but, you know, some of us are the age where we really  
23 like to read hard copy. And I'd say at least one for each  
24 chamber. So, three. If you get them to me, I'll get them  
25 distributed for you, if you'd like.

1 MR. CHANEY: Or we can send them directly.

2 JUDGE GERGEL: Just send them directly. But we need  
3 one set each. But the digital will be fine. Our law clerks  
4 will read the digital, and we'll read the hard copy, is the  
5 way it works. And we do need something to kind of direct  
6 us -- if there are particular areas you think are important,  
7 we want y'all to tell us that.

8 MR. CHANEY: And we'll do that, your Honor.

9 And just so the Court can look out for it, it's  
10 PX-138 and PX-216.

11 JUDGE GERGEL: What's the first one?

12 MR. CHANEY: PX-138.

13 JUDGE GERGEL: Yes.

14 MR. CHANEY: And then the second one is 216.

15 JUDGE GERGEL: And those are deposition designations?

16 MR. CHANEY: One is the designation of Mr. Brunell,  
17 and the other is a text message thread that you heard from Mr.  
18 Moore quite a bit about. I just wanted to flag that.

19 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay. How about the deposition  
20 designations? When's that coming?

21 MR. CHANEY: I think we should have the House  
22 color-coded digital copies before the Court today. We've got  
23 the counter designations from the Senate over the course of  
24 yesterday and this morning. And so, we should be able to both  
25 file the designations themselves today, and then the



1 transcripts with the color-coding will be a little bit delayed  
2 because I have to incorporate that information.

3 JUDGE GERGEL: That's fine.

4 MR. CHANEY: And then the two witnesses that the  
5 House ended up not calling, we're still working on sort of  
6 narrowing those designations.

7 JUDGE GERGEL: How many deposition designations do we  
8 have?

9 MR. CHANEY: I think something in the order of like  
10 14, total. But, yes.

11 JUDGE GERGEL: I've got to tell you, it does mystify  
12 me a bit about all these deposition designations. I've got to  
13 be honest with you, if they were important enough, I would  
14 have thought you would have called them. And if you didn't  
15 call them, how important are they? I mean, really, I'm just  
16 kind of wondering about that.

17 MR. CHANEY: Sure. And I think at least as to some  
18 of them, the material parts are how they are inconsistent one  
19 to the next, to the next. And I think the Court would have  
20 had relatively little patience to ask the same questions of  
21 live witnesses over and over and over and over again on the  
22 order of the number of designations. But we can point to on  
23 the transcripts those inconsistencies among people who are  
24 presumably all in the same room. And so, I think it's  
25 important for the Court to see that in the record,

1 particularly when considering whether or not there was an  
2 intent to hide both from the public and this Court the true  
3 motives behind the map.

4 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay. That's what all these  
5 depositions are about, motive? About whether it's partisan  
6 motive or not?

7 MR. CHANEY: Not exclusively, no. But --

8 JUDGE GERGEL: Whatever.

9 MR. MOORE: Your Honor, in any event, we have worked  
10 hard to narrow these designations. We obviously still think  
11 that the plaintiffs' designations are excessive. And to the  
12 extent that we have -- like, the counter designations are sort  
13 of designed to counter them. I would ask that plaintiffs, if  
14 they send us the color-coded exhibits before they submit them  
15 to the Court, and then we're going to work with them on the  
16 designations. There is one deposition transcript where there  
17 are still competing designations, which we have performed  
18 redactions on to match this stipulation with respect to this  
19 one exhibit, this text chain. And I'm still reviewing that to  
20 make sure that it's appropriately redacted. But we'll get  
21 that to them today or over the weekend.

22 MR. CHANEY: The highlighted transcripts reflect only  
23 what the parties sent to each other. And so, those just hit  
24 the docket as a sealed set of exhibits. We didn't provide it  
25 to the House, because they just reflect what the House told us

1 with respect to counters, and what we told them with respect  
2 to designations. I'm not sure the utility of -- I mean, we  
3 can, in the future, provide the -- you know, let them see the  
4 transcripts first, but it just shows what the parties  
5 exchanged already.

6 MR. MOORE: We'll take a look at it. And if we have  
7 any issues, we'll make --

8 JUDGE GERGEL: Yeah, just object. But we have good  
9 filters. You know, this is not a jury.

10 Okay. Anything further from the plaintiff?

11 MR. CHANEY: Not from the plaintiff.

12 JUDGE GERGEL: From the defense?

13 MR. TRAYWICK: Briefly, your Honor.

14 The plaintiffs, just a few minutes ago, filed on the  
15 public docket PX-651. This was an exhibit shown to Senator  
16 Campsen during his cross-examination. They've filed a written  
17 motion to move to admit the exhibit instead of asking the  
18 Court here in the courtroom to do it. And in doing so --

19 JUDGE GERGEL: What is the exhibit?

20 MR. TRAYWICK: It was the draft of bullet points that  
21 Breeden John sent to himself. And Senator Campsen --

22 JUDGE GERGEL: Said he never saw it.

23 MR. TRAYWICK: Right. And so, they're saying that  
24 it's being offered to show the motive. But if no member of  
25 the General Assembly saw it -- and during his deposition,

1 Breeden testified that he sent it to himself so that he could  
2 go home and work on it. It was a working document. They're  
3 trying to --

4 JUDGE GERGEL: Is it different from the one Breeden  
5 John sent, ultimately?

6 MR. TRAYWICK: It was different. And --

7 Before you pop up, let me finish please.

8 What they're trying to use it for is to show that the  
9 numbers on core preservation are different. And so, that is  
10 being offered to try to show the truth of the matter asserted,  
11 not to show the motive of any member of the General Assembly,  
12 because it's a Senate judiciary staffer who was working on a  
13 document at 10:00 p.m. the night before the floor debate and  
14 made changes to it before it was ultimately circulated. So,  
15 that has no bearing on --

16 JUDGE GERGEL: Was the number wrong, right? Is it  
17 debated? What's going on?

18 MR. FREEDMAN: The numbers are certainly disputed,  
19 your Honor.

20 JUDGE GERGEL: Well, you know, rather than filing a  
21 motion with us, we're probably -- I hate to address it, but  
22 after the expert today, if you need to -- we need to see the  
23 document and just go ahead and rule on it so I don't have that  
24 hanging out there.

25 MR. TRAYWICK: Sure. And I would just say, instead

1 of bringing it up, they filed it on the public docket, and I'm  
2 pretty sure we had a confidential stamp on it. So, we have  
3 concerns with that. But it was just a little irregular from  
4 how we've been doing it.

5 JUDGE GERGEL: Well, I'm not too worried about it,  
6 myself. I just want to be able to address it, but I want to  
7 go ahead and get our expert up.

8 Are there other issues we need to address?

9 MR. MOORE: I just have one question, your Honor.  
10 And maybe it's a stupid question, but I'm assuming that with  
11 respect to the findings of fact and conclusions of law, you  
12 want the defendants to collaborate on that and you want one  
13 version from all of us, right?

14 JUDGE GERGEL: I think that would be very helpful.  
15 And it would probably have the inconsistent ones probably be  
16 more confusing than is worthwhile.

17 MR. MOORE: That was my thought. I just wanted to  
18 make sure that that was what the Court wanted.

19 JUDGE GERGEL: I mean, you know, I've tried to make  
20 the point many times that the plan appears to have been a  
21 Senate plan. And the House folks pretty much weren't involved  
22 in developing the Senate plan. They said that. And so, I  
23 thought, frankly, Mr. Moore, a lot of this House stuff was  
24 largely irrelevant because of that. But, you know, you were  
25 answering some things people were saying, so I get it --

1 MR. MOORE: Yes, sir.

2 JUDGE GERGEL: -- but I'm just saying to everybody,  
3 you know. And I would say, in your findings of fact, focus on  
4 the map, not so much on the back and forth and did this guy  
5 say this and that guy say that. That's not that elucidating.  
6 And I know that some of the stuff, irregularity reflects  
7 racial intent -- or can reflect racial intent. But, folks,  
8 focus on the maps. Focus on the maps. That's what we're  
9 looking at.

10 MR. MOORE: And I appreciate your Honor saying that.  
11 That's one of the reasons why we decided to cut those two  
12 witnesses yesterday. I think it was the appropriate thing to  
13 do. And we were responding to the Court's comments. You  
14 know, I have thought that a lot of this House stuff was  
15 irrelevant, too, but we felt like we had to address issues  
16 when they were raised.

17 JUDGE GERGEL: You never let relevance get in the way  
18 of a trial, right?

19 MR. MOORE: As Judge Thomas used to say: I'll accept  
20 service on that.

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Yes. Okay. Are we ready to proceed?

22 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Yes, your Honor.

23 JUDGE GERGEL: Call your next witness.

24 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Plaintiffs call Dr. Kosuke Imai.

25 ***KOSUKE IMAI, Ph.D., having first been called as a***

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA 1927

1 *witness, was duly sworn and testified as follows:*

2 DIRECT EXAMINATION

3 BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:

4 Q. Good morning, Dr. Imai. Could you please state your name  
5 for the record?

6 A. Kosuke Imai.

7 Q. And where do you work?

8 A. I work at the Harvard University.

9 Q. And, Dr. Imai, did you prepare a report in this case?

10 A. Yes, I did.

11 Q. Did you provide a CV as part of your work in this case?

12 A. Yes.

13 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Your Honor, may I approach?

14 JUDGE GERGEL: You may. But we don't need -- I've  
15 reviewed the CV. It's previously been presented. We've  
16 addressed *Daubert* issues. What are you presenting Dr. Imai  
17 for?

18 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Oh. Sure, your Honor.  
19 Plaintiffs offer Dr. Imai as an expert in political science  
20 statistics, computational social science --

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Hold on. Slow down.

22 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Sure.

23 JUDGE GERGEL: Political science statistics --

24 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Statistics.

25 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay.

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA 1928

1 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Computational social science.

2 JUDGE GERGEL: Hold a second. Okay. Yes?

3 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: And causal inference research  
4 methods.

5 JUDGE GERGEL: Causal research inference methods?

6 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Correct. Yes, your Honor.

7 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay. Beyond the *Daubert* motion --  
8 filed in response to the *Daubert* motion, do the defendants  
9 have any other objections to Dr. Imai as an expert?

10 MR. GORE: No further objection, your Honor.

11 JUDGE GERGEL: Very good. Dr. Imai is recognized as  
12 an expert in political science statistics, computational  
13 social sciences, and causal research inference methods.

14 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Sorry, your Honor. It's causal  
15 inference research methods.

16 JUDGE GERGEL: Causal inference research methods.  
17 Sorry to get that backwards.

18 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Not sure that matters, but just  
19 wanted to --

20 JUDGE GERGEL: I'm not sure it doesn't either, but I  
21 want to get it right. It's kind of like the VTD splits.

22 MR. MATHIAS: And, your Honor, just for the record,  
23 no further objections from the House on that.

24 JUDGE GERGEL: Thank you. I was treating y'all as  
25 one. Sorry. Thank you, Mr. Mathias.



KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA

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1 Okay. Please proceed.

2 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Thank you, your Honor.

3 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

4 Q. Okay, Dr. Imai. Let's discuss your work in this case.

5 And your report is Plaintiff's Exhibit 32. If at any point  
6 you wish to have any pages displayed, please let me know, and  
7 we can do that?

8 A. Okay.

9 Q. So, Dr. Imai, could you explain to the Court the analyses  
10 you did in this matter?

11 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: And, Stephen, if we could put  
12 slide one up.

13 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

14 Q. And, Dr. Imai, can we take these analyses one by one?

15 A. Yes. So, I conducted three simulations analyses in my  
16 report.

17 MR. GORE: Your Honor, I just need to raise the  
18 point, we were not provided these demonstratives before. This  
19 is the first time we're seeing this. Quick look, it looks  
20 okay to us, but I don't know what's behind this.

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Well, looks like a summary right out  
22 of the summary of opinions. But do you want to look at it for  
23 a minute?

24 MR. GORE: Do you have a hard copy or something we  
25 can look at?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA*

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1 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: I don't think I do.

2 MR. GORE: Okay. Well, if it's okay with the Court,  
3 we'll just watch the slides as they come by and if --

4 JUDGE GERGEL: And if you have an objection, raise  
5 it.

6 MR. GORE: Thank you.

7 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: There's two, so it'll be quick.

8 MR. GORE: Even I'll be able to see them then.

9 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

10 Q. Dr. Imai, if you could, please explain your first  
11 analysis in this matter.

12 A. Yes. So, the first analysis is localized simulation  
13 analysis, where I generated 10,000 alternative ways of  
14 creating Districts 1 and 6.

15 Q. And what happened to the rest of the boundaries in the  
16 map?

17 A. Right. So, the other five districts are set to the same  
18 as those under the enacted plan. So, the only thing I  
19 generated are the district boundaries between Districts 1 and  
20 6.

21 Q. Okay. And can I call this your "localized district  
22 analysis," for ease of reference?

23 A. Sure.

24 Q. Okay. And just very briefly, what did your localized  
25 district analysis find?

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA

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1 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: And, Stephen, if we could go to  
2 the next slide. And I guess I'll give defense a second to  
3 look at this.

4 MR. GORE: Thank you. No objection.

5 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

6 Q. And, just briefly, what did your localized district  
7 analysis find?

8 A. Yes. So, my simulation is race-blind in the sense that I  
9 did not use race to generate the simulated districts, which  
10 means that race is not -- it's a race-neutral baseline. And  
11 compared to that, I find that the enacted plan is unusual in  
12 the way that the Charleston County is split, by placing a  
13 disproportionately large number of Black voters who live in  
14 Charleston County into District 6, and as a result, lowering  
15 the Black voting age population in District 1.

16 Q. Okay. So, can we go to your second analysis? And what  
17 was that analysis, Dr. Imai?

18 A. Yes. So, the second analysis is also race-blind in the  
19 sense that I did not use race as an input in my algorithm when  
20 generating simulated districts. Again, I'm focusing on  
21 Districts 1 and 6 while holding the other districts as exactly  
22 the same as under the enacted plan. And here, unlike the  
23 first simulation analysis, I'm focusing just on Charleston  
24 County. So, the way that -- I'm just generating alternative  
25 ways, 10,000 of them, ways of splitting Charleston County.

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA 1932

1 And the enacted plan splits Charleston County, so that's what  
2 I'm looking at. And I basically generated 10,000 race-blind  
3 boundaries within the Charleston County.

4 Q. Okay. And, in brief, what were your findings on this  
5 analysis?

6 A. So, my finding basically confirms the finding from the  
7 first analysis by showing that the enacted plan puts a large  
8 number of -- a disproportionately large number of Black voters  
9 who live in Charleston County into District 6, and, again,  
10 lowering the Black voting age population of District 1.

11 Q. Thank you. And you said you did three analyses. What  
12 was the third?

13 A. Right. So, the third analysis is a statewide simulation  
14 analysis. So, by statewide, what I mean is that it's not just  
15 simulating Districts 1 and 6, I'm simulating all seven  
16 districts at the same time. But this analysis is done to  
17 address the possibility of the enacted plan trying to be  
18 compliant with the Voting Rights Act. So, I made sure that  
19 all simulated plans have a District 6, which the Black voting  
20 age population proportion is between 45 and 50 percent, which  
21 is in the same range as the Black voting age population  
22 proportion of District 6 under the enacted plan.

23 Q. And may I call this your "statewide analysis" or your  
24 "statewide VRA compliance analysis"?

25 A. Sure.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA*

1933

1 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai. Let's take a step back and work  
2 through some of the basics in what you just said. What are  
3 simulations?

4 A. So, simulation analysis is basically the idea that to  
5 evaluate the characteristics or biases of the enacted plan,  
6 you can basically compare the enacted plan with a large number  
7 of alternative plans that are compliant with a set of  
8 specified redistricting criteria. So, in this case, I'm  
9 interested in how the race played a role in drawing the  
10 district boundaries under the enacted plan.

11 Q. And how is your simulation analysis different from  
12 traditional redistricting analysis?

13 A. Right. So, for many decades, the traditional methods  
14 that compare the enacted plan of a particular state with some  
15 other plans from other states, or perhaps compare the enacted  
16 plan from the plans from the previous decades, the problem of  
17 these traditional comparisons is that you're comparing apples  
18 and oranges. States are different. You can't compare South  
19 Carolina with New York or Alabama. They're different in terms  
20 of population, they're different in terms of redistricting  
21 laws. And over time, comparison is also problematic. The  
22 laws can change, or the population can also change.

23 And so, the advantage of simulation analysis is we're  
24 using -- I'm using the same exact rules as the enacted plan  
25 uses and the same exact population data and be able to the

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1 generate alternative -- a large number of an alternative set  
2 of plans that serves as a benchmark for comparison.

3 Q. What about political geography? Does it use the same  
4 political geography?

5 A. Yes. So, it uses same exact data. So, it's population  
6 figures, racial composition, and election data, if such data  
7 are used in some analyses.

8 Q. Is there anything your simulations are not intended to  
9 do?

10 A. So, this is a very important point I'd like to emphasize,  
11 is that simulation analysis is -- the whole purpose of that is  
12 to evaluate the characteristics of the enacted plan. It's not  
13 meant to be used for generating a plan that can be enacted and  
14 practiced. So, the whole purpose of this is an evaluation of  
15 the enacted plan.

16 Q. So, is the purpose of simulations to replicate a  
17 legislature's process for drawing a map?

18 A. No.

19 Q. All right. So, let's work through your methodology.  
20 What method did you use to generate the simulated plans in  
21 your report?

22 A. So, I used the algorithm that belongs to a broader family  
23 of so-called Monte Carlo methods.

24 Q. And, Dr. Imai, what is the Monte Carlo method?

25 A. So, the Monte Carlo method is -- the key characteristic

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1 of the Monte Carlo method is its ability to obtain a  
2 representative sample of redistricting plans that comply with  
3 a set of redistricting criteria -- in this case, myself --  
4 specified. And this is important because there is a large  
5 number of redistricting plans that could comply with a set of  
6 redistricting criteria. It actually exceeds the number of  
7 atoms in the universe. So, even with a powerful computer, you  
8 can never enumerate all of them. However, Monte Carlo methods  
9 allow you to obtain a representative sample from this  
10 population of all possible redistricting plans that are  
11 compliant with a set of rules. And it's almost -- it's very  
12 similar to the idea of, you know, surveying something where  
13 you only interview 1,000 people to figure out what the United  
14 States population is thinking, instead of interviewing every  
15 single person who lives in this country.

16 Q. And do you have experience using Monte Carlo method in  
17 redistricting simulations?

18 A. Yes. So, I was one of the very first researchers who  
19 used Monte Carlo methods for the purpose of evaluating  
20 redistricting plans. This was about 10 years ago. And I have  
21 developed several methods in this area as well as software  
22 packages that are widely used by researchers and other  
23 experts.

24 Q. How many Monte Carlo methods that can be use for  
25 redistricting simulations are there?

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1 A. So, there are several of them. They can be divided into  
2 two types. One is called Markov Chain Monte Carlo. It's  
3 called MCMC, for short. And that's the first family. And  
4 then, the second type of Monte Carlo is called Sequential  
5 Monte Carlo, SMC methods. And SMC is the algorithm that I  
6 actually developed myself. And I've also developed some of  
7 the MCMC as well.

8 Q. And have both of these algorithms, or types of  
9 algorithms, been peer-reviewed in the use of redistricting  
10 simulations?

11 A. Yes. So, many of these algorithms have been written in  
12 papers that have been published in the peer-reviewed journals.  
13 The main SMC paper is still currently under review, but its  
14 applications have been published in a couple of different  
15 journals as well.

16 Q. The simulations you generated with your MCMC algorithm in  
17 this case, are they replicable?

18 A. Yes. So, this is one of the important things that I try  
19 to do in my own academic work as well as expert-witness work.  
20 I developed open-source software packages that implement these  
21 algorithms. So, open source means that the code is open so  
22 everyone can just see what the code looks like and its extent.  
23 And it's freely available, so anyone can download from the  
24 website and install on your personal computers. So, all my  
25 analyses, both my academic work, as well as my expert-witness



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1 work, are based on this package that I've developed. It's  
2 been used by many other researchers and other experts and been  
3 downloaded more than, you know, 30,000 times. And so,  
4 everything I did in this case, as well as in other cases, are  
5 duplicable, using this software package.

6 Q. Thank you. And you said you developed SMC, but you used  
7 MCMC in this report. Why did you do that?

8 A. Right. So, the choice of the algorithms for any analysis  
9 is important, and it has to consider what type of an analysis  
10 one is doing. In this case, as I summarized earlier, my first  
11 two analyses focuses on Districts 1 and 6. So, there are two  
12 districts that I'm investigating. In those cases -- I'm not  
13 going to go into the detail, unless you'd like -- but SMC and  
14 MCMC are essentially the same, so there's very little  
15 difference between the two. So, I could have used either one  
16 of them.

17 The statewide analysis, however, is a little bit  
18 different. So, statewide analysis, as I explained earlier, is  
19 trying to keep the BVAP proportion of District 6 in between 45  
20 and 50 percent. So, it's a very specific constraint about  
21 specific districts. And those types of constraints are much  
22 easily incorporated into MCMC methods. So, that's why I used  
23 the MCMC method for the statewide analysis. And, for the sake  
24 of consistency, I decided to use the same for the first two  
25 analyses, even though in those two analyses the two methods

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1938

1 are essentially the same.

2 Q. Okay. Let's talk about some of the materials or sources  
3 you used. Can you describe the sources you relied on to  
4 prepare your work in this case?

5 A. Yes. So, the sources that I relied on to develop  
6 constraints that would be used for the algorithms are the  
7 State House and the State Senate redistricting guidelines. I  
8 also used the software package that I developed. As I  
9 explained earlier, that's how you implement the algorithms  
10 that I used. And then I also used the data from the census,  
11 which includes shapefiles and population figures, population  
12 counts, racial information. And I also used the data on  
13 incumbency residency location.

14 Q. What about the enacted South Carolina congressional plan?

15 A. Oh, yes. So, the enacted plan is also used to evaluate  
16 its characteristics. I didn't use that to, you know, directly  
17 generate the alternative plans, but when you compare -- when  
18 you evaluate the enacted plan, you have to use that to compare  
19 with the simulated plans.

20 Q. And are these the type of material you usually use in  
21 your work?

22 A. Yes. So, this is a very typical data source I use.  
23 What's nice about it is that, you know, census data is all  
24 public. And the guidelines obviously are not public, but --  
25 or, well, may be public. But I use them to inform the

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1939

1 constraints that I used for the algorithm.

2 Q. And are these materials you've used in other cases where  
3 you've appeared as an expert?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. So, you mentioned you used the House and Senate  
6 guidelines.

7 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: I'm going to ask Stephen to  
8 please pull up Plaintiffs' Exhibit 175.

9 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

10 Q. Dr. Imai, do you recognize this document?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. What is this document?

13 A. This is the House guidelines.

14 Q. Did you rely on this document to prepare your findings in  
15 this case?

16 A. Yes, I did, to conduct the constraints.

17 Q. And we'll speak on that a little more later.

18 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Stephen, I'll ask you to please  
19 pull up what I believe is Senate Exhibit 3.

20 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

21 Q. Dr. Imai, do you recognize this document?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. What is this?

24 A. This is the Senate guidelines.

25 Q. And did you rely on this document to make your findings?

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1 A. Yes, I did.

2 Q. So, let's talk about how you used the House and Senate  
3 guidelines to set up the simulations that your algorithm ran.  
4 What did you understand the purpose of the House and Senate  
5 guidelines to be?

6 A. I understand that these guidelines are used when drawing  
7 the enacted plan.

8 Q. And so, let's focus on the House guidelines first. Dr.  
9 Imai, does this document list criteria to be used in  
10 redistricting in South Carolina?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And did you understand all the criteria listed in this  
13 document to be equally important?

14 A. No.

15 Q. And could you say more? What do you mean by that?

16 A. I think if you go to the next page, there's a section  
17 that's called the "priority of criteria." So, there, as  
18 written, the requirements given in sections one, two, three,  
19 and four should be given the priority.

20 Q. And just what are sections one, two, three, and four?

21 A. So one, two, three, and four are -- well, it's hidden  
22 there. But U.S. Constitution, federal law, state law and  
23 eco-population.

24 Q. Thank you. And what about the Senate guidelines, Senate  
25 Exhibit 3, does that document -- did you understand it to list

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1941

1 several criteria to be used in redistricting in South  
2 Carolina?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Did you understand that all criteria listed in that  
5 document were equally important?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Could you say more about that?

8 A. Yeah. So, on the Section 3, under the heading of  
9 "additional considerations," I said there are other criteria  
10 that should be given consideration where practical and  
11 appropriate. So, I take this to understand that these  
12 criteria that are listed as additional considerations are not  
13 given the priority, and the ones that are listed in the  
14 earlier sections -- the sections one and two -- are given the  
15 priority.

16 Q. Thank you. So, let's talk about how you implemented  
17 criteria in these guidelines in your algorithm. So, did your  
18 algorithm treat all constraints equally?

19 A. No.

20 Q. And say more about that. How were they treated  
21 differently?

22 A. So, in these type of algorithms, there are two types of  
23 constraints. The way to think about this is one is the hard  
24 constraints, and the other one are the soft constraints. And  
25 the hard constraints are constraints that every simulated plan

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1 is satisfied. So, if you place it as a hard constraint, every  
2 simulated plan that I generate would satisfy that constraint.

3 The soft constraint is a little bit different. So,  
4 there, you're basically encouraging the algorithm to draw a  
5 certain type of district -- not, you know, strictly enforcing.  
6 So, depending on the strengths, there are certain type of  
7 redistricting plans that are more likely to be generated.

8 Q. All right. So, hard constraints and soft constraints.  
9 Easy enough. Let's take those in turn. What were the hard  
10 constraints in your simulation?

11 A. Right. So, there are three hard constraints in my  
12 localized simulation analysis as well as statewide analysis.  
13 The first one is the contiguity, which means that every  
14 simulated district that I generate is contiguous. I also have  
15 the population deviation constraint. And this one is set to  
16 the .1 percent. So, what that means is that every simulated  
17 district that I generate has the population within the range  
18 of .1 percent of the target population. So, here, the target  
19 population is the total population of South Carolina divided  
20 by seven, which is the total number of districts in this  
21 state. So, that's the second hard constraint.

22 The third hard constraint is the "avoidance of incumbency  
23 pairing." So, I made sure that no incumbent is paired with  
24 another incumbent in the same district in every simulated plan  
25 that I generated. For the statewide analysis, I have one

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1 additional hard constraint, which is what I call the VRA  
2 constraint, where I make sure that every simulated plan has  
3 District 6, who's BVAP proportion is between 45 and  
4 50 percent, which is the simulated range as the one under the  
5 enacted plan.

6 Q. Thank you. So, let's take those first three. You  
7 mentioned contiguity, population deviation, and no pairing of  
8 incumbents as hard constraints. Let's talk about contiguity  
9 first. Was the contiguity constraint a part of all three of  
10 your analyses?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Did it apply to all districts in your race-blind  
13 analysis?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Could you say more about that?

16 A. Yes. So, every district that I generate in those  
17 analyses are basically contiguous.

18 Q. And so, you explained that you focused on Districts 1 and  
19 6; did I get that right?

20 A. Yes, that's right.

21 Q. So, what happens to the rest of the map as far as  
22 contiguity goes?

23 A. Right. So, the other five districts are, as I said, in  
24 these localized simulation analyses are held up exactly the  
25 same as the enacted plan, so they're also contiguous as well.

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1944

1 Q. Understood. And did your contiguity constraint apply to  
2 all seven districts in your statewide analysis?

3 A. Yes. So, I made sure that every district of every  
4 simulated plan is contiguous.

5 Q. Okay. And I'll ask you, Dr. Imai: Are you familiar with  
6 the concept of contiguity by water?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. What is contiguity by water?

9 A. Yeah. So, that means that if the two geographical units  
10 are only connected through the water, you can view that as  
11 contiguous.

12 Q. And does your algorithm consider contiguity by water to  
13 be permissible?

14 A. Yes. I allow for contiguity by water.

15 Q. Are you familiar with point-to-point contiguity?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. What is point-to-point contiguity?

18 A. So, it's two geographical units that are touching with  
19 one another just with a point, like this (*indicating*), then  
20 you can view them as contiguous.

21 Q. And does your algorithm permit point-to-point contiguity?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Is that consistent with the House and Senate guidelines?

24 A. So, the House and Senate guidelines are actually in  
25 conflict on this regard. So, one of them says point-to-point



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1 contiguity is allowed, and the other one says it shouldn't be  
2 allowed. So, I decided not to allow for this.

3 Q. Thank you. So, the second hard constraint you mentioned  
4 was population deviation. Let's talk a little more about  
5 this. What do you mean by population deviation?

6 A. Yes. So, the population deviation is basically looking  
7 at the population of each district. So, in my case, you know,  
8 in every simulated district, you can compute how many people  
9 live there. And population deviation is the difference  
10 between the population of each district and the target  
11 population, which is the perfectly equal population division  
12 within the state. So, again, the total number of people who  
13 live in the state, divided by the number of districts, which  
14 is seven.

15 Q. And where does this requirement come from?

16 A. Yeah. So, this requirement is listed in both House and  
17 Senate guidelines, the population equality.

18 Q. What about federal law?

19 A. Yes. That's also part of federal law.

20 Q. So, how important do you consider this population  
21 deviation to be, according to the guidelines?

22 A. So, this is a hard constraint, so every simulated plan  
23 satisfies this particular constraint.

24 Q. Thank you. And I believe I heard you say you chose  
25 a .1 percent deviation on your simulated districts. Why did

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1946

1     you choose .1 percent as a deviation?

2     A.   Yes.  So, this is a very important point, because often  
3     people ask about population deviation.  In the guidelines --  
4     essentially, the guidelines say it should be equal up to  
5     one percent.  So, you should have a strict equality for  
6     population deviation.

7             My algorithm has a population deviation maximum of  
8     .1 percent, which is about a little bit over 700 people in the  
9     case of South Carolina.  So, there is a difference.  And, you  
10    know, many people ask why is that.  But one needs to remember  
11    that purpose of simulation is an evaluation of an enacted  
12    plan.  It's not to generate -- they're not letting the  
13    algorithm control the enacted plan.

14            So, in order to evaluate the enacted plan, we in  
15    academics use precincts as units.  Precincts are the smallest  
16    units for which electoral results are available.  And it's a  
17    much bigger unit than the census block, which is used as a  
18    building block for, you know, when you're drawing an enacted  
19    plan.

20            So, my simulation uses the precinct as a unit as well.  
21    And in South Carolina, the average size of a precinct is about  
22    a little bit above 2,000 people.  When you're using a precinct  
23    as a unit, it's not possible to get down to one-person  
24    difference.  It's just that the precinct is too big to get  
25    down to strict equality.  But it is important to emphasize

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1 this difference. So, in my simulation algorithm, the maximum  
2 deviation is a little bit over 700 people. But most simulated  
3 districts have a lot smaller differences -- a couple hundred,  
4 usually -- people differences. Those differences have  
5 absolutely no impact on the substantive conclusions that I  
6 draw from my simulation analysis. Because, as you'll see, the  
7 results of my simulation analysis is much -- rests on much  
8 bigger differences, not just a couple hundred people  
9 difference.

10 Q. And I think you touched on it, but I just want the record  
11 to be clear. For purposes of your simulations, do you  
12 consider a difference of plus minus one person, or plus minus  
13 .1 percent to be meaningful?

14 A. No, no.

15 Q. And why not?

16 A. Because, as I said, the evidence that I used to draw my  
17 conclusion of this simulation analysis does not rest on the  
18 tiny differences. And, in fact, I could take each simulated  
19 plans, each of the 10,000 simulated plans, and try to equalize  
20 the district by, you know, choosing a couple precincts by  
21 splitting into small blocks within it. But I didn't do that  
22 because doing so has no impact on the substantive conclusion I  
23 draw from this analysis.

24 Q. Thank you. And then the third hard constraint you  
25 mentioned was that you didn't pair an incumbent with another

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1948

1 incumbent; is that right?

2 A. That's correct.

3 Q. And did that constraint apply through all of your  
4 analyses?

5 A. Yes, all three analyses impose that constraint as a hard  
6 constraint.

7 Q. Thank you. So, I want to talk specifically about the  
8 constraints that are specific to the analyses you discussed.  
9 And first I'll talk about your localized district and the  
10 localized analysis that focuses on Charleston County; so, the  
11 first two. You said these were race-blind. Why didn't you  
12 use race data in those analyses?

13 A. Yes. So, the main goal of my analysis is to determine  
14 whether race played a significant role in drawing district  
15 plans based on the enacted plan. In the simulation analysis,  
16 in order to figure out whether race played a significant role,  
17 what you do is, basically you generate race-blind baseline by  
18 using algorithm, but without any racial input. So, by  
19 construction, the simulated plans have no race -- race played  
20 no role in generating the simulated plan. And what you can do  
21 is then compare the enacted plan with these race-blind  
22 simulated plans to see if they differ significantly in terms  
23 of racial composition. And that's exactly what I did.

24 Q. And I'll ask Stephen to please put up the Senate  
25 guidelines and focus on Roman 1.C.

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1949

1 And, Dr. Imai, if you could just read that paragraph to  
2 yourself, and I'll ask you a question in a second.

3 A. So, this is about avoidance of racial gerrymandering.  
4 "All plans must comply with the Fourteenth Amendment to the  
5 United States Constitution, as interpreted by the United  
6 States Supreme Court" --

7 Q. You can just read it to yourself.

8 A. Oh, okay. All right. I've read it. Sorry.

9 Q. So, what I want to ask you is: Could race predominate as  
10 a factor in any of the simulated plans your algorithm drew?

11 A. No. The reason is that I did not use race to generate  
12 simulated plans, so race played no role, let alone, the  
13 predominant role.

14 Q. Okay. What about partisan data? Did your localized  
15 analyses use any partisan data?

16 A. I did not use any partisan data either.

17 Q. And why is that?

18 A. The guideline doesn't give any specific instruction about  
19 how those partisanship data should be used.

20 Q. So, let's talk now about your statewide analysis. So,  
21 could you explain to me again the VRA constraint you used in  
22 that analysis?

23 A. Yes. So, the VRA constraint is an additional hard  
24 constraint. So, it's a hard constraint in addition to the  
25 three hard constraints that I used for the localized analysis.

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1 And basically, every simulated plan will have District 6,  
2 whose BVAP, Black voting age population -- BVAP proportion --  
3 between 45 and 50 percent.

4 Q. And why did you build that constraint into your statewide  
5 analysis?

6 A. Right. So, the goal of the statewide analysis is to see  
7 whether the findings of my localized simulation analysis hold  
8 up and can be explained by the possible consideration of  
9 compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

10 So, as the enacted plan has the District 6 BVAP  
11 proportion at about 47 percent, I basically generated a  
12 simulated plan that has a similar level of BVAP proportion for  
13 the same exact district, and then see what kind of alternative  
14 districting is possible under that constraint.

15 Q. So, I'll ask Stephen to please put Senate Exhibit 3 --  
16 and, again, let's go to 1(c).

17 And just look at that for a second, Dr. Imai, to  
18 yourself, please.

19 A. Yes. I did.

20 Q. And I'll ask: From your perspective as an academic, what  
21 is an example of a compelling state interest that the use of  
22 race might serve in a redistricting plan?

23 A. Yes. So, compliance with the Voting Rights Act is one  
24 example of comparing state interests.

25 Q. Thank you. So, we've talked about, I think, all your

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1 hard constraints. Let's focus on your soft constraints. And  
2 just if you could explain, what are soft constraints?

3 A. Right. So, soft constraints are basically the constraint  
4 that encourages the simulation algorithm to generate certain  
5 types of redistricting plans.

6 Q. And what encourages whether a certain redistricting plan  
7 will do what your soft constraints want it to do?

8 A. Yes. So, there is a parameter that the analyst -- in  
9 this case, myself -- specifies for each soft constraint. So,  
10 that parameter represents the strength of the constraint. So,  
11 the stronger the constraint is, the encouragement to the  
12 algorithm would be stronger.

13 Q. And what determines the strength of those parameters?

14 A. So, in my analysis, what I did was to use the enacted  
15 plan as a benchmark and determined the strength of the  
16 soft-constraint parameters. So, in my analysis, I used the  
17 enacted plan as a benchmark to determine the parameter values  
18 for each soft constraint.

19 Q. All right. And what specific soft constraints did you  
20 build into your analysis?

21 A. So, the first one is compactness. So, I set the -- I  
22 specify the parameters such that the simulated districts are  
23 at least as compact as the enacted districts on average.

24 Q. And any the others? What are the other soft constraints?

25 A. The other soft constraint is the number of split

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1 counties. So, I set the parameter values so that the number  
2 of split counties in the simulated redistricting plans are no  
3 greater than those in the enacted plan, on average.

4 Q. Any others?

5 A. And I did the same thing for the municipality splits.

6 Q. So, when you say you did the same thing --

7 A. Yes. So, I made sure that the number of split  
8 municipalities is no greater than that of the enacted plan, on  
9 average.

10 Q. Okay. So, let's talk about compactness a little more.

11 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Stephen, if you could go to  
12 paragraph 58 of Dr. Imai's report.

13 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

14 Q. I just want to ask you, Dr. Imai: How did you measure  
15 the compactness of your simulated plans?

16 A. Yes. So, to measure compactness, I used two measures  
17 that are widely used in the academic literature. One is  
18 called Polsby-Popper Score, and the other one is called  
19 Fraction of Edges Kept.

20 Q. And what is Polsby-Popper?

21 A. Practically speaking, Polsby-Popper basically compares  
22 the district with the circle that has the same length of the  
23 perimeter, and essentially see if the district is close to a  
24 circle. So, the idea is that if the district is not compact,  
25 it may not be very close to the circle.



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1 Q. And what are Fraction of Edges Kept?

2 A. The Fraction of Edges Kept is based on mathematical sort  
3 of idea of graphically -- I'm not going to go into the detail,  
4 but this measure is commonly used in academic literature. And  
5 also, actually, it's closely related to the way that these  
6 algorithms control the compactness.

7 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: And, Stephen, if you could  
8 please go to the House guidelines at page two and focus under  
9 Roman numeral IV, specifically that last paragraph.

10 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

11 Q. Dr. Imai, that reads: "Compactness should be judged in  
12 part by the configuration of prior plans. Compactness should  
13 not be judged based upon any mathematical, statistical, or  
14 formula-based calculation or determination." Did I read that  
15 right?

16 A. Yes, you did.

17 Q. And are Polsby-Popper and Fraction of Edges Kept  
18 mathematical, statistical, or formula-based calculations?

19 A. They are mathematical, statistical, and formula-based  
20 calculations. And that's what I do.

21 Q. So, I'd like to ask: Does your algorithm in any way  
22 measure compactness by the configuration of prior plans?

23 A. So, to the extent that algorithms make sure that the  
24 districts that generate are, you know, as compact as those  
25 districts in the enacted plan, and to the extent the enacted

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1 plan reflects the configuration of the prior plan, the  
2 simulated plan should be similar in terms of the compactness,  
3 as defined in this section.

4 Q. Okay. So, second soft constraint, how did you constrain  
5 the number of county boundaries in your simulations?

6 A. Oh, yeah. I also should mention that the algorithm --  
7 you know, soft constraints in terms of the split counties and  
8 split municipalities. So, compactness is controlled in there  
9 as well by preserving those geographical units.

10 And for your question about split counties, essentially  
11 what I did was to make sure to choose the parameters such that  
12 the simulated plan, on average, have, you know, fewer number  
13 of split counties than the enacted plan.

14 Q. And you did that for both counties and municipalities?

15 A. That's correct. So, my simulation -- all simulations  
16 have those two constraints as soft constraints.

17 Q. Dr. Imai, what about core retention? Did you impose a  
18 constraint to consider the cores of existing districts?

19 A. Not directly.

20 Q. Could you say more about that, please?

21 A. Yes. So, first of all, if you consider my localized  
22 analysis, so that my first localized analysis focuses on  
23 Districts 1 and 6 and freezes the other five districts as the  
24 same as under the enacted plan. So, to the extent that the  
25 enacted plan has core preservation, my localized simulation

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1 analysis follows exactly that in those five districts.

2 Now, in my second localized analysis, I further  
3 restricted such that the only thing that's changing -- the  
4 only thing that I'm generating is the boundary within  
5 Charleston County. Everything else, not just those five  
6 districts, but also the District 1 and 6 outside of Charleston  
7 County, is exactly the same as the enacted plan. So, to the  
8 extent that the enacted plan preserves the core, my simulation  
9 analysis also preserves the core.

10 Q. And, Dr. Imai, in reviewing the guidelines, did you see  
11 an objective definition of the cores of existing districts in  
12 there?

13 A. No, I did not see any sort of operationizable instruction  
14 about how cores should be either defined or preserved.

15 Q. And I'll ask: In your broader work, is retaining the  
16 cores of specific districts something you build into your  
17 simulations?

18 A. No. I never, in my expert-witness work -- not just in  
19 this case but in other cases that I've done, I did not  
20 incorporate the core retention constraint directly.

21 Q. And why is that?

22 A. So, the reason -- again, this is important because the  
23 goal of the simulation analysis is an evaluation of the  
24 enacted plan. And in particular, a racial gerrymandering case  
25 like this one, we're trying to isolate the lower rate spread

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1 in determining the district boundaries under the enacted plan.  
2 So, in order to isolate the role race played in determining  
3 the enacted plan, I did not want to input directly any plan,  
4 whether it's a previous plan any other plan as a constraint.  
5 Because, if you do that, you would inherit -- the result  
6 simulated plans would, in fact, inherit all factors that went  
7 into this, say, previous plan, right, which may include race  
8 or some other related factors. And since I did not analyze  
9 the previous plan in this report -- my goal is to analyze the  
10 enacted plan -- I have no idea what factors went into the  
11 previous plan. Therefore, I focused on the constraints that  
12 are listed in the guidelines that are clearly  
13 operationalizable in the objective matters. So, things like  
14 population deviations, compactness, number of split counties  
15 and so on. And I used those as input as an effort to isolate  
16 the role race played beyond the set of traditional  
17 redistricting criteria. So, I did not use the core retention.  
18 That's a function of the previous plan.

19 Q. Thanks, Dr. Imai. So, let's talk about the conclusions  
20 of your analyses. And let's start with the first one, the  
21 localized Districts 1 and 6 simulation. Why did you choose to  
22 focus on District 1 and District 6?

23 A. Right. So, as you know, the largest change from the  
24 previous plan happened under the enacted plan, is Districts 1  
25 and 6. The other five districts are largely kept the same as

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1 those under the previous plan. So, naturally, one would focus  
2 on the district boundary that changed most.

3 Q. And why did you freeze the boundary for all the  
4 districts?

5 A. Right. So, in this analysis, I didn't want other  
6 districts to influence how the analysis of this particular  
7 district boundary, the boundary between Districts 1 and 6, is  
8 drawn. So, you know, it's sort of a hard test, right, because  
9 in the redistricting, everything could affect everything. But  
10 I'm saying suppose that five districts that I'm now focusing  
11 on, we're going to use exactly the same districts under the  
12 enacted plan and see whether or not race played a significant  
13 role in determining the district boundary between Districts 1  
14 and 6.

15 Q. Thank you. And what does running these as a race-blind  
16 simulation allow you to see about the boundary between those  
17 two districts?

18 A. Right. So, the main goal is to determine whether race  
19 played a role. So, in order to isolate the role race played  
20 in the simulation analysis, what you do is you first generate  
21 a race-blind or a race-neutral baseline by generating a large  
22 number -- in this case, 10,000 -- alternative districts that  
23 comply with the traditional redistricting rules and then see  
24 if race played a role beyond those rules.

25 Q. Okay. So, I'm going to ask Stephen to pull up

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1 Plaintiffs' Exhibit 33, which is Figure 1 in your report. And  
2 let's first focus on the left side of this figure.

3 And, Dr. Imai, if you could tell us what that shows.

4 A. Yes. So, the left map shows the distribution of Black  
5 voters in these two districts, District 1 and District 6. And  
6 I would like you to focus on, in the Charleston County area,  
7 where you see that enacted boundary, which is the black line  
8 -- the solid black line is the enacted boundaries -- places  
9 the city of Charleston and the city of North Charleston into  
10 District 6 while leaving the rest of Charleston County to  
11 District 1. The gray lines represent the county boundaries.  
12 So, again, the black line is the enacted boundary, and the  
13 gray line is the county boundary. And the colors represent  
14 the number of Black voters who live in each precinct. So, the  
15 darker the color is, more Black voters live there.

16 Q. Now, let's look at the right side of that figure. What  
17 does this second map show you?

18 A. Right. So, the right map shows where District 1 is  
19 likely to be located under the simulation. So, if you recall,  
20 I generated 10,000 alternative ways of creating Districts 1  
21 and 6 while fixing the other districts to those districts on  
22 the enacted plan. The darker blue shows the -- the darker the  
23 color is, it means that each precinct is going to have a  
24 higher probability of belonging to District 1 under the  
25 enacted plan. So, again, I would like you to focus on the

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1 area within Charleston County, where the enacted plan places  
2 -- yeah. So, you can see that the enacted plan, that's the  
3 black line, places the city of Charleston and the city of  
4 North Charleston into District 6. However, these areas  
5 actually under simulation belong to District 1. That's why  
6 they are dark blue. So, the dark blue area is most likely to  
7 belong to District 1.

8 Q. Thank you. And I'll ask Stephen to please bring up  
9 Plaintiffs' Exhibit 34, which is Figure 2 in your report.

10 What does this histogram tell us, Dr. Imai?

11 A. Yes. So, this histogram shows what I showed in the map,  
12 which is actually a statistical outlier, the patterns in the  
13 map that I just showed you in the blue map -- that I just  
14 showed you -- is a statistical outlier. So, here, what I'm  
15 showing is the BVAP proportion of District 1. So, under the  
16 enacted plan, which is the red vertical line, it's about  
17 17 percent; however, on the simulated plan, it's such higher.  
18 Almost all the simulated plans have a BVAP proportion of more  
19 than 20 percent for District 1. And the reason why is, as I  
20 showed you, the city of Charleston and city of North  
21 Charleston tend to be part of District 1 under the simulated  
22 plan, even the enacted plan places those Black voters in  
23 District 6.

24 Q. So, taken together, what does this all tell you about the  
25 boundary between District 1 and District 6?

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1 A. Right. So, this shows that the way the enacted plan drew  
2 the boundary between Districts 1 and 6 is highly unusual  
3 compared to the race-blind simulated plans, and is a  
4 statistical outlier. In fact, none of my 10,000 simulated  
5 plans places as low BVAP proportion in District 1 as the  
6 enacted plan. So, it's a clear statistical outlier.

7 Q. So, let's talk about the second set of simulations you  
8 ran, which just focused on the Charleston County split  
9 boundary. Why did you do this? Why did you only focus on  
10 Charleston County?

11 A. So, this is even a greater stress test on my finding,  
12 because the first analysis was already a stress test by fixing  
13 all other districts exactly the same as the enacted plan, and  
14 looking at Districts 1 and 6 and seeing how the boundary of  
15 those two districts are different. Here, I'm looking to see  
16 is it really the case that the way Charleston County is being  
17 split is unusual. So, my first analysis indicated it is  
18 unusual and it's a statistical outlier. But I'm going to zoom  
19 in farther within Charleston County and then see if the  
20 boundary within that county is actually also a statistical  
21 outlier, even after fixing the rest of the boundary between  
22 these two districts as exactly the same as the one used under  
23 the enacted plan.

24 Q. And what did that simulation tell you?

25 A. So, that second localized simulation analysis essentially



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1 confirms the finding from the first localized analysis by  
2 showing that a disproportionately large number of Black voters  
3 who live in Charleston County is placed in the District 6  
4 under the enacted plan when compared to the race-blind  
5 simulation plans, as a result, lowering the BVAP proportion of  
6 District 1.

7 Q. And I'll ask Stephen to put up Plaintiffs' Exhibit 35  
8 which is Figure 3 in your report.

9 Dr. Imai, what does this histogram tell us?

10 A. Yes. So, this, again, shows numerically the enacted plan  
11 is a statistical outlier in the way that it draws the district  
12 boundary between Districts 1 and 6 within Charleston County.  
13 So, to show that, I look at the number of Black voters who  
14 live in Charleston County and are assigned to District 1 under  
15 the enacted plan and also under the simulated plan. And under  
16 the enacted plan, you see that less than 20,000 -- I don't  
17 remember the exact number -- let's see. Yeah, I don't recall  
18 the exact number. But, anyway, less than 20,000 voters are  
19 placed in District 1 to live in Charleston County, but under  
20 the simulated plans, it's much, much greater. And, in fact,  
21 less than one percent of my 10,000 simulated plans places  
22 fewer Black voters in District 1 when compared to the enacted  
23 plan.

24 Q. Dr. Imai, if you look at page 14 of your report, is the  
25 number that you were looking for in there?

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1 A. Oh, yes. So -- yeah. Under the enacted plan, a little  
2 bit above 15,000 Black voters are in District 1; whereas, you  
3 know, on average under simulation, about 25,000 Black voters.  
4 So, this is just focusing on Charleston County and not  
5 changing any other district boundaries. So, just in terms of,  
6 you know, calibrating this number, that's what it shows.

7 Q. So, taking all of this together, what are your  
8 conclusions on the localized Charleston County simulations?

9 A. Yeah. So, second localized simulation analysis basically  
10 confirms what I found in the first simulation analysis, in  
11 that the way that the district boundary is drawn within  
12 Charleston County is highly unusual, compared to the  
13 race-blind simulated plans. And it is a statistical outlier  
14 in terms of placing a disproportionately large number of Black  
15 voters who live in Charleston County -- in particular, city of  
16 Charleston and city of North Charleston -- placing them in  
17 District 6 instead of District 1, which basically leads to low  
18 BVAP proportion of District 1 under the enacted plan.

19 Q. So, let's focus on the conclusions of your statewide  
20 simulation. And now that we've gone through your localized  
21 analyses, I'll ask you again: Why did you do the statewide  
22 simulation?

23 A. Right. So, the statewide analysis tries to put another  
24 stress test on the finding that I obtained in my localized  
25 simulation analysis. In the localized simulation analysis,

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1 I'm focusing on just Districts 1 and 6. I'm not changing any  
2 other districts. What that means is that if the simulated  
3 plan places more Black voters in District 1 as opposed to  
4 District 6, that just automatically lowers the BVAP proportion  
5 of District 6, because you're moving people from one district  
6 to another. So, increasing District 1 will reduce District 6.

7 So, in fact, if you look at the localized simulation plan  
8 that I generated, we have -- I have more Black voters in  
9 District 1, as I showed you, but that means fewer Black voters  
10 are going to be placed in District 6. But it is possible  
11 that, under the enacted plan, District 6's BVAP proportion is  
12 much higher in order to comply with the Voting Rights Act.

13 So, what I wanted to see is if I make sure that my simulated  
14 plans maintained the same level of BVAP proportion for  
15 District 6, do I still see the same pattern, and specifically,  
16 do I still see the way that the enacted plan splits Charleston  
17 County is unusual, relative to otherwise race-blind. So, the  
18 basis is used to maintain District 6's BVAP proportion at the  
19 same level as the enacted plan, but the rest of the districts  
20 are created without race as a factor.

21 Q. And with this statewide focus, did you focus on any other  
22 boundaries outside of District 1 and District 6?

23 A. Yes. So, I start with Districts 1 and 6, because that's  
24 where my whole analysis started. So, I start with the  
25 boundary between Districts 1 and 6, as before, but I also look

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1 at Richland County and Sumter County, where, as you'll see,  
2 the enacted plan splits the Black community. So, I focused on  
3 those two counties, which basically is the district boundary  
4 between 2 and 6 as well as district boundary between 5 and 6.

5 Q. So, let's stay in Charleston for a second, which we've  
6 already talked about, but now you're looking at it within  
7 statewide simulations. What were your findings in Charleston  
8 County with the statewide simulations?

9 A. Yes. So, statewide simulation basically confirms, you  
10 know, usual findings from the localized simulation analysis in  
11 that the district boundary between Districts 1 and 6 is highly  
12 unusual compared to the statewide simulation analysis. And  
13 so, the compliance with the VRA cannot explain the role race  
14 played in drawing the district boundary. So, in other words,  
15 race played a role in determining the district boundary  
16 between Districts 1 and 6 beyond the purpose of traditional  
17 redistricting criteria as well as the compliance with the  
18 Voting Rights Act.

19 Q. So, I'll ask Stephen to focus on Plaintiffs' Exhibit 36,  
20 which is Figure 4 in your report.

21 Dr. Imai, what does this histogram tell us?

22 A. Yeah. So, this histogram is strikingly similar to the  
23 localized simulation analysis histogram I showed you, and it  
24 shows the enacted plan is a statistical -- clear statistical  
25 outlier in terms of the BVAP proportion of District 1. And as

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1 I said earlier, the District 1 BVAP proportion in the enacted  
2 plan is about 17 percent in contrast, and the simulated plan,  
3 which accounts for the possible VRA compliance, keeping the  
4 District 6 at the same level of BVAP proportion as the enacted  
5 plan. So, you cannot reduce it. Even if you put that  
6 constraint, you see the clear difference between the simulated  
7 and the enacted plan in terms of BVAP proportion of District  
8 1. So, this shows that the compliance with VRA cannot explain  
9 the fact that the enacted plan has an extremely low BVAP  
10 proportion of District 1 compared to the simulated plan.

11 Q. So, did this analysis in any way change your conclusions  
12 from the prior analyses that we've discuss?

13 A. No. Actually, it enforces it. It basically bolsters the  
14 finding that I obtained in my localized simulation analysis.

15 Q. And I'll briefly ask if Stephen can pull up Plaintiffs'  
16 Exhibit 37, which is Figure 5 in your report.

17 And, Dr. Imai, I think we've seen one of these before.  
18 But could you just tell us what this represents?

19 A. Yes. So, this is exactly the same figure I showed you  
20 earlier, the localized simulation analysis. So, here, we're  
21 looking at the statewide simulation analysis. And I'm, again,  
22 coloring each precinct based on the proportion of simulated  
23 plans where the precinct is placed in District 1. So, the  
24 darker the blue are, more likely to be part of District 1.  
25 And, again, I would like you to focus closely on the area of

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1 city of Charleston and the city of North Charleston. So, that  
2 label, District 6 is located in that area. So, those areas  
3 have very dark blue, okay?

4 So, what that means is that those areas under the  
5 simulated plan are much more likely to belong to District 1,  
6 instead of being placed into District 6. So, in that sense,  
7 the district boundary of the enacted plan is highly unusual,  
8 and race played a significant role in there, beyond the  
9 redistricting criteria as well as possible compliance with the  
10 VRA.

11 Q. And I'll ask Stephen to go to Plaintiffs' Exhibit 38,  
12 which is Figure 6 in your report.

13 What does this histogram tell us?

14 A. Right. So, this even more clearly shows that the enacted  
15 plan is an extreme statistical outlier. So, as you can see,  
16 this is looking at the number of Black voters who live in  
17 Charleston County who are placed in District 1. Under the  
18 enacted plan, there was about 15,000 Black voters placed in  
19 District 1 -- so, that's the red vertical line -- where if you  
20 look at the histogram, which it presents the same number for  
21 the simulated plans, it's much, much greater. And you notice  
22 that there is a big spike all the way to the right. And the  
23 reason the big spike is there is that, in many simulations --  
24 in fact, I think about 75 percent of 10,000 stimulations --  
25 entire Charleston County is assigned to District 1 without

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1 being split. Okay. So, this shows that the enacted plan is  
2 highly, highly unusual in terms of the way that it splits  
3 Charleston County, because most simulations -- in fact, it  
4 doesn't split at all. And even when it does, it places many  
5 more Black voters into District 1 by -- you know, indicated by  
6 little gray histograms between 20,000 and 60,000, when  
7 compared to the enacted plan. So, this clearly, again, shows  
8 that the enacted plan is a statistical outlier.

9 Q. Dr. Imai, we've heard testimony that the distribution of  
10 Black voters between Districts 1 and 6 in Charleston County  
11 must be a coincidence because legislators didn't look at race.

12 Does your analysis speak to whether such a coincidence is  
13 likely?

14 A. If it's a coincidence, it would be extremely  
15 astronomically small number, small probability. So, if you  
16 call that a coincidence, it is. But my statistical analysis  
17 shows it's highly unlikely.

18 Q. Thank you. So, you mentioned you focused on the district  
19 -- the boundary between Districts 6 and 2, right?

20 A. Yes. So, after I looked at Districts 1 and 6, which was  
21 motivated by the first localized analysis, I looked to see the  
22 other two places where the Black community is being split  
23 under the enacted plan.

24 Q. And did you use the same 10,000 simulated statewide maps  
25 that we've been discussing for Charleston County?

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1 A. That's correct. So, there's only one set of 10,000  
2 simulated plans for the statewide analysis. So, all I'm doing  
3 is comparing the enacted plan with the 10,000 simulated plans,  
4 first just looking at the Charleston County area and then next  
5 looking at Richland County.

6 Q. And I'll ask Stephen to pull up Plaintiffs' Exhibit 39,  
7 which is Figure 7 in your report.

8 And I'll ask you, Dr. Imai, what does your statewide  
9 analysis tell you about how the enacted plan treats Richland  
10 County?

11 A. Yes. So, the left map shows how the enacted plan deals  
12 with Richland County. And, again, the Black solid line  
13 represents the boundary of Districts 2 and 6, in this case,  
14 under the enacted plan. And the brown color represents the  
15 number of Black voters who live there. So, the darker the  
16 color is, the larger number of Black voters live there. And  
17 as you can clearly see, the enacted plan splits the Black  
18 community in two districts, Districts 2 and 6. There is a  
19 hook-shaped part of District 6 in Richland County that takes  
20 some Black voters, and the other part, the eastern part of the  
21 city of Columbia, is placed in District 2. So, essentially,  
22 by splitting Richland County, you know, the enacted plan  
23 splits the Black community into two districts. That's what  
24 the left graph shows -- left map shows. And, as before, the  
25 gray lines represent the county boundary.



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1 Q. Okay. And what does the right map tell you?

2 A. So, the right map in this case is very similar to the map  
3 I showed you earlier. In this case, we're looking at  
4 Districts 2 and 6. So, it shows how often each precinct is  
5 placed to District 2, as opposed to District 6, in the  
6 simulations. And what you see is Richland County is almost  
7 entirely White, which means that none of these precincts will  
8 be likely to be placed in District 2, okay? And the only  
9 place there's a small probability that would be a part of  
10 District 2 would be the northwest corner of the county, where  
11 you can see the bright blue there. But, as you can see from  
12 the left map, not many Black voters live there. So, what this  
13 shows is that the simulated plans will keep the Black  
14 community of Richland County intact, not splitting into  
15 Districts 2 and 6.

16 Q. And if we could pull up Plaintiffs' Exhibit 40, which is  
17 Figure 8, what does this histogram tell us, particularly in  
18 relationship with what you just described?

19 A. Yes. So, basically, I first look at how often the entire  
20 Richland County would be assigned to District 6, okay? And if  
21 you look at the 10,000 simulated plans, I think about  
22 40 percent of the simulated plan would not split Richland  
23 County and assigns the entire county to District 6. So, the  
24 enacted plan split into 2 and 6, but the simulated plan will  
25 keep them intact and assign the entire thing to District 6.

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1 Now, about 24 percent of simulated plans do split  
2 Richland County in Districts 2 and 6, which is exactly what  
3 the enacted plan did. But this figure shows they do it very  
4 differently. As I showed in the map earlier, most of Richland  
5 County was in the white map --

6 Maybe, Stephen if you could go back to map, if that's  
7 possible.

8 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Side by side. Oh, the previous  
9 map and the histogram.

10 THE WITNESS: The previous map.

11 BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:

12 Q. And I'm sorry, Dr. Imai. I heard you say 24 percent.  
13 Did you mean --

14 A. Well, approximately 24 percent of the 10,000, which is  
15 2388. But anyway, if you look at the map again, you know,  
16 most of Richland County wouldn't be assigned to District 2,  
17 and the only places that may be assigned with small  
18 probability would be this bright blue area, where when you  
19 look at the left map, you see that not many Black voters live  
20 there. And that's reflected in Figure 8.

21 So, under the simulated plan, District 2 takes a  
22 relatively large number of Black voters, because there's a  
23 hook shape, and then District 2 comes down, allowing the hook  
24 shape and basically grabs the Black voters who live there.  
25 However, the simulated plan won't do that, and, in fact,

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1 assigned much fewer number of black voters to District 2. So,  
2 you can see in the histogram the vertical line, which is the  
3 enacted plan, is much, much higher than most of the simulated  
4 plans, which is assigned much smaller Black voters who live in  
5 Richland County to District 2. So, again, it's a statistical  
6 outlier.

7 Q. And taken together, what does your statewide simulation  
8 tell you about how the enacted plan treats Richland County?

9 A. Right. So, what this shows is that compliance with the  
10 VRA does not require -- it is not necessary to split a  
11 community of Black voters in Richland County in order to  
12 comply with the Voting Rights Act. In fact, it is possible,  
13 and actually a much more likely outcome to keep those voters  
14 intact and assign them to District 6.

15 Q. Okay. And Let's go to Sumter County. You said you also  
16 focused on Sumter County in your statewide analysis?

17 A. Yes. Because, as you see, the city of Sumter is another  
18 place where the Black community is split under the enacted  
19 plan.

20 Q. And what did you learn about how the enacted map treats  
21 Sumter County?

22 A. Right. So, again, the left map is the map of Sumter  
23 County. And here, we're looking at Districts 5 and 6. And as  
24 you can see, the black line is the district boundary, and it  
25 cuts through the middle of Sumter County. And the little dark

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1 brown area, it's small, but that's the city of Sumter. And as  
2 you can see, the district boundary under the enacted plan cuts  
3 through that community, splits the city of Sumter in Districts  
4 5 and 6. And, again, the gray lines represent the county  
5 boundary.

6 Q. And what does the right map tell you?

7 A. Right. So, the right map shows the proportion of  
8 simulated plans which assign each precinct of Sumter County to  
9 District 5. Now, remember from the left map that District 5  
10 under the enacted plan takes the western part of Sumter  
11 County. In contrast, the simulated plan essentially doesn't  
12 assign any part of Sumter County to District 5. So, that's  
13 why it's almost all White, because most of the simulated plans  
14 don't assign this county to District 5.

15 Q. You say "most." Does that mean that some of the  
16 simulated plans assign Sumter County to District 5?

17 A. There is a table that I showed. If you can pull that  
18 out.

19 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Stephen, if you could pull up  
20 Plaintiffs' Exhibit 42.

21 THE WITNESS: So, you can actually calculate how  
22 often simulated plans assign Sumter County to different  
23 districts. So, over 90 percent of simulated plans out of  
24 10,000 simulated plans assign the entire Sumter County to the  
25 District 6; so, without splitting, okay? And there are some

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1 cases they split. So, for example, 4.5 percent of the  
2 simulated plan is split into Sumter County into Districts 6  
3 and 7, but not 5 and 6, as the enacted plan does. Only  
4 1.2 percent of the simulated plan would split Sumter County in  
5 a way that the enacted plan did, which is to split into  
6 Districts 5 and 6.

7 So, again, the way that the enacted plan splits  
8 Sumter County is highly unusual, relative to the simulated  
9 plan, and this unusual pattern cannot be explained by  
10 compliance with the Voting Rights Act. In other words, to  
11 comply with the Voting Rights Act, it is not necessary to  
12 split Sumter County in the way that the enacted plan did.

13 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai. And I'm just going to ask you to  
14 please recap your opinions.

15 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: And, Stephen, if you could bring  
16 up the second slide again.

17 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

18 Q. And, Dr. Imai, can you tell us what you concluded from  
19 your report?

20 A. Sure. So, I've done a comprehensive set of simulation  
21 analyses to examine whether race played a role in determining  
22 the district boundaries in the enacted plan beyond the purpose  
23 of compliance with the traditional redistricting criteria.  
24 And I started with a localized analysis focusing on Districts  
25 1 and 6 that are mainly located in Charleston County. And I

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA 1974

1 showed you that my simulation analysis basically establishes  
2 that the way that the enacted plan splits Charleston County is  
3 highly unusual relative to the race-blind simulation baseline.  
4 It's unusual because it places a large number of Black voters  
5 into District 1, especially those who live in District 6,  
6 especially those who live in the city of Charleston and city  
7 of North Charleston, which leads to the much lower BVAP  
8 proportion of District 1 in the enacted plan when compared to  
9 the race-blind simulation baseline.

10 And this finding is confirmed in my analysis where I  
11 freeze everything else, except the boundary within Charleston  
12 County, and then generated 10,000 race-blind alternative  
13 district boundaries in that county. And it still shows that  
14 the way the enacted plan splits the county is highly unusual.  
15 So, these analyses show that race played a significant role in  
16 determining district boundaries between Districts 1 and 6 in  
17 the enacted plan, beyond the purpose of complying with the  
18 traditional redistricting criteria.

19 Finally, the statewide analysis examined the possibility  
20 that the findings I had from the localized simulation analysis  
21 are due to the possible consideration of VRA compliance. And,  
22 there, what I showed is that VRA compliance, as well as the  
23 traditional redistricting criteria, cannot explain the  
24 patterns that I found -- unusual patterns that I found in the  
25 localized analysis. In fact, race played a significant role

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CEPEDA 1975

1 beyond traditional redistricting criteria and the compliance  
2 with VRA. And this was found both in Charleston County as  
3 well as in Richland County and Sumter County, where the  
4 simulation shows that it is not necessary -- in fact, it is  
5 highly unusual -- to split the community of Black voters in  
6 those counties in order to satisfy the Voting Rights Act. So,  
7 that's my conclusion.

8 Q. And just to be clear, Dr. Imai, when you say VRA  
9 compliance, what you mean is a simulation that keeps the BVAP  
10 of District 6 between 45 and 50 percent, right?

11 A. That's right. So, basically, my statewide simulation  
12 analysis would ask the question of: What redistricting plan  
13 would have been possible if one wanted to keep the BVAP  
14 proportion of District 6 at the similar level as the enacted  
15 plan? And 10,000 simulated plans I generated basically  
16 represent that alternative. It is the plan. And I found that  
17 the way the enacted plan created the districts, these  
18 districts are highly unusual in terms of racial composition.

19 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai.

20 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: I pass the witness.

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Very good. We're going to take our  
22 morning break.

23 *(Recess.)*

24 THE COURT: Please be seated.

25 Why am I not surprised that Mr. Gore is doing this

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE

1976

1 cross-examination? We've enjoyed you, Mr. Gore. Thank you  
2 very much for being here.

3 MR. GORE: I'm not sure which way to take that  
4 comment.

5 JUDGE GERGEL: I was always worried when the judge  
6 complimented me that I wasn't going to win. But I try to  
7 compliment everybody.

8 MR. GORE: Thank you, your Honor. It's been a  
9 privilege and pleasure to be in your court. So, thank you.

10 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

11 **BY MR. GORE:**

12 Q. Dr. Imai, I'm John Gore, and I represent the Senate  
13 Defendants. I believe we met by Zoom before for your  
14 deposition; is that right?

15 A. Nice to meet you in person.

16 Q. Yeah. I agree. Thank you for being here today.

17 Now, when you were talking about your localized  
18 simulation plans with Mr. Cepeda, I believe you said race  
19 didn't predominate because those simulations didn't use race,  
20 correct?

21 A. That's correct.

22 Q. Okay. And you don't draw any conclusions about whether  
23 race predominated in the enacted plan, correct?

24 A. I say significant in a statistical sense.

25 Q. Yeah. But you don't use the word "predominant," right?



*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1977

1 A. I don't use it in the legal sense because I'm not a  
2 lawyer.

3 Q. And you don't know one way or the other whether the  
4 General Assembly actually used race to draw the enacted plan,  
5 do you?

6 A. My analysis doesn't address, you know, like what intent  
7 the General Assembly had when drawing the enacted plan.

8 Q. And your analysis doesn't try to get in the mapmaker's  
9 head, right?

10 A. No. I can't.

11 Q. You're not trying to figure out why the mapmaker drew the  
12 map a certain way, correct?

13 A. No.

14 Q. And you're not looking at the intent of the map drawer or  
15 legislators; is that right?

16 A. That's correct.

17 Q. And so, you also don't draw any conclusions about whether  
18 the General Assembly intentionally discriminated, right?

19 A. No.

20 Q. And I believe you mentioned before there are two Monte  
21 Carlo methods for simulation analysis, correct?

22 A. That's correct. Speaking of those two types.

23 Q. So, if I refer to sequential Monte Carlo as SMC, does  
24 that work?

25 A. I developed that. SMC works, yes.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1978

1 Q. And for Markov Chain Monte Carlo, is it ok if I refer to  
2 them as MCMC?

3 A. That's what we call them.

4 Q. Wonderful.

5 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, can you pull up the first  
6 tab on the screen here?

7 **BY MR. GORE:**

8 Dr. Imai, this is a paper of yours that I downloaded off  
9 the web. Do you recognize this paper?

10 A. I wrote that paper.

11 Q. You did write that paper. And this draft is dated  
12 June 14th of 2022, correct?

13 A. That's correct.

14 Q. And I believe you said earlier that there's an SMC paper  
15 currently under peer review; is that right?

16 A. This is the one that's currently under peer review.

17 Q. Thank you for confirming that. And in this paper you  
18 discuss SMC and MCMC methods, right?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. Okay. And you generally take the position that SMC is a  
21 superior method, correct?

22 A. I would like to say yes because I developed SMC, but it  
23 depends on the context.

24 Q. Okay.

25 MR. GORE: So, let's scroll down first, Mr. Traywick,

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE

1979

1 if we can, to page three of the article.

2 **BY MR. GORE:**

3 Q. And at the bottom here of this page, you include a  
4 critique of the MCMC method. So, I've highlighted it here.  
5 Do you mind reading that for the record?

6 A. Sure. "First, distribution that some of these algorithms  
7 sampled from are not made explicit are leaving open the  
8 possibility that the generated ensemble is systematically  
9 different from the true set of all valid plans. Second, even  
10 when the District 6 is known, MCMC algorithms used to sample  
11 from it may be prohibitively slow to mix and cannot be a  
12 representative sample."

13 Q. So, Dr. Imai, here, you're taking the position that MCMC  
14 algorithms in certain cases don't yield a representative  
15 sample, right?

16 A. In certain cases, yes.

17 Q. And in other cases they generate plans that are  
18 systematically different than the true set of all valid plans;  
19 isn't that right?

20 A. In other cases, yes.

21 Q. You, nonetheless, chose to use MCMC method in this case,  
22 correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. Let's go back to the first page of this article, if we  
25 might, in the abstract. And I've highlighted here a sentence

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE

1980

1 in the abstract. Can you see that, Dr. Imai?

2 A. Sure.

3 Q. Do you mind reading that into the record as well?

4 A. "For successful application, sampling methods must scale  
5 to large maps with many districts incorporated realistic legal  
6 constraints and accurately and efficiently sample from a  
7 selected target distribution."

8 Q. So, you agree, don't you, Dr. Imai, that to be  
9 instructive, simulation analysis has to incorporate realistic  
10 legal constraints, right?

11 A. It depends on the context and purpose. But, generally,  
12 yes.

13 Q. Generally, yes. But in this case, you didn't incorporate  
14 all the realistic legal constraints, did you?

15 A. I'm not sure why you say that.

16 Q. Well, we'll talk about that a little bit more in a  
17 minute.

18 A. Okay.

19 Q. But did you do anything to confirm that your simulation  
20 plans satisfied legal requirements?

21 A. So, I did my best to account for the explicit rules given  
22 in those guidelines, the State and House guidelines (*sic*).

23 Q. But you didn't consider all the rules in the guidelines,  
24 correct?

25 A. Well, it depends on which rule you're talking about.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1981

1 Q. Okay. We'll get into that more here in just a minute.

2 MR. GORE: Let's go to the next tab, if we could, Mr.  
3 Traywick.

4 **BY MR. GORE:**

5 Q. This is another of your articles: "The Essential Role of  
6 Empirical Validation in Legislative Redistricting Simulation."  
7 Did I read that correctly?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And one of your co-authors here is Ben Fifield?

10 A. That's correct.

11 Q. And who is Mr. Fifield?

12 A. He's my former student.

13 Q. Did you have any dealings with Mr. Fifield in connection  
14 with this case?

15 A. What do you mean by "dealings"?

16 Q. Was Mr. Fifield part of the ACLU data team?

17 A. Oh, I see. Yes. So, he was -- I don't think he is any  
18 longer, but he was part of the data team for ACLU.

19 Q. And as a member of the data team, Mr. Fifield compiled  
20 data and shared it with you, right?

21 A. I don't know exactly what he did, but he did send me the  
22 data. You know, he shared the data by e-mail links with --  
23 you know, cc'd to counsel.

24 Q. So, you had some e-mail exchanges with Mr. Fifield about  
25 the data you received from the ACLU; is that right?

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE

1982

1 A. He did send me the data. I'm not sure -- well, we never  
2 had e-mail exchanges without counsel being cc'd about the  
3 data. And I don't recall if he ever -- you know, in those  
4 e-mails if he ever had written to each other. But I did  
5 receive the data from him -- the link to the data. But I  
6 don't know what role he played in preparing that data set.

7 Q. Let's move on the next page of this, if we can. We have  
8 a highlighted portion, I hope. Here in the left column.

9 Dr. Imai, will you also read this from this article  
10 you're co-author of?

11 A. Yeah. "And yet, if there exists no scientific evidence  
12 that these simulation methods can actually yield a  
13 representative sample of valid redistricting plans, we cannot  
14 rule out the possibility that the comparison of a particular  
15 plan against the sample plan yields misreading conclusions  
16 such as gerrymandering."

17 Q. So, when the simulation methods aren't scientifically  
18 validated, they can yield misleading conclusions, right?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. And so, what did you do to scientifically validate the  
21 data you received from the ACLU?

22 A. Oh, data, or the simulation methods?

23 Q. I'm asking you now about the data. You didn't do  
24 anything to validate that data, did you?

25 A. What do you mean by "validate"?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1983

1 Q. Did you do anything to check whether the data was  
2 accurate?

3 A. I checked with a lot of sources to make sure -- other  
4 people who use the same source -- in this case, census data --  
5 to make sure that the numbers, you know, add up. But, like, I  
6 didn't validate every single data point, if you mean by  
7 validation. By validation, if you mean that.

8 Q. Yeah. I do mean that. So, you didn't go through the  
9 data point by point to see if the data was accurate?

10 A. No, I didn't do that.

11 Q. Okay. So, Dr. Imai, I believe you testified earlier that  
12 you reviewed the House and Senate guidelines as part of your  
13 report, correct?

14 A. Yes.

15 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, can we go to the third tab,  
16 which is Dr. Imai's report. It's in evidence as Plaintiffs'  
17 Exhibit 32.

18 **BY MR. GORE:**

19 Q. Now, you reviewed the House and Senate guidelines, but  
20 you didn't actually control in your simulations for all the  
21 criteria in the guidelines, correct?

22 A. Like, which criteria are you talking about?

23 Q. Sure.

24 MR. GORE: Let's go two more over, if we can, Mr.  
25 Traywick, to Senate Exhibit 3. It may be the easiest way to

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1984

1 do this. Let's go the second page.

2 BY MR. GORE:

3 Q. And there, at 3b, "constituent consistency." So, let's  
4 start with one of these -- the second piece of that says:  
5 "Keeping's incumbents' residents in their districts with core  
6 constituents"; do you see that?

7 A. Yes, I do.

8 Q. And did you add a control to your algorithm for that, for  
9 keeping incumbents' residents with their core constituents?

10 A. Not directly.

11 Q. Not directly. And, in fact, you allow in your model for  
12 the districts to cover different geography than the enacted  
13 plan, correct?

14 A. Right. Because, otherwise, it wouldn't be different from  
15 the enacted plan.

16 Q. Right. So, even though each incumbent gets a district in  
17 your approach, the district they get might be different,  
18 correct?

19 A. Different from the enacted plan, yes.

20 Q. Yes. So, that's true by geography and by the voters in  
21 the district, correct?

22 A. That's correct.

23 Q. Okay. And, before, I think you discussed with Mr. Cepeda  
24 that you also didn't control for preserving the cores of  
25 existing districts; is that right?



*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1985

1 A. Not directly.

2 Q. And if we go up and look at 3A, you didn't control for  
3 communities of interest, correct?

4 A. Not directly. However, some of the guidelines mention  
5 the counties and administrative boundaries. So, those are  
6 being controlled.

7 Q. Right. And those are separate parts of the guidelines,  
8 right? If we scroll down, that would be C or D or E here.  
9 And communities of interest are separately identified as  
10 criteria, correct?

11 A. Oh. But in the other guideline, I think it's part of the  
12 community of interest definition.

13 Q. I see. So, you're referring to the House guidelines  
14 because the Senate guidelines, there is a different criteria?

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. Okay. And you didn't control for that criterion; is that  
17 right?

18 A. Not directly.

19 Q. And did you control for natural geographic boundaries and  
20 how that might affect how the plan is drawn?

21 A. What do you mean by "natural"?

22 Q. Rivers, water features, anything like that.

23 A. Not directly.

24 Q. And, here, if we look at 3E, one of the Senate criteria  
25 is minimizing divisions of voting precinct boundaries,

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1986

1 correct?

2 A. That's correct.

3 Q. And you didn't control for that either, did you?

4 A. Not directly. However, the simulation is based on  
5 precincts. So, all precincts, unless they are split by either  
6 municipalities or the enacted plan itself, are kept intact.

7 Q. But even though you drew by VTD, some of your simulation  
8 plans split VTDs, right?

9 A. Right. But only when they're split by municipalities or  
10 the enacted plan itself.

11 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, can you take us back to that  
12 third tab, Dr. Imai's report, take us down to page 27? And  
13 scroll up a little bit here -- right there. Figure 14.

14 **BY MR. GORE:**

15 Q. You have these histograms that compare the enacted plan  
16 VTD splits to your simulations, right? And you have three  
17 different simulations, Districts 1 and 6, Charleston County,  
18 and statewide; is that right?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. Okay. So, according to these histograms, the enacted  
21 plan performs better than most of the simulation plans on VTD  
22 splits, correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. And if we scroll down a little bit more, that's true in  
25 all three of the simulations, correct?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1987

1 A. Yes. On average, yes.

2 Q. On average. And let's scroll down to paragraph F.

3 And this is called precinct splits of simulated  
4 districts. And paragraph 61, which is under Section F, do you  
5 mind reading that last sentence for us?

6 A. Yes. "This is, in part, due to the fact that many  
7 municipalities split VTDs, implying that there is often a  
8 direct tradeoff between municipality and precinct splits."

9 Q. So, you acknowledge that there are tradeoffs between  
10 municipality splits and VTD splits, correct?

11 A. That's right. In South Carolina, municipalities split  
12 local precincts.

13 Q. And, yet, you control for municipality splits but you  
14 didn't control for the tradeoff with VTD splits, correct?

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. And you also used in that sentence both the term, VTD,  
17 and precincts; do you see that?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And are you using those interchangeably?

20 A. That's correct.

21 Q. Dr. Imai, you also didn't consider politics in your  
22 simulations, correct?

23 A. What do you mean by "politics"?

24 Q. Partisan performance of districts.

25 A. I did not use any election data.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1988

1 Q. And so, you didn't consider how districts would perform  
2 for Republicans or Democrats, correct?

3 A. I did not analyze election data.

4 Q. And you also didn't conduct a racially polarized voting  
5 analysis, correct?

6 A. I was not asked to do that. I just wasn't asked to do  
7 that.

8 Q. And you didn't control for racially polarized voting in  
9 any way in your analysis, correct?

10 A. No.

11 Q. And so, you don't have an opinion as to whether what you  
12 observed is race rather than politics in the enacted plan,  
13 correct?

14 A. I have no opinion on what role the politics played in the  
15 enacted plan -- drawing the enacted plan.

16 Q. And the analysis in your report also doesn't contain any  
17 constraint for the benchmark plan, correct?

18 A. That's correct.

19 Q. But if the map drawer started with the benchmark plan,  
20 wouldn't the benchmark plan be a relevant constraint in the  
21 analysis?

22 A. So, my analysis doesn't try to emulate what the map  
23 drawer did.

24 Q. But what if the map drawer had started with the benchmark  
25 plan, wouldn't that affect the range of plans available to the

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1989

1 map drawer?

2 A. Might be. But, again, I don't analyze the process in  
3 which the map drawer drew the enacted plan.

4 Q. And it was possible to include a benchmark-related  
5 constraint in your model, right?

6 A. That's possible.

7 Q. And you could do that by population or geography,  
8 correct?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. Now, you actually did at some point run a simulation that  
11 included a benchmark-related constraint, correct?

12 A. At some point, the counsel asked me to do that.

13 Q. And you compared that simulation to the ensemble plan,  
14 correct?

15 A. What do you mean by "ensemble"?

16 Q. I'm sorry. The enacted plan. You compared your  
17 simulation to the enacted plan, which would have included the  
18 benchmark-related constraint?

19 A. At one point I think that happened, yes.

20 Q. And do you recall what the results of that simulation  
21 analysis was?

22 A. I don't recall the specifics.

23 Q. But you didn't include that in your report, correct?

24 A. Right, for the reason that I don't use, you know, any  
25 other plan in any of my expert reports. For the reason I

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1990

1       stated earlier.

2       Q.    So, in your report, the only plan you compared to the  
3       simulations is the enacted plan, right?

4       A.    That's correct.

5       Q.    And you don't compare any other plans submitted by the  
6       public, correct?

7       A.    No.

8       Q.    So, you don't compare the Harpootlian Plan, correct?

9       A.    No.

10      Q.    Or the LWV plan, correct?

11      A.    No.

12      Q.    Or either the NAACP plans, correct?

13      A.    No.

14      Q.    So, before, when you were talking to Mr. Cepeda, I think  
15      you acknowledged that your plans are drawn to a 0.1 percent  
16      population deviation; is that right?

17      A.    That's the maximum deviation that's allowed in my  
18      simulation.

19      Q.    And you agree with me that that violates the Senate  
20      guidelines, correct?

21      A.    I think consistent with the population deviation  
22      requirement in the Senate guidelines.

23               MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, can you take us to page 10  
24      of Dr. Imai's report?

25      BY MR. GORE:

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1991

1 Q. I want to understand how your model works a little bit  
2 better, if you'll indulge me for a minute.

3 A. Uh-huh.

4 Q. So, you impose constraints in the algorithm and you  
5 assign strengths to the constraints, correct?

6 A. That's correct.

7 Q. Okay.

8 A. For the soft constraints, you're talking about?

9 Q. Yes, the soft constraints. Because I understand the hard  
10 constraints are hard. It's a maximum strength?

11 A. Yes, there is a constraint on that.

12 Q. So, changing the strength of a constraint in a model will  
13 change the output and will result in a different set of  
14 simulated plans, correct?

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. And that's true if we were to change the strength of two  
17 constraints, right?

18 A. That's correct.

19 Q. Or if we change the constraint of all the constraints,  
20 correct?

21 A. It made no change but it may change, yes.

22 Q. Okay. But your model did not attempt to approximate the  
23 strength that the General Assembly assigned to these criteria,  
24 right?

25 A. I'm not sure what you mean by "strength the General

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1992

1 Assembly assigned."

2 Q. Well, I think we just agreed that redistricting involves  
3 tradeoffs, correct?

4 A. Uh-huh -- yes.

5 Q. So, the General Assembly, when it makes that tradeoff,  
6 has to decide which criterion is more important to it,  
7 correct?

8 A. I don't know. I have no opinion on how the General  
9 Assembly drew the plan.

10 Q. And you, yourself, don't draw maps, correct?

11 A. I'm not a map drawer either.

12 Q. But certainly you assigned strengths to the model. And  
13 why did you do that?

14 A. Why did I do that?

15 Q. Yeah. Why do you assign strengths to the constraints?

16 A. Right. Because I wanted to make sure that the simulated  
17 plans are as compliant with the traditional redistricting  
18 criteria as the enacted plan in terms of those constraints  
19 that I was considering.

20 Q. Right. But you can't really judge whether the General  
21 Assembly would have assigned the same strengths to those  
22 constraints, correct?

23 A. My algorithm is publicly available, but I don't think  
24 they're using it. I hope not.

25 Q. And when you did the analysis, you weren't trying to



*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1993

1 mimic what the map drawer had done, correct?

2 A. No.

3 Q. And you weren't trying to mimic how the General Assembly  
4 might have weighted particular factors, correct?

5 A. No. I'm just evaluating the characteristics of the plan.

6 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, if you could scroll up to  
7 the bottom of page nine, top of page 10.

8 **BY MR. GORE:**

9 Q. So, this is a list of your constraints; is that right? I  
10 think this is for the statewide simulation, correct?

11 A. Okay. Yes, that's right.

12 Q. And the only difference between the statewide and the  
13 local simulations for constraints is that the statewide  
14 simulation includes your Voting Rights Act constraint,  
15 correct?

16 A. That's correct. I mean, aside from the fact that the  
17 localized simulation focuses on two districts, and statewide  
18 does the whole state.

19 Q. Sure.

20 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, if you'll scroll down to the  
21 top of page 10.

22 **BY MR. GORE:**

23 Q. In this bullet point here at the top, you say the number  
24 of split counties is, on average, no greater than the  
25 corresponding number in the enacted plan, correct?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1994

1 A. That's correct.

2 Q. And you're look at that average across the set of  
3 simulated plans; is that right?

4 A. That's right.

5 Q. So, some of the plans in the simulation have more split  
6 counties than the enacted plan; isn't that right?

7 A. May have more, yeah. That's correct.

8 Q. And the same would be true for the municipalities, right?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. Because those are simulation-wide averages, not  
11 plan-specific numbers, correct?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. And you didn't do anything to instruct the model to split  
14 only the same counties as the enacted plan, correct?

15 A. Well, in my localized analysis, you know, second localize  
16 analysis, it's focusing on Charleston County while fixing  
17 everything else to the same as the enacted. So, for that  
18 simulation, it's exactly the same.

19 Q. And for the statewide simulation, it's not though,  
20 correct?

21 A. Right. The statewide is not.

22 Q. And it's the same with municipalities, correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. Did you place any constraint on splitting counties of a  
25 particular size?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

1995

1 A. No.

2 Q. So, you didn't differentiate between big counties and  
3 small counties by population?

4 A. I didn't do that.

5 Q. And how about municipalities?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Now, you could have constrained the model to split the  
8 statewide simulation to split only the same counties that are  
9 split in the enacted plan, correct?

10 A. Right. But that's not how the guidelines are written.

11 Q. And you could have done the same thing with the  
12 municipalities, right?

13 A. Right. But that's not how the guidelines are written.

14 MR. GORE: Let's scroll down if we can, Mr. Traywick,  
15 to page 26 while we're talking about county splits. We're  
16 looking for Figure 12.

17 **BY MR. GORE:**

18 Q. And I just want to look at the county splits here for a  
19 moment, particularly that chart on the right. So, this shows  
20 the number of county splits in your state wide VRA simulation;  
21 is that correct?

22 A. That's correct.

23 Q. Okay. And it looks like in some of these simulations the  
24 plans have three or four splits or five splits; is that right?

25 A. Yeah. It sort of shifted a little bit, so I think maybe

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1996

1 it starts from four and then -- yes, 10.

2 Q. And four or five county splits in a seven-district plan  
3 is fewer than the realistic minimum number of splits, isn't  
4 it?

5 A. Why do you say that?

6 Q. Well, a seven-district plan drawn to a one-person  
7 deviation, you'd expect to see six county splits, wouldn't  
8 you?

9 A. Not necessarily.

10 Q. Well, only a combination of counties was exactly the  
11 right size, correct?

12 A. I don't necessarily follow that.

13 Q. We've had testimony in the record that, realistically,  
14 when drawing a map to one-person deviation, you'd expect to  
15 see six county splits at the minimum in a seven-district plan.  
16 And, here, you've got four or five -- you've got plans with  
17 four or five splits, correct?

18 A. Yeah, four or five splits. Okay. Well, I don't follow  
19 what you're saying. But, okay.

20 Q. Well, we'll move on.

21 A. Yeah. Okay.

22 Q. That's fair.

23 MR. GORE: Let's go back to page nine if we can, Mr.  
24 Traywick.

25 BY MR. GORE:

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1997

1 Q. And I just want to look at the bottom of page nine, that  
2 final bullet point.

3 A. Uh-huh.

4 Q. Will you read that for us?

5 A. "All districts are, on average, at least as compact as in  
6 the enacted plan."

7 Q. Okay. But that's not exactly what you tested for,  
8 correct, compactness?

9 A. I'm sorry. Can you repeat the question again?

10 Q. So, let me ask you this: You say that all districts are,  
11 on average, at least compact as the enacted plan, but that's  
12 not correct, right?

13 A. Oh, I see. You mean this is not a district-by-district  
14 comparison.

15 Q. Correct.

16 A. That's correct. Yes. It's an average across districts.

17 Q. So, you analyzed compactness at the plan level, not the  
18 district level, correct?

19 A. That's correct, in part, because one of the measures is  
20 the county-wide (*phonetic*) measure.

21 Q. So, within your simulation set, some of the plans are  
22 worse on compactness than the enacted plan, correct?

23 A. Yes. That's possible. So, some districts may be less  
24 compact than, you know, the ones under the enacted plan.

25 Q. All right. Let's move on, if we can.

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1998

1 MR. GORE: Let's go to page of Dr. Imai's report,  
2 which is Figure 1.

3 **BY MR. GORE:**

4 Q. So, this is your Districts 1 and 6 simulation here. Do  
5 you see that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And so, Figure 1 on the left, you have shaded for BVAP  
8 numbers; is that right?

9 A. That's right.

10 Q. And you're using total BVAP rather than a percentage; is  
11 that correct?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. And so, VTDs with the same total number of Black voters  
14 might have a different BVAP percentage, correct?

15 A. That's right.

16 Q. And moving VTDs of different BVAP percentages has a  
17 different effect on the total district's BVAP percentage,  
18 correct?

19 A. I'm not sure what you mean by that.

20 Q. So, let's say I've got a VTD that's 30 percent BVAP, and  
21 a VTD that's 70 percent BVAP.

22 A. Uh-huh.

23 Q. When I move each of those between districts, they'll have  
24 a different effect on the BVAP percentage of the district?

25 A. Oh, I see. Yes.

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1999

1 Q. Now, if we look to the right here, under your  
2 constraints, the precinct in which Nancy Mace lives always  
3 ends up in District 1, correct? She's the incumbent in  
4 District 1?

5 A. Right. So, that's a hard constraint.

6 Q. That's a hard constraint?

7 A. Uh-huh.

8 Q. And if I look here -- if I'm understanding the cool  
9 color-coding you have here --

10 A. Thank you.

11 Q. -- it looks like Congresswoman Mace ends up in a district  
12 with large parts of Charleston County -- large parts of the  
13 city of Charleston, the county of Charleston, in maybe like  
14 90 percent of the plans; is that right?

15 A. Right. I don't recall the specific number, but  
16 that's basically the --

17 Q. It's very high, right?

18 A. That's right. Yeah.

19 Q. And are you aware of any reason why the map drawer may  
20 not have wanted to place Nancy Mace in that kind of district?

21 A. Again, I don't analyze the intention of the map drawer.

22 Q. And you didn't analyze the political effect of this move  
23 on Congresswoman Mace's reelection chances, correct?

24 A. That's not really in our guideline. So, no.

25 Q. Now, I wanted to ask you a question about part of this

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2000

1 map right here.

2 A. Uh-huh.

3 Q. Right here, this lighter blue-shaded area --

4 A. Okay.

5 Q. -- that's in Charleston County, you see that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. So, I'm not sure which color that's supposed to be here  
8 on the right, but it indicates that, in your analysis here,  
9 there are a fairly significant number of plans that split  
10 Charleston County right there; is that right?

11 A. It's hard to say what the proportion of the plans would  
12 split in -- you know, in specifically that way, but there are  
13 some. Otherwise, there wouldn't be a color difference.

14 Q. You would agree that, right here, this portion of  
15 Charleston is being placed in District 1 90 percent of the  
16 time, right?

17 A. Yeah, about 90 percent.

18 Q. Or more.

19 A. By judging the color, yeah.

20 Q. And over in this other area, it's less than that, right?

21 A. Which area? Oh, on the left. Yes, that's right.

22 Q. So, in some scenarios, Charleston County is being split,  
23 right?

24 A. Right. Yes, that's right.

25 Q. Okay. And, here, if we look at Berkeley County, we see a



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2001

1 similar phenomenon, right?

2 A. Right. So, there's a color difference, yes.

3 Q. And so, your simulation here seems to split Berkeley  
4 County fairly frequently, doesn't it?

5 A. Right. Again, it's hard to see until you actually  
6 compute the number of times that, you know, it does that. But  
7 at least there are some cases where the split happens there.

8 Q. Right. And so, this light shading here appears to be  
9 your 10-percent-to-30-percent color, right?

10 A. Yeah.

11 Q. And that would mean that that portion of Berkeley County  
12 is in District 1 only between 10 and 30 percent of the time,  
13 correct?

14 A. Yeah. It would be part of District 1 for that part.  
15 But, you know, you can compute these just from the map I  
16 generated using the software.

17 Q. Right. And are you aware that Charleston County was  
18 split in the benchmark plan?

19 A. I don't recall the specifics, but I'd assume you know it.

20 Q. And you didn't control in your model for where VTDs are  
21 located within counties or districts, correct?

22 A. VTDs? What do you mean by that?

23 Q. So, you didn't control -- in this model you didn't  
24 consider which district the VTD was in in the benchmark plan,  
25 did you?

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2002

1 A. Oh, I see. Yeah. I did not use the benchmark plan  
2 input.

3 Q. And in the Choropleth on the left, you also didn't  
4 consider which district the Black voters lived in under the  
5 benchmark plan; is that right?

6 A. Right. I did not consider the benchmark plan at all.

7 Q. Okay.

8 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, let's scroll down a little  
9 bit to paragraph 29 right here.

10 **BY MR. GORE:**

11 Q. And if we go over to the top, I think your next figure  
12 shows this bar graph, right? This is BVAP proportion in  
13 District 1; is that right?

14 A. Uh-huh -- yes.

15 Q. And so, when you were calculating this, I think you said  
16 that, on average, the simulation plans have about 5.8  
17 percentage points higher BVAP than enacted District 1; is that  
18 right?

19 A. That's probably right. Sounds right.

20 Q. And because you're only looking at Districts 1 and 6  
21 here, that means that District 6 has a correspondingly lower  
22 BVAP, right?

23 A. Right. So, one goes up and the other one goes down.  
24 That's right.

25 Q. And the other is in. So, District 6's BVAP is going down

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2003

1 by 5.8 percent; is that right?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Or percentage points or whatever the mathematical term  
4 is.

5 A. Right.

6 Q. So, that would mean the average BVAP in District 6 here  
7 is closer to about 41 percent; is that right?

8 A. That's about right, probably. Again, I didn't calculate  
9 the exact numbers, but that sounds right.

10 Q. And you didn't conduct any analysis of whether reducing  
11 the BVAP in District 6 by that amount would harm Black voters'  
12 ability to elect candidates of their choice, right?

13 A. Right. I didn't do any racially polarized voting  
14 analysis in my analysis. I wasn't asked to do that.

15 Q. And here in Figure 2, you also didn't consider certain  
16 alternative explanations for the BVAP level in 1, right? You  
17 didn't consider whether politics explains this, right?

18 A. What do you mean by "politics"?

19 Q. Well, partisan performance, or Congresswoman Mace's re-  
20 election chances.

21 A. Okay. Well, yeah. That's right, because it wasn't  
22 written in the guidelines.

23 Q. So, if I look at this Figure 2 as well, it looks like  
24 here at the very right -- far right area --

25 A. Uh-huh.

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2004

1 Q. -- there are some plans in your simulation that draw the  
2 BVAP in District 1 to 27 percent, 28 percent, maybe  
3 29 percent. Does that look about right?

4 A. Right. Yeah. Some, not a huge amount, but some, yes.

5 Q. But those are as much as 10 or 12 percentage points above  
6 enacted District 1's BVAP, right?

7 A. That's correct.

8 Q. And so, correspondingly, it's a 10 or 12 percent decrease  
9 in District 6's BVAP, correct?

10 A. That's what would happen.

11 Q. And you didn't do any effectiveness analysis on that  
12 change, correct?

13 A. Yeah, I did not do any effectiveness analysis in my  
14 report.

15 Q. And so, here you've given us a chart of the District 1  
16 BVAP comparison. Did you give us a chart of the BVAP  
17 comparison with District 6?

18 A. For this simulation?

19 Q. Yes.

20 A. Oh, right. I didn't do that because it's just a mirror  
21 image -- a view pointed out.

22 Q. And if, in the simulation, the BVAP in District 1 is  
23 going up, that means BVAP in District 6 is going down?

24 A. Right. That's the only option in the localized analysis,  
25 so I didn't bother to put the -- essentially same figure, but

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2005

1 reversed.

2 Q. So, Dr. Imai, we stalked about this in your deposition.  
3 Some of your simulation plans crack Black communities, right?

4 A. Depends on what you mean by "crack."

5 Q. Well, you tell me what you meant by "crack" in your  
6 report?

7 A. Yes. So, I basically meant split the community of voters  
8 in a particular geographical area.

9 Q. And in your view, where does that happen in the enacted  
10 plan?

11 A. In the enacted plan, or in the case of Districts 1 and 6,  
12 basically they place the Black voters in District 6 in a  
13 proportionately large number.

14 Q. And some your simulation plans do exactly the same thing,  
15 correct?

16 A. Again, I didn't look at, you know, a particular plan, but  
17 you know, to the lesser degree in this simulation, so that we  
18 can see, none of the 10,000 simulations has as low, you know,  
19 the BVAP proportion as the enacted plan. So, varying degrees.

20 Q. But because you didn't program the algorithm to consider  
21 communities of interest, you didn't program it to avoid  
22 splitting Black communities of interest, correct?

23 A. Right. Not directly, but to the extent that shared  
24 boundaries correspond to those communities, you know, I did  
25 take into account.

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2006

1 Q. So, one of your criticisms of the enacted plan is that it  
2 splits the city of Charleston, correct?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And some of your simulation plans also crack the city of  
5 Charleston, correct?

6 A. Again, you know, I did not look at each specific  
7 simulated plan. But even if it does, it would be to lesser  
8 degree because, as you can see, the enacted plan is the  
9 outlier.

10 Q. And the same with North Charleston. In North Charleston  
11 you criticized the enacted plan for following county  
12 boundaries and splitting the city of North Charleston?

13 A. Right.

14 Q. And your simulation plans also -- at least some of them  
15 do crack the city of North Charleston, correct?

16 A. May, but may not. It just happens -- you know, examine  
17 that carefully because the difference so large.

18 Q. But you didn't control for, or examine that, correct?

19 A. Right. I didn't specifically impose constraints saying  
20 don't do that.

21 Q. Okay. So, we've talked about your local simulation  
22 analysis which concerned Districts 1 and 6, correct?

23 A. Right, because those are race-blind. So I didn't use  
24 race, basically.

25 Q. And you didn't conduct a similar location analysis for

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2007

1 Districts 2 and 6, correct?

2 A. By location analysis, what do you mean by that?

3 Q. So, we're talking about your first localized simulation.

4 And this is District 1 and District 6, right?

5 A. Right.

6 Q. Did you conduct a similar analysis for Districts 2 and 6?

7 A. Oh, 2 and 6 localized. No.

8 Q. Or for Districts 5 and 6?

9 A. No.

10 Q. Okay. Thank you.

11 A. Separate. No.

12 Q. Thank you.

13 MR. GORE: Mr. Traywick, if you can help me out, I'd  
14 like to go down to the next page.

15 **BY MR. GORE:**

16 Q. And this is your Charleston County simulation, correct?

17 A. That's correct.

18 Q. And as I understand that simulation, the only thing that  
19 can change is the border between District 1 and District 6 in  
20 Charleston County; is that correct?

21 A. That's right. Charleston County.

22 Q. Now, we're looking here at this histogram you created,  
23 which is Figure 3. Do you see that?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And you didn't analyze whether politics explains this

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2008

1 chart, correct? Again, partisan performance or Nancy Mace's  
2 reelection chances, right?

3 A. Right. I didn't use any partisan information.

4 Q. And you didn't analyze whether adherence to natural  
5 boundaries, such as rivers, explains the BVAP in District 1 in  
6 the enacted plan, did you?

7 A. No. But to the extent that administrative boundaries  
8 align with those boundaries, it gets incorporated.

9 Q. Do you know whether the administrative boundaries align  
10 with those boundaries in Charleston County?

11 A. Some of them, I think they do. But I don't recall the  
12 specifics.

13 Q. And you didn't do any analysis of whether preservation of  
14 cores explains this BVAP level in District 1, correct?

15 A. Not directly.

16 Q. And if we scroll down here to Figure 3 -- oh, we're on  
17 Figure 3 -- this displays total BVAP number, correct?

18 A. That's right.

19 Q. And it's not a percentage correct?

20 A. Right. It's a number.

21 Q. And so, I think you said the average difference between  
22 the simulation plans and the enacted plan is about 9500 Black  
23 voters being in District 1; is that number right?

24 A. Right, because this is focusing on Charleston County  
25 alone.



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2009

1 Q. And so, given the ideal district size of 730,000 people,  
2 that's about 1.3 percent, correct?

3 A. That's -- you probably did the calculation correct.

4 Q. And, Dr. Imai, did you present any data about the  
5 difference in the BVAP of the Charleston County portion in  
6 District 6 and the Charleston County portion in District 1  
7 under your simulations?

8 A. No, because, again, it's a mirror image of this.

9 Q. Right. But now I'm asking you about the percentage.

10 A. Oh, right. Okay.

11 Q. So, in plans that split Charleston County, we're hearing  
12 a lot of evidence about the BVAP in the portion that's in six  
13 and the portion that's in one. Did you do any analysis of  
14 that for your simulation plans?

15 A. Yes. I didn't do the percentage, but, like you did, you  
16 can divide that by the total number of district populations.

17 Q. So, a little bit of math will help us answer that  
18 question; is that what you're telling me?

19 A. That's right. Yes.

20 Q. Thank you very much. Now, we've been talking about your  
21 Charleston County analysis. And you did talk about the  
22 difference in BVAP in the enacted plan in the Charleston  
23 County portion in District 6 and the Charleston County portion  
24 in District 1, correct?

25 A. Uh-huh, yes.

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2010

1 Q. Okay. And you report those numbers in your report; is  
2 that right?

3 A. Right.

4 Q. But you don't report, say, the Biden vote share; is that  
5 correct?

6 A. No, I did not use partisan information.

7 Q. And you didn't look at whether those numbers could be  
8 explained by partisan politics or Nancy Mace's reelection  
9 chances, correct?

10 A. No, because it was not in the guidelines.

11 Q. And you didn't look at whether they were correlated to  
12 partisan performance or Nancy Mace's reelection chances,  
13 correct?

14 A. No, I did not look at that.

15 Q. Dr. Imai, are you aware that Districts 1 and 6 split  
16 other counties in South Carolina in addition to Charleston?

17 A. Under the enacted plan?

18 Q. Under the enacted plan.

19 A. I think it does.

20 Q. And you didn't do any analysis of those counties,  
21 correct?

22 A. No.

23 Q. So you didn't analyze -- do this analysis for Dorchester  
24 County, correct?

25 A. No.

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2011

1 Q. And you didn't do it for Colleton County; is that  
2 correct?

3 A. No.

4 Q. And you didn't do it for Jasper County; is that correct?

5 A. No.

6 Q. Let's scroll down a little bit, because I want to talk  
7 about your statewide simulation. So, as I understand it, your  
8 statewide simulation doesn't freeze the districts in place,  
9 correct?

10 A. That's correct.

11 Q. So, the districts can move around the state as long as  
12 the incumbent lives in that number district, correct?

13 A. That's correct.

14 Q. So, they can represent much different geography or  
15 populations than they do in the enacted plan; is that right?

16 A. Yes, that's right.

17 Q. Okay. And the VRA constraint you applied was to keep the  
18 overall BVAP percentage in District 6 between 45 percent and  
19 50 percent, correct?

20 A. That's correct.

21 Q. And District 6 in your simulation is the district where  
22 Congressman Clyburn resides, correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. And are you aware of whether the General Assembly had a  
25 goal of drawing a version of District 6 that had a BVAP

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2012

1 percentage between 45 and 50 percent?

2 A. No. Again, I don't analyze the intent.

3 Q. And was that 45-to-50-percent criterion anywhere in the  
4 redistricting guidelines?

5 A. No.

6 Q. Do you have an opinion whether a district drawn between  
7 45 and 50 percent BVAP complies with the Voting Rights Act?

8 A. No. I don't make any legal judgments.

9 Q. So, Mr. Cepeda asked you earlier, as an academic, if you  
10 think compliance with the Voting Rights Act is a compelling  
11 state interest; do you recall that?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. But you didn't do any analysis to determine whether that  
14 compelling state interest is applicable here, right?

15 A. By "determine," what do you mean by that?

16 Q. Did you do any analysis of whether drawing a district to  
17 a 45-or-50-percent BVAP would comply with the Voting Rights  
18 Act?

19 A. Oh, no. No.

20 Q. Now, as I understand it, your VRA constraint is a soft  
21 constraint, correct?

22 A. It's a hard constraint in the sense that the old  
23 submitted plans would have District 6 in that range.

24 Q. Okay.

25 A. I think we meant it as a soft constraint, but I removed

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2013

1 the small number of plans that don't meet that range.

2 Q. And you used this 45-to-50-percent BVAP level in District  
3 6 as a target, correct?

4 A. Yes. That's right.

5 Q. Okay. And so, you put that into the algorithm, and the  
6 algorithm generated a set of simulation plans; is that right?

7 A. That's correct.

8 Q. And you discovered after you did that, that some of the  
9 plans in that simulation fell outside of that BVAP range,  
10 right?

11 A. Right. I think it was mostly on the lower side. I don't  
12 recall if there were submitted plans that are above that  
13 range.

14 Q. And for any plans you found outside of the range, you  
15 went through by hand and just removed them from the simulation  
16 set, correct?

17 A. And by computer, yes.

18 Q. Okay. I'm dating myself. So, you made sure that every  
19 plan in your statewide ensemble fell within that target range  
20 of 45 percent to 50 percent, correct?

21 A. Could you repeat the question again?

22 Q. So, you made sure that every plan in your statewide  
23 simulation fell within that range of 45-to-50-percent BVAP in  
24 District 6, right?

25 A. That's right. Yes.

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2014

1 Q. And any plan that didn't fall within that target, you  
2 excluded, right?

3 A. Right, except it's a very small number.

4 Q. Right. And so, you did not compromise on that VRA  
5 constraint, correct?

6 A. Right. But that wouldn't change the results, because it  
7 was a very small number.

8 Q. Against the statewide simulation, the only plan you  
9 compared was the enacted plan, correct?

10 A. That's correct.

11 Q. You didn't look at the Harpootlian Plan or LWV Plan or  
12 any other plan we discussed earlier, right?

13 A. I was reminded that I may have looked at one of those  
14 plans, but I don't recall even which plan it was.

15 Q. But none of that is in your report, correct?

16 A. Right, it's not in my report.

17 Q. Let's go down to page 15, Figure 4. And, again, this is  
18 the BVAP in District 1 compared to your simulation plans,  
19 correct?

20 A. Right.

21 Q. And we've already plowed that you didn't look at politics  
22 or other explanations for this BVAP level, correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. So, let's go down one more page to here. Okay. So,  
25 again, I really appreciate these cool color charts.

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2015

1 A. Thank you.

2 Q. Very easy to see.

3 A. Yep.

4 Q. So, Figure 5 here on page 16, again, shows the proportion  
5 of the counties that end up in District 1 when you apply the  
6 VRA constraint; is that right?

7 A. That's right.

8 Q. So, you recall before, when you didn't have the VRA  
9 constraint, we determined that your simulation split Berkeley  
10 County fairly often, right? There was that light-colored area  
11 at the top that, in about 10 or maybe up to 30 percent of the  
12 plan, was included in District 1 but, otherwise, was excluded,  
13 right?

14 A. Yeah. But I don't want to second guess how often that  
15 happens. Just by looking at the color, you can look at the  
16 simulated plan that I gave you guys to see how often that  
17 happens.

18 Q. And we also saw before that in the other simulation,  
19 which didn't consider race at all, there was this portion here  
20 of Charleston that was split in a fairly significant number of  
21 plans, correct?

22 A. Right. But, again, I don't want to second guess because  
23 this is just focusing on District 1. So, even if it's not  
24 part of District 1, it may not -- I just don't know how often  
25 that happened. I didn't look at a specific number.

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2016

1 Q. But you would agree with me, Doctor, that when you  
2 considered race in the statewide simulation, Charleston County  
3 ended up being placed as a single county in District 1 far  
4 more often than in the other simulations, right?

5 A. Oh, I see. Yes, that's true. Yes.

6 Q. Those other simulations didn't consider race, right?

7 A. Right. So, the first one is race-neutral. That's  
8 correct.

9 Q. So, let's scroll down, if we can, to paragraph 37 of your  
10 report. And I'd like to ask you to read the sentence that  
11 starts with "in fact?"

12 A. "In fact, a large spike around 74,600 implies that a vast  
13 majority of simulated plans, 76.3 percent, assign the entire  
14 county to District 1."

15 Q. So, in your simulation that considered race, District 1  
16 was assigned -- or Charleston County, as a whole, was assigned  
17 to District 1, 76.3 percent of the time, right?

18 A. That's correct.

19 Q. And that's a higher rate than in the other simulations  
20 where you didn't consider race?

21 A. Right, because in other localized simulations, there is  
22 no other place to go, because I'm only looking at Districts 1  
23 and 6.

24 Q. And, again, you didn't control here for where the VTD was  
25 placed in the benchmark plan, correct?



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2017

1 A. Right. I did not use the benchmark plan.

2 Q. So, focusing again on this 76.3 percent number, if the  
3 map drawer preferred to keep Charleston County split, he or  
4 she would have rejected all of those plans, correct?

5 A. That's correct. Yeah, that's right.

6 Q. So, if the map drawer had a reason for not keeping  
7 Charleston County whole, it would have rejected all of these  
8 plans that were drawn based on race, correct?

9 A. Right. If they don't want to split -- if they don't want  
10 to keep it intact, then yeah.

11 Q. And if the map drawer had decided that it didn't want it  
12 drawn based on race, it would reject these plans based on race  
13 that put Charleston County in the 1st District, right?

14 A. Again, I don't analyze the intent of map drawers, so I  
15 don't -- it's just too many factors that would go in that I  
16 just don't want to speculate what they would have done.

17 Q. And you don't know whether the map drawer had a reason to  
18 keep Charleston County --

19 A. Right. I don't know that. I don't analyze the intent.

20 Q. And you didn't review any public testimony or legislative  
21 record here, right?

22 A. I did not review, other than the guidelines that I had  
23 access to.

24 Q. And, Dr. Imai, would you agree with me that making  
25 Charleston County whole would require changes in other parts

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

2018

1 of the map?

2 A. Right. That's relative to which plan are you talking  
3 about?

4 Q. Let's talk about the enacted plan. If you wanted to  
5 change the enacted plan to make Charleston County whole in a  
6 single district, we'd have to make changes to the plan  
7 elsewhere, right?

8 A. That's correct.

9 Q. To balance population?

10 A. Yeah, that's right.

11 Q. To comply with traditional redistricting principles,  
12 right?

13 A. That's correct.

14 Q. And did you do any analysis of what those changes would  
15 have to be?

16 A. Well, that's what the simulated plans represent, right?  
17 I'm not sure -- I'm not -- I'm not generating the plan that  
18 can be enacted, so --

19 Q. Right. But your simulation plans aren't plans that the  
20 General Assembly could have adopted at the time, right?

21 A. No. This is just for the purpose of evaluation.

22 Q. Now, in this analysis between Districts 1 and 6 in your  
23 statewide simulation, you're looking at Charleston County,  
24 right?

25 A. Yes.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

2019

1 Q. But you didn't look at the other county split between  
2 Districts 1 and 6, correct?

3 A. You mean in the statewide analysis?

4 Q. In the statewide analysis.

5 A. Yeah, I did not.

6 Q. So, you didn't look at Dorchester, correct?

7 A. Right. That's because the places where the Black voters  
8 are being split under the enacted plan is Charleston.

9 Q. And you didn't look at Colleton or Jasper, right?

10 A. No, I didn't.

11 Q. Okay. Let's go to the next page of your report,  
12 Districts 2 and 6. And you focus here on Richland; is that  
13 right?

14 A. That's correct.

15 Q. I want to make sure I understand what I'm seeing here.  
16 So, are you aware that Richland County was split in the  
17 benchmark plan?

18 A. I know that.

19 Q. And you mentioned this hook shape in District 2 in  
20 Richland County before.

21 A. Uh-huh.

22 Q. Are you aware of any explanation for that shape?

23 A. No. I don't analyze -- what do you mean by  
24 "explanation"?

25 Q. Do you know why that hook is there?

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

2020

1 A. I don't know.

2 Q. And are you aware that this Court has upheld this hook  
3 shape in prior cases?

4 A. I don't know. I didn't analyze the prior cases.

5 Q. And so, are you aware of whether the map drawer had any  
6 reason to the keep this hook shape?

7 A. Again, I don't analyze intent, so...

8 Q. And again, these are total BVAP numbers in the  
9 Choropleth, correct?

10 A. Oh. Yes, on the left. That's right.

11 Q. So, let's scroll down. I believe you said in your report  
12 that Richland County, in the statewide simulations, ends up  
13 whole in District 6, 39.4 percent of the time?

14 A. That's about right, I think.

15 Q. We can go to that. That's on page 19. The carry-over  
16 paragraph is paragraph four. So, when you used the VRA  
17 constraint and drew the districts on race, Richland County was  
18 39.4 percent of the time in District 6; is that right?

19 A. Yes, the whole county.

20 Q. Do you happen to know the BVAP in Richland County?

21 A. Oh, about 50 percent? I'm guessing, so I shouldn't  
22 guess.

23 Q. Is it higher than the statewide average, you think?

24 A. Oh, yes, I think.

25 Q. Because I think Richland County is about 48 percent BVAP.

*KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE*

2021

1 Does that sound about right?

2 A. Oh, I was close.

3 Q. Yeah, you were.

4 A. Yeah.

5 Q. And that's about maybe almost twice the statewide level,  
6 or at least 20 percentage points higher; is that right?

7 A. Yeah.

8 Q. And so, did you do anything to analyze the effect of  
9 packing all the Richland County Black voters in District 6?

10 A. Can you elaborate on that? Like, what analysis do you  
11 have in mind?

12 Q. Sure. If we pack all the Richland County Black voters  
13 into District 6, what does that do to the BVAP in District 2?

14 A. By packing, you mean assigning the entire Richland County  
15 to the --

16 Q. Correct.

17 A. Okay. What does that do to?

18 Q. To the BVAP in District 2.

19 A. Oh, District 2? It will flop. Again, I didn't analyze  
20 that, but it would lower it, right.

21 Q. Right.

22 A. Well, it depends on where the District 2 goes, I guess.

23 Q. But in the enacted plan, I think one of your criticisms  
24 is the enacted plan places Black voters from Richland County  
25 in both District 6 and District 2, correct?

KOSUKE IMAI, PHD - CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GORE

2022

1 A. Right. So, it splits Richland County into two districts.  
2 That's unusual, compared to the simulated plan.

3 Q. And if you move all of Richland County into District 6,  
4 what does that do to Black voters' ability to elect their  
5 candidate of choice in District 2, where you just lowered the  
6 BVAP?

7 A. Well, I didn't do, you know, the racially polarized  
8 voting analysis for any district, so I don't have any opinion  
9 on what that would do to the Black voters in District 2.

10 Q. And in any event, if the map drawer preferred to keep  
11 Richland County split, he or she would've rejected these plans  
12 to keep it whole and place it in District 6, correct?

13 A. Sure. Again, I don't want to speculate on what they  
14 would do. But if they don't want to split -- if they want to  
15 split, then they will split.

16 Q. All right. So, let's scroll down to Figure 8, I think,  
17 page 19. So, this histogram shows a subset of your plans, the  
18 2,388 plans, that actually do split Richland County between  
19 District 2 and District 6, correct?

20 A. That's correct.

21 Q. And the enacted plan places more Black voters in District  
22 2 than the average simulation plan, right?

23 A. That's right.

24 Q. And that means that the average simulation plan is  
25 placing more Black voters in District 6 than the enacted plan,

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2023

1 right?

2 A. That's right.

3 Q. These are mirror images?

4 A. Right. Mirror images, yes.

5 Q. And so, again, did you analyze in this set of plans what  
6 the effect of that would be for Black voters in District 2?

7 A. Right. I did not analyze. But these voters would be  
8 shifted to District 6, so they would have a higher chance of  
9 electing a candidate of choice. Again, I did not analyze it,  
10 because we're talking about the same voters going either to  
11 District 2 or 6.

12 Q. So, Dr. Imai, I think this bar on the left may run from  
13 zero to 5,000 total Black voters in Richland County, correct?

14 A. That's right.

15 Q. And that's the number of Richland County Black voters in  
16 what seems to be almost 50 percent of your simulation plans,  
17 correct?

18 A. Yeah, close to that.

19 Q. And so, when you draw by race --

20 A. Out of this, 2,300.

21 Q. Out of this -- this --

22 A. Subset.

23 Q. Subset.

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Fair enough. So, when you draw by race here, you're

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2024

1 placing only that number of voters in District 2, correct?

2 A. That's correct.

3 Q. Okay. And that's a lot fewer than the enacted plan,  
4 correct?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. The enacted plan is over here, and there are way more  
7 Richland County Black voters in District 2 in the enacted plan  
8 than there are in this set of simulation plans, correct?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. So, when you drew, based on race in the statewide  
11 simulation plan, there were far fewer voters who ended up  
12 Black voters in District 2 than who ended up in District 2  
13 under the enacted plan; correct?

14 A. That's correct.

15 Q. Okay. And did you do any analysis of whether the Black  
16 voters here in your simulation plan in District 2 have the  
17 ability to elect their candidate of choice?

18 A. No, I didn't do, you know, a racially polarized voting  
19 analysis. But many of them would be placed in District 6, so  
20 they have a better chance, just -- you know, we know District  
21 6 has a higher percentage of BVAP.

22 Q. So, the voters placed in District 6 have the ability to  
23 elect, but you don't know about District 2; is that right?

24 A. Right. That's correct.

25 Q. Now, Richland County is not the only county split between



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2025

1 Districts 2 and 6, correct?

2 A. That's right.

3 Q. Orangeburg County is also split between 2 and 6, correct?

4 A. Uh-huh. That's right.

5 Q. And you didn't provide any analysis of Orangeburg County  
6 here in your report, correct?

7 A. Right, because the city of Orangeburg is not split by the  
8 enacted plan.

9 Q. But the county is?

10 A. Yeah, the county is.

11 Q. Let's scroll down to the next page, if we can. I think  
12 Mr. Cepeda asked you a few questions about Sumter County.

13 A. Uh-huh.

14 Q. And I think we looked at the chart before, where -- I  
15 think it said in 90 percent of your statewide simulation  
16 plans, Sumter County was placed as a whole in District 6; is  
17 that right?

18 A. That's right.

19 Q. So, again, when you were drawing by race in the statewide  
20 simulation plan, Sumter County ended up in District 6, 90  
21 percent of the time; is that correct?

22 A. That's correct.

23 Q. And are you aware that Sumter County was split in the  
24 benchmark plan?

25 A. I recall that was the case.

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1 Q. And you know it's still split in the enacted plan, right?

2 A. Yes. It's showing here.

3 Q. But you don't know why; is that right?

4 A. No. I don't analyze intent.

5 Q. And do you know whether any of the changes to Sumter  
6 County that were made in the enacted plan reflected requests  
7 from Congressman Clyburn?

8 A. No, I don't. I didn't analyze any of that.

9 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai.

10 JUDGE GERGEL: Does the House have any questions?

11 MR. MATHIAS: Mr. Gore took all the good questions.  
12 Nothing from the House.

13 JUDGE GERGEL: That's not surprising.

14 Mr. Cepeda, redirect?

15 MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX: Thank you, your Honor.

16 **REDIRECT EXAMINATION**

17 **BY MR. CEPEDA DERIEUX:**

18 Q. Dr. Imai, Mr. Gore said several times that you drew maps  
19 in your simulations. You didn't draw maps, did you?

20 A. I simulated maps.

21 Q. And could you remind us again what the purpose of your  
22 simulations are? Is it to -- I'm sorry. What's the purpose  
23 of your simulation?

24 A. Yeah. So, the purpose is to evaluate the characteristics  
25 of the enacted plan, not to generate the plan that can be

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1 enacted.

2 Q. Thank you. And Mr. Gore said several times that the  
3 simulated maps were based on race. When you set a parameter  
4 between 45-and-50-percent BVAP, what were you setting out to  
5 do?

6 A. Right. So, the only thing I was doing was to make sure  
7 that District 6 had the similar level of BVAP proportion as in  
8 under the enacted plan.

9 Q. So, you were trying to reflect District 6's BVAP in the  
10 enacted plan, right?

11 A. That's right.

12 Q. Okay. Mr. Gore tried to point out that some of your  
13 simulations split Charleston County; do you remember that?

14 A. Yes; in the statewide simulation analysis.

15 Q. Sure. Is the legislature's particular split of  
16 Charleston County still a statistical outlier across your  
17 simulations?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Now, Mr. Gore identified some portions of your draft  
20 paper on SMC. Do you remember that?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Do any of the critiques you raised in that paper  
23 undermine the methods or findings in this case?

24 A. No.

25 Q. He also suggested that SMC is better than MCMC; do you

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1 remember that?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. You developed SMC, didn't you?

4 A. Yes, I did.

5 Q. But you chose to use MCMC here, right?

6 A. That's correct.

7 Q. If you believed SMC would have produced more reliable  
8 results, would you have used that method?

9 A. Yes. Because that's what I developed and generally try  
10 to promote my own work.

11 Q. Makes sense. And SMC is open source, right?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. So, if Mr. Gore wanted to test his hypothesis, he has the  
14 tools to do so, right?

15 A. Yes. He has data and he has the package that can be  
16 done.

17 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai. You'll recall that Mr. Gore  
18 mentioned you tried to use a core retention constraint at some  
19 point; do you remember that?

20 A. I remember that.

21 Q. And why did you eventually choose not to use that  
22 constraint?

23 A. Oh, because I don't believe in, you know, imposing the  
24 constraint that's motivated by any other plan, for the reason  
25 that the I suggested, which is that, essentially, if you use

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1 this directly, you end up inheriting all the factors that went  
2 into the previous plan and you have no ability to isolate the  
3 role race played.

4 Q. Would using a core retention constraint mask the effect  
5 of race in the current plan?

6 A. That's another way of saying that. If you do that, and  
7 if race was used in the previous plan, that could mask the  
8 role race plays.

9 Q. You'll recall, Mr. Gore brought up Mr. Ben Fifield. Do  
10 you remember that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Is it actually Dr. Fifield?

13 A. Yes. He's defended PhD's successfully a few years ago.

14 Q. Good to hear. And he asked you about validating your  
15 data after he read your quote about your simulation model. Do  
16 you remember that?

17 A. I remember that.

18 Q. The data you used was census data, right?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. Is census data generally considered reliable in the  
21 field?

22 A. Yes. I mean, that's basically the data we all rely on.

23 Q. And Mr. Gore asked you about controlling for communities  
24 of interest; do you recall?

25 A. I remember that.

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1 Q. Do you know Mr. Sean Trende?

2 A. I've never met him in person, but I know his name.

3 Q. Are you aware Mr. Trende used your methods in his New  
4 York report?

5 A. I know that somebody told me that he used.

6 Q. And are you aware that, in Mr. Trende's New York reply  
7 report, he describes communities of interest as a notoriously  
8 difficult concept to nail down because they have vague  
9 definitions?

10 A. I agree with that statement.

11 Q. Okay. Mr. Gore talked to you about your statewide map  
12 simulations, and he suggested that they're only tied down by  
13 incumbency; do you remember that?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. But that simulation is still constrained by all the other  
16 constraints we discussed during my previous examination,  
17 right?

18 A. That's correct. Additional constraint was given, but all  
19 the other constraints are maintained.

20 Q. So, it still respects municipal boundaries in the enacted  
21 plan?

22 A. That's right.

23 Q. It still respects county boundaries in the enacted plan?

24 A. That's right.

25 Q. It's contiguous?

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1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Compactness?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Mr. Gore challenged your methods, Dr. Imai. How many  
5 redistricting cases have you worked on?

6 A. Oh. Seven or eight or something like that. I can't --

7 Q. Were any of those racial gerrymandering cases?

8 A. Yes. I submitted an expert report in the Alabama case,  
9 which is now at the Supreme Court. And most recently -- this  
10 case obviously, and most recently, Jacksonville case in  
11 Florida, as well as, I guess I did the State House for South  
12 Carolina as well.

13 Q. All right. In this action, sure. And in those cases,  
14 did you perform a similar analysis that you did here?

15 A. Yeah. Very similar.

16 Q. And do you know how the district courts resolved those  
17 cases?

18 A. So, in all those cases, the district courts credited my  
19 analysis and made a decision in support of the plaintiffs, for  
20 which I was working for.

21 Q. And how do your findings in those reports compare to the  
22 strength of your findings in this one?

23 A. In comparison terms? What do you mean by that?

24 Q. How sure are you of your findings in this case?

25 A. Oh, I see. Well, I only put forward the conclusion I

1 feel strongly -- you know, strongly believe in. So, not just  
2 other cases, but in this case as well. In any of my academic  
3 work, I don't put out evidence that's fragile. I only put in  
4 evidence that is robust (*phonetic*).

5 Q. Thank you, Dr. Imai. I have no more questions.

6 JUDGE GERGEL: Thank you. Thank you, sir.

7 Okay, folks. As we leave today, I want to  
8 congratulate everyone on their hard work. I know everyone is  
9 exhausted and I expect tonight everyone will sleep very well.  
10 In five days, we're going to either stipulate as to data, or  
11 you're going to tell me why -- you're going to tell me what  
12 you agree on and what you disagree on, why you disagree, so  
13 the Court can make findings of fact, conclusions of law, due  
14 on November 3rd. Closing argument, 9:00 a.m., November 22nd.

15 Everyone travel safely.

16 Yes?

17 MR. MATHIAS: Your Honor, I'll just briefly renew the  
18 House's motion for a directed verdict.

19 JUDGE GERGEL: The record is not closed yet because I  
20 need the data in first before I rule on that. We'll take that  
21 up -- you and Mr. Gore will raise that at the closing  
22 argument, because only then will the record be complete.

23 And what's this thing about last night? Remind me  
24 again what the issue is.

25 MR. TRAYWICK: Your Honor, if I might?



1 JUDGE GERGEL: Yes.

2 MR. TRAYWICK: So, I want to correct something I said  
3 earlier about what Breeden said in his deposition. I went  
4 back and looked at his 295-page deposition transcript and --

5 JUDGE GERGEL: I hope you're not giving it to us.

6 MR. TRAYWICK: I'm not -- well, I don't know. They  
7 actually made it a lot to counter designate. I don't think it  
8 was relevant, but that wasn't my decision in the first  
9 instance.

10 But I will say, he was never asked about it. And so,  
11 we'd just renew our motion that this isn't probative. This  
12 was a draft that he sent to himself. I'm happy to put it up  
13 on the screen. The portions they want to use are highlighted  
14 and have a bunch of Xs, which clearly show that he was just  
15 sending it to himself to go work on at home, and --

16 JUDGE GERGEL: Mr. Freedman, what's the relevance?

17 MR. FREEDMAN: So, it is the penultimate version of  
18 the talking points that were actually used on the floor. It  
19 has different statistics and more information that we believe  
20 is supportive of our case, particularly about --

21 JUDGE GERGEL: Does he -- is there any evidence  
22 anybody but Mr. John looked at it?

23 MR. TRAYWICK: No.

24 MR. FREEDMAN: I will admit that there's not, but it  
25 is consistent with other analyses in the defendants' own

1 internal records that we believe that they understate on the  
2 floor of the Senate, the core retention. So, I think it's --

3 JUDGE GERGEL: We can look at the debate on the floor  
4 of the Senate. I just think if you've got a staff member who  
5 is sending something to himself -- I do that all the time, I  
6 send it to my aol account sometimes, so I don't have to go  
7 through the court security system, and nobody sees it. I  
8 mean, I can understand exactly what he was doing.

9 MR. TRAYWICK: 10:30 the night before.

10 JUDGE GERGEL: To the extent -- I mean, Mr. John is  
11 not a defendant in the case. He might have gotten his numbers  
12 wrong. It seems to me what's relevant to the case is what was  
13 actually said and done regarding the map.

14 Are all the numbers already in evidence that you  
15 think he got wrong? Are they otherwise in the record?

16 MR. FREEDMAN: One of the numbers that we are  
17 concerned about is in the official analysis the Senate did.  
18 We believe that the document, it is the -- okay. So, it is  
19 the night before. It is the penultimate version of what is  
20 then delivered the following morning to the Senator --

21 JUDGE GERGEL: It's like somebody's draft. To me,  
22 I'm struggling on the relevance of a draft that never is used.

23 MR. TRAYWICK: And the danger of unfair prejudice.  
24 I'd like to jump to the second part of the 403 analysis. The  
25 purpose --

1 JUDGE GERGEL: What is the number you're so worried  
2 about?

3 MR. FREEDMAN: It's not a number that we're worried  
4 about, it's that they presented on the floor that the 6th  
5 Congressional District had 87 percent core retention. This  
6 document uses 77 percent, which is consistent with the  
7 internal analysis that Mr. Roberts ran. They delivered a  
8 false number on the floor.

9 JUDGE GERGEL: Well, let's just let it in for  
10 whatever it's worth. It seems pretty marginal to me. So, I  
11 overrule the objection for whatever it's worth.

12 What's the exhibit -- the motion is 449?

13 MR. FREEDMAN: The motion --

14 DEPUTY CLERK: Yes, your Honor.

15 MR. FREEDMAN: The proposed exhibit is Plaintiffs'  
16 Exhibit 651.

17 JUDGE GERGEL: We're going to admit it for whatever  
18 it's worth. And I'll make a determination once I get into the  
19 record. I think it looks pretty marginal, but it's late in  
20 the day, let's just get it in and take a look at it with the  
21 totality of the record.

22 MR. TRAYWICK: Thank you, your Honor.

23 JUDGE GERGEL: Plaintiff's 651 is admitted.

24 ***(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 651 was admitted into evidence.)***

25 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay, folks. Everyone be safe.

1 MR. MOORE: Your Honor, I hate to belabor, but just  
2 two quick points.

3 JUDGE GERGEL: Yes, sir.

4 MR. GORE: Your Honor, before we do that, would you  
5 like to excuse the witness? I think he's just hanging out.

6 JUDGE GERGEL: Oh, I'm sorry.

7 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

8 JUDGE GERGEL: Dr. Imai, thank you for being here.

9 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honor.

10 JUDGE GERGEL: Okay. Mr. Moore?

11 MR. MOORE: Yes, sir, your Honor. Just so we make  
12 sure we don't run afoul of any of the Court's rulings, with  
13 respect to demonstratives, if we're going to use  
14 demonstratives in closings -- demonstratives are usually sort  
15 of excluded from the disclosure issue with respect to  
16 arguments, I would think. My question is: Are we required to  
17 share them or not?

18 JUDGE GERGEL: Let me tell you the one thing I kind  
19 of like. There was always this different debate, which is:  
20 Are the findings of fact and conclusions of law shared with  
21 the opposing party? I always want that, because if somebody  
22 misreads something or misrepresents something, I want the  
23 other side to tell me. I might not appreciate it. So, in the  
24 same way, I think you ought to share. We want to see it ahead  
25 of time. And if we're going to see it, I think you should

1 share it.

2 MR. MOORE: So, you want to see demonstratives ahead  
3 of time?

4 JUDGE GERGEL: I would. We would like to see it  
5 ahead of time so we can study it. I think it will help the  
6 closing argument be more meaningful.

7 MR. MOORE: And when would your Honors like it?  
8 Would you like it -- i guess Monday is 24 hours. Would you  
9 like it the Friday before? What's the Court's preference?

10 JUDGE GERGEL: When you send the proposed findings of  
11 fact and conclusions of law, why don't you just send it then.

12 MR. CHANEY: Well, your Honor, that would be way in  
13 advance. And we wouldn't have the benefit of --

14 JUDGE GERGEL: Friday before. By noon on Friday  
15 before. I don't want to deal with the claim -- somebody gave  
16 it at Thanksgiving and nobody was -- I want it at noon on  
17 Friday before.

18 MR. MOORE: And so, my second point, your Honor, is  
19 with respect to these deposition designations. And I heard  
20 your Honor about the House. Of the 11 designations that were  
21 filed, are the summaries that were filed last night, 10 of  
22 them are House witnesses. And of those House witnesses, at  
23 least four of them have designations from the House phase of  
24 this case, not the congressional phase. And as I understand  
25 it --

1 JUDGE GERGEL: Put it in your summary. Giving it  
2 here now won't mean much to us. When we get the designations,  
3 you're going to highlight the point you're trying to make, and  
4 you can make that point in that.

5 MR. MOORE: I'm wondering if we can file something or  
6 have oral argument on these issues. I'm just concerned --

7 JUDGE GERGEL: No, we're not having oral argument.  
8 We'll weigh it. And if it's not relevant, we know what to do  
9 with it. There's a trash can always nearby, okay?

10 MR. MOORE: Right. Thank you, your Honor.

11 JUDGE GERGEL: Thank you.

12 Everyone, be safe.

13 *(Adjourned.)*

14 \* \* \* \* \*

15 I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from  
16 the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.

17 s/Lisa D. Smith,

12/30/2022

18 Lisa D. Smith, RPR, CRR

Date

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