

IN THE COMMONWEALTH COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA

League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania,)
 Carmen Febo San Miguel, James Solomon,)
 John Greiner, John Capowski, Gretchen)
 Brandt, Thomas Rentschler, Mary Elizabeth)
 Lawn, Lisa Isaacs, Don Lancaster, Jordi)
 Comas, Robert Smith, William Marx,)
 Richard Mantell, Priscilla McNulty,)
 Thomas Ulrich, Robert McKinstry,)
 Mark Lichty, Lorraine Petrosky,)

Petitioners,)

v.)

No.)
261 M.D. 2017

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania;)
 The Pennsylvania General Assembly;)
 Thomas W. Wolf, In His Capacity)
 As Governor of Pennsylvania;)
 Michael J. Stack III, In His Capacity As)
 Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania And)
 President of the Pennsylvania Senate;)
 Michael C. Turzai, In His Capacity As)
 Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of)
 Representatives; Joseph B. Scarnati III,)
 In His Capacity As Pennsylvania Senate)
 President Pro Tempore; Robert Torres,)
 In His Capacity As Acting Secretary of)
 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania;)
 Jonathan M. Marks, In His Capacity)
 As the Commissioner of the Bureau of)
 Commissions, Elections, and Legislation)
 of the Pennsylvania Department of State,)

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Respondents.)

COMMONWEALTH COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA, Volume I

BEFORE: HONORABLE JUDGE KEVIN BROBSON

DATE: DECEMBER 11, 2017; 9:30 A.M.

PLACE: COMMONWEALTH COURT
 PENNSYLVANIA JUDICIAL CENTER
 601 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
 HARRISBURG, PA 17106

REPORTED BY: CINDY L. SEBO, RMR, CRR, RPR,

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2

3 Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

4 Monday, December 11, 2017; 9:30 a.m.

5

6 THE CLERK: Good morning. Welcome

7 to Commonwealth Court.

8 I want to remind everyone, please

9 make sure all cell phones and electronics

10 are turned off. For the audience, there

11 will be no electronic use in the courtroom.

12 Thank you.

13 (Pause.)

14 THE CLERK: All rise. The

15 Commonwealth Court is now in session, the

16 Honorable Judge Kevin Brobson presiding.

17 THE COURT: Please be seated,

18 everyone.

19 We are on the record in the matter

20 of League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania,

21 et al. versus the Commonwealth of

22 Pennsylvania as Respondents and various

23 Commonwealth entities. The docket number is

24 261 MD 2017.

25 This is the date and time set for

9

1 the Court to hear oral argument on motions

2 of limine filed by the parties followed by

3 the Hearing or trial, if you will, on the

4 merits.

5 We are operating under expedited

6 schedule, as imposed by the Pennsylvania

7 Supreme Court. This Court is sitting in

8 capacity as a -- what I refer to as a

9 "hearing officer" or "presiding officer"

10 on -- under the supervision of the

11 Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

12 The role of this Court is to create

13 the record and submit proposed findings of

14 fact and conclusions of law for the

15 Supreme Court to consider. Ultimately, the

16 Pennsylvania Supreme Court will be deciding

17 this matter, and not this Court. So we are

18 proceeding expeditiously under that

19 schedule.

20 I want to commend the parties and

21 the lawyers for the work that they've done

22 to get us here today. In a pretrial

23 conference, I recommended to the counsel

24 that they help me help them. They've taken

25 that to heart and, I think, generally, have

10	<p>1 done a very good job of getting us to where</p> <p>2 we are today despite the challenging</p> <p>3 circumstances.</p> <p>4 So I want to thank counsel publicly</p> <p>5 for their professionalism and for the way</p> <p>6 they've conducted themselves to the point of</p> <p>7 the trial. I have every expectation that</p> <p>8 they will continue to conduct themselves in</p> <p>9 a matter befitting the profession throughout</p> <p>10 this proceeding.</p> <p>11 So with that, we do have some</p> <p>12 pretrial motions that require some argument.</p> <p>13 And I have my own order of -- of the</p> <p>14 motions. Eight were filed. I think two or</p> <p>15 three of them are somewhat related.</p> <p>16 I will -- we will -- I don't have</p> <p>17 hard-and-fast time that I'm going to be</p> <p>18 allotting to each motion. Some of them are</p> <p>19 a little bit more complicated than the</p> <p>20 others. But I will allow everybody to be</p> <p>21 heard on them.</p> <p>22 The first motion that I want to</p> <p>23 hear -- hear is the Petitioners' motion to</p> <p>24 exclude or limit Intervenors' testimony.</p> <p>25 So Petitioners want to approach.</p>	12	<p>1 been violated.</p> <p>2 And, Your Honor, we're going to</p> <p>3 argue the merits of whether or not the</p> <p>4 Federal -- the information from the Federal</p> <p>5 case is admissible. Ms. Theodore is</p> <p>6 prepared to argue that. But I thought this</p> <p>7 was a remarkable turn of events, and we're</p> <p>8 going to ask, as a sanction, that --</p> <p>9 separate and apart from the merits, but that</p> <p>10 as a sanction, that the material from the</p> <p>11 Federal Court be admitted into evidence.</p> <p>12 THE COURT: Okay. You may sit down,</p> <p>13 please.</p> <p>14 Now I'd like to hear argument on the</p> <p>15 motion to exclude or limit Intervenors'</p> <p>16 testimony.</p> <p>17 MS. MCKENZIE: Your Honor, would you</p> <p>18 prefer --</p> <p>19 THE COURT: Please approach.</p> <p>20 MS. MCKENZIE: Good morning,</p> <p>21 Your Honor. Mary McKenzie, the Public</p> <p>22 Interest Law Center, on behalf of the</p> <p>23 Petitioners' motion to exclude the</p> <p>24 Intervenors' testimony.</p> <p>25 The Intervenors are 36 members --</p>
11	<p>1 MR. GERSCH: Your Honor, if I may</p> <p>2 raise a preliminary matter -- David Gersch</p> <p>3 for Petitioners.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: Yes, sir.</p> <p>5 MR. GERSCH: Ms. McKenzie is going</p> <p>6 to argue the motion Your Honor as brought</p> <p>7 up, but of great concern to us last --</p> <p>8 yesterday afternoon, we received a motion in</p> <p>9 limine from Legislative Respondents with --</p> <p>10 which made the claim that we had obtained</p> <p>11 information from the Federal Litigation in</p> <p>12 violation of a Court order.</p> <p>13 This was false. They cited no --</p> <p>14 they didn't identify the order; they didn't</p> <p>15 attach the order; they didn't identify any</p> <p>16 provision of any order that had been</p> <p>17 violated. And, in fact, we have attached</p> <p>18 the transcript from the Federal case in</p> <p>19 which they admit that no Court order was</p> <p>20 violated.</p> <p>21 This morning -- this morning, we</p> <p>22 received another piece of paper from them</p> <p>23 which stated that their argument had never</p> <p>24 been that we had violated a Court order; it</p> <p>25 was that only the spirit of the order had</p>	13	<p>1 active members of the Republican Party, and</p> <p>2 we are not here, at least today, to</p> <p>3 relitigate their intervention in this case,</p> <p>4 but what they spill their ink on and what</p> <p>5 they propose to testify to are all their</p> <p>6 activities -- campaigning activities,</p> <p>7 political activities on behalf of</p> <p>8 Congressional candidates -- and the ways in</p> <p>9 which they will be harmed if this map is</p> <p>10 declared unconstitutional and a new map has</p> <p>11 to be put in place.</p> <p>12 These are not factors which the</p> <p>13 Court can or should consider in deciding</p> <p>14 whether the map itself is constitutional.</p> <p>15 The Court has two lines of inquiry:</p> <p>16 essentially, was the map drawn with the</p> <p>17 intent to discriminate against an</p> <p>18 identifiable political group, and does the</p> <p>19 map have a discriminatory effect.</p> <p>20 The Intervenors have nothing to say</p> <p>21 about those particular issues. And while</p> <p>22 their activities, such as campaigning or</p> <p>23 running for office or raising money, may be</p> <p>24 protected, they don't have the right to</p> <p>25 perpetuate those activities under an</p>

14	<p>1 unconstitutional map.</p> <p>2 So, in summary, there -- the</p> <p>3 testimony that they offer about all of these</p> <p>4 activities and the ways that they would be</p> <p>5 harmed is irrelevant to the questions that</p> <p>6 the Court has to decide.</p> <p>7 If it has any relevance whatsoever,</p> <p>8 it's a very limited relevance that would go</p> <p>9 to the issue of just how quickly the Court</p> <p>10 would have to put in place a new map so as</p> <p>11 to minimize disruption to elections.</p> <p>12 And so if it has any purpose</p> <p>13 whatsoever, it's -- it's limited and it's</p> <p>14 cumulative, and so the Court should -- to</p> <p>15 the extent that it's cumulative, should</p> <p>16 restrict their testimony.</p> <p>17 THE COURT: Thank you very much.</p> <p>18 Mr. Tabas.</p> <p>19 MR. TABAS: Good morning,</p> <p>20 Your Honor. Lawrence Tabas on behalf of the</p> <p>21 Intervenors.</p> <p>22 The Intervenors, in their individual</p> <p>23 capacities, are county committee chairs,</p> <p>24 political party chairs. They're candidates</p> <p>25 for office, they're active Republican voters</p>	16	<p>1 the quote from Albert completely out of</p> <p>2 context. The Albert quote dealing with the</p> <p>3 right to vote being the issue in a</p> <p>4 redistricting case dealt with the claim that</p> <p>5 an association cannot be an Intervenor in</p> <p>6 this case. That does not apply to the</p> <p>7 individual Intervenors here.</p> <p>8 In fact, Your Honor, the irony is</p> <p>9 if, in fact, the Petitioners claim that the</p> <p>10 only right at issue here is the right to</p> <p>11 vote, then their claims should be dismissed</p> <p>12 this morning. Because in the deposition</p> <p>13 submitted in this case, each one of the</p> <p>14 Petitioners has acknowledged that they have</p> <p>15 not been prevented from voting, that they</p> <p>16 have not been prevented from --</p> <p>17 THE COURT: I'm going to stop you</p> <p>18 there. I don't want to hear about the</p> <p>19 deposition testimony. I'm going to be</p> <p>20 listening to live testimony. I don't want</p> <p>21 to listen to deposition -- I apologize for</p> <p>22 interrupting, but I want to make sure the</p> <p>23 record is clear.</p> <p>24 MR. TABAS: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>25 So as a result, Your Honor, our</p>
15	<p>1 and participants in the electoral process.</p> <p>2 And most importantly, they are voters. They</p> <p>3 are similar to the Petitioners in this</p> <p>4 particular case.</p> <p>5 And contrary to what counsel has</p> <p>6 said for the Petitioners, they are, in</p> <p>7 fact -- they, the Petitioners, are seeking</p> <p>8 to relitigate the intervention in this case.</p> <p>9 This Court did recognize that the</p> <p>10 Intervenors have legally protected rights,</p> <p>11 constitutional rights under the Pennsylvania</p> <p>12 Constitution, the right to participate in</p> <p>13 the electoral process, which includes, among</p> <p>14 other things, voting and participating and</p> <p>15 having access, similar rights that the</p> <p>16 Petitioners have said that they</p> <p>17 actually have as well.</p> <p>18 The issue, Your Honor, is not</p> <p>19 whether or not our testimony is relevant.</p> <p>20 We're not here to support the Petitioners'</p> <p>21 case. We're here to establish and protect</p> <p>22 our rights that would be adversely affected</p> <p>23 immediately and directly if the Petitioners'</p> <p>24 relief is granted.</p> <p>25 Furthermore, Your Honor, they took</p>	17	<p>1 witnesses -- and we've paired it down to</p> <p>2 six -- witnesses will be coming in and</p> <p>3 testifying about their constitutionally</p> <p>4 protected rights of participating in the</p> <p>5 electoral process, which will be directly</p> <p>6 and immediately harmed if the Petitioners'</p> <p>7 relief is granted, Number 1; Number 2, they</p> <p>8 do have a right to come in and address the</p> <p>9 issues of remedy should this Court believe</p> <p>10 that some form of remedy is necessary</p> <p>11 here --</p> <p>12 THE COURT: And, again, I'm going</p> <p>13 to correct you, because it's not going to be</p> <p>14 this Court; it will be the Supreme Court.</p> <p>15 MR. TABAS: In the Supreme Court;</p> <p>16 you're correct, Your Honor.</p> <p>17 -- without our ability to put our</p> <p>18 evidence on the record, we can't make the</p> <p>19 arguments that the Petitioners acknowledge</p> <p>20 that we can make in their motion, but we</p> <p>21 can't make it without the evidence to be</p> <p>22 admitted here.</p> <p>23 So that -- I ask this Court -- we</p> <p>24 only have six of our 36 witnesses -- that we</p> <p>25 be allowed to assert and protect our legally</p>

18	<p>1 constitutional rights that have already been</p> <p>2 recognized by our intervention.</p> <p>3 Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: Thank you.</p> <p>5 Does anybody else want to be heard</p> <p>6 on the motion to exclude or limit</p> <p>7 Intervenors' testimony?</p> <p>8 Okay. Next motion is Petitioners'</p> <p>9 motion to limit or preclude Legislative</p> <p>10 Respondents from presenting evidence or</p> <p>11 argument about intent, motives and activity</p> <p>12 in enacting the 2011 Plans.</p> <p>13 I did receive a response from the</p> <p>14 Legislative Respondents indicating that they</p> <p>15 have no intention of presenting such</p> <p>16 evidence, but I'll hear from Petitioners on</p> <p>17 their motion.</p> <p>18 MR. BERGMAN: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>19 Andrew Bergman from Arnold & Porter Kaye</p> <p>20 Scholer on behalf of the Petitioners.</p> <p>21 So the Parties have asked --</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Mr. Bergman -- and this</p> <p>23 is for all the lawyers there -- the podium</p> <p>24 goes up and down with the button to your</p> <p>25 right, if that's an issue. And then the</p>	20	<p>1 is a letter regarding minimum population</p> <p>2 size of the districts created by the</p> <p>3 2011 Plan, which would enter into that</p> <p>4 subject matter because it is necessarily</p> <p>5 going to present an incomplete picture of</p> <p>6 the motivations that were relied on.</p> <p>7 For example, if they can present</p> <p>8 evidence regarding minimum population size</p> <p>9 but were withholding additional information</p> <p>10 regarding other motivations creating that</p> <p>11 plan or that were used in crafting it, then</p> <p>12 it would necessarily invade the principle of</p> <p>13 fairness which Petitioners ascribe to the</p> <p>14 Court in our motion.</p> <p>15 THE COURT: Thank you very much.</p> <p>16 MR. BERGMAN: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>17 MR. TUCKER: Good morning,</p> <p>18 Your Honor. Rob Tucker on behalf of the</p> <p>19 Legislative Respondents in this case.</p> <p>20 As Your Honor recognized, we issued</p> <p>21 a short response last night indicating we</p> <p>22 don't intend on submitting any other</p> <p>23 extrinsic evidence of legislative intent or</p> <p>24 motivations in this case based upon</p> <p>25 Your Honor's holding back in November that</p>
19	<p>1 microphone can be adjusted up as well. So</p> <p>2 you don't have to hunch over.</p> <p>3 There you go.</p> <p>4 MR. BERGMAN: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>5 THE COURT: You're welcome.</p> <p>6 MR. BERGMAN: Your Honor,</p> <p>7 Petitioners have asked for an order in</p> <p>8 limine precluding the Legislative</p> <p>9 Respondents from introducing evidence or</p> <p>10 argument relating to subject matters that</p> <p>11 were withheld from discovery under the</p> <p>12 legislative privilege. And as Your Honor</p> <p>13 had mentioned before, the response that was</p> <p>14 filed this morning indicates that they do</p> <p>15 not intend to rely on those materials.</p> <p>16 Petitioners would say that that's</p> <p>17 all the more reason to grant this motion.</p> <p>18 But in addition, Your Honor, by all</p> <p>19 appearances, it does appear that they intend</p> <p>20 to introduce material within the prohibited</p> <p>21 subject matter, specifically, intentions,</p> <p>22 motivations and activities in creating the</p> <p>23 2011 Plan.</p> <p>24 For example, one of the Legislative</p> <p>25 Respondents' proposed exhibits, Number 21,</p>	21	<p>1 the Legislative Respondents hold an absolute</p> <p>2 immunity in this case.</p> <p>3 The only argument I heard --</p> <p>4 THE COURT: Well, it's not exactly</p> <p>5 what I held, but I granted your motion on</p> <p>6 speech and debate immunity in the sense that</p> <p>7 the Court could not compel discovery</p> <p>8 responses from a coequal branch of</p> <p>9 government, in this case, the legislature</p> <p>10 and the speech and debate clause of the</p> <p>11 Pennsylvania Constitution.</p> <p>12 MR. TUCKER: Understood, Your Honor.</p> <p>13 And I think that argument's going to be</p> <p>14 addressed in a couple different motions in</p> <p>15 limine as well. So I think we can address</p> <p>16 that then.</p> <p>17 And as far as the particular exhibit</p> <p>18 that's being referenced, it's just the</p> <p>19 population requirements. I don't know that</p> <p>20 anybody here disputes that there's an equal</p> <p>21 population requirement when drafting</p> <p>22 districts. That doesn't go into any</p> <p>23 legislative intent or motivations.</p> <p>24 Thank you.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Thank you.</p>

22	<p>1 Anyone else want to be heard on that</p> <p>2 motion?</p> <p>3 Okay. The next motion is</p> <p>4 Petitioners' motion to exclude the testimony</p> <p>5 of expert Cho, critical of their expert,</p> <p>6 Dr. Chen.</p> <p>7 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you,</p> <p>8 Your Honor. Daniel Jacobson from Arnold &</p> <p>9 Porter Kaye Scholer on behalf of</p> <p>10 Petitioners.</p> <p>11 Your Honor, the central thrust of</p> <p>12 Dr. Cho's report as it relates to Dr. Chen</p> <p>13 is that he did not disclose the computer</p> <p>14 algorithm that he uses for purposes of his</p> <p>15 computer simulations. And we detailed in</p> <p>16 our motion, that's simply not the case.</p> <p>17 At Legislative Respondents' specific</p> <p>18 request, Dr. Chen did disclose the computer</p> <p>19 code used for purposes of his report, and</p> <p>20 remarkably, they simply chose to give it to</p> <p>21 their other two experts, Dr. McCarty and</p> <p>22 Dr. Gimpel, but they just didn't give it to</p> <p>23 Dr. Cho.</p> <p>24 As we also detail in our report, not</p> <p>25 only did we disclose Dr. Chen's computer</p>	24	<p>1 only confuse the record. We have enough</p> <p>2 computer simulation algorithms, computer</p> <p>3 codes flying around in this case. We don't</p> <p>4 need testimony about an entirely different</p> <p>5 algorithm that has nothing to with</p> <p>6 Dr. Chen's work.</p> <p>7 So we would submit that that as well</p> <p>8 is not a generally accepted methodology, to</p> <p>9 criticize one expert by analyzing an</p> <p>10 entirely different expert's work.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Thank you.</p> <p>12 MR. LEWIS: Your Honor, good</p> <p>13 morning. This is Patrick Lewis on behalf of</p> <p>14 the Legislative Respondents.</p> <p>15 Your Honor, Dr. Cho is a research</p> <p>16 scientist with decades of experience in the</p> <p>17 areas of redistricting and computer</p> <p>18 simulations. She has offered several</p> <p>19 criticisms of the model employed by</p> <p>20 Dr. Chen. It did not require review of the</p> <p>21 code at all.</p> <p>22 She went to the degree of academic</p> <p>23 scrutiny of Dr. Chen's model, and we'll hear</p> <p>24 more about that today and, hopefully, when</p> <p>25 she testifies.</p>
23	<p>1 code in this case, he's published -- and</p> <p>2 it's sitting online right now -- the</p> <p>3 computer code he uses for his algorithms in</p> <p>4 connection with two different peer-reviewed</p> <p>5 journals.</p> <p>6 And so as we say in our report, it</p> <p>7 is not a generally accepted methodology in</p> <p>8 the scientific community to simply not look</p> <p>9 at information that's available and to then</p> <p>10 form opinions based on the notion that it</p> <p>11 wasn't disclosed, when, in fact, it was.</p> <p>12 And to make matters worse, not only</p> <p>13 did Dr. Cho not look at the computer code</p> <p>14 that was disclosed from Dr. Chen, she</p> <p>15 dedicates -- I think it's about three of the</p> <p>16 10 pages of her report that deals with</p> <p>17 Dr. Chen -- to analyzing an entirely</p> <p>18 different algorithm that was made by a Ph.D.</p> <p>19 student at Princeton that has nothing to do</p> <p>20 with Dr. Chen's whatsoever. And it's</p> <p>21 actually hard to tell that from reading the</p> <p>22 report. I had to read it twice to realize</p> <p>23 that.</p> <p>24 And we would submit, Your Honor,</p> <p>25 that that analysis is irrelevant and will</p>	25	<p>1 She's familiar generally with</p> <p>2 Dr. Chen's algorithm based on his academic</p> <p>3 writings -- as counsel for Petitioners has</p> <p>4 conceded, it's out there -- that he employs</p> <p>5 a Monte Carlo-based simulation, where</p> <p>6 geographic units are merged together --</p> <p>7 smaller units are merged together until a</p> <p>8 required number of districts is achieved.</p> <p>9 Her criticisms go to the class of</p> <p>10 model that Dr. Chen employs. Her extensive</p> <p>11 research, including publications in the</p> <p>12 International Conference for High</p> <p>13 Performance Computing, the Journal of the</p> <p>14 Operational Research Society, the William &</p> <p>15 Mary Law Review, Swarm and Evolutionary</p> <p>16 Computing [sic], the Proceedings of the 2015</p> <p>17 Annual Conference on Control Systems,</p> <p>18 Computing and Engineering. Her experience</p> <p>19 working on multiple NSF grants -- funded</p> <p>20 grants dealing with the use of simulations</p> <p>21 and redistricting more than qualify her to</p> <p>22 offer an opinion regarding Dr. Chen's</p> <p>23 approach to simulations and the class of</p> <p>24 model that he employs.</p> <p>25 Getting into the weeds of the exact</p>

26	<p>1 details of the method of the simulation is 2 not essential for her opinion. Consider, 3 for example, an analogy of trying to decide 4 whether a hammer or a drill is the better 5 tool to make a hole through a wooden beam. 6 One can offer that opinion based on general 7 knowledge of a hammer versus a drill without 8 having to get into the minutia of one model 9 of a hammer versus another.</p> <p>10 We submit that she has more than 11 satisfied the requirements under Rule 702 of 12 the Pennsylvania Rules of Evidence to offer 13 specialized knowledge, degrees -- to a 14 reasonable degree of scientific certainty 15 using methodology accepted in the relevant 16 field.</p> <p>17 If Petitioners wish to question 18 Dr. Cho upon cross-examination regarding the 19 depth of her analysis of Dr. Chen's model, 20 they're welcome, but we submit that it's not 21 a basis to exclude her opinion.</p> <p>22 Further, Dr. Cho offers many 23 criticisms of Dr. Chen, including how he 24 structures the comparison sets that he's 25 judging Act 131 against, his approach to</p>	28	<p>1 you know, something that she would do 2 with -- given her expertise in political 3 science, operations research, statistics, 4 computer science and high-performance 5 computing.</p> <p>6 So on that basis, Your Honor, we 7 would ask that the motion in limine be 8 denied and that Dr. Cho be permitted to 9 testify concerning all matters within the 10 scope of her report.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Thank you.</p> <p>12 Would anybody else like to be heard 13 on the motion?</p> <p>14 There's a motion by Plaintiffs to 15 exclude Dr. Gimpel's expert testimony 16 regarding the effect of the 2011 Plan.</p> <p>17 MR. CELLA: Good morning, 18 Your Honor --</p> <p>19 THE COURT: Good morning.</p> <p>20 MR. CELLA: -- John Cella for the 21 Petitioners.</p> <p>22 The Petitioners seek to exclude from 23 Dr. Gimpel's testimony what really are a 24 series of assertions about the intent behind 25 these particular boundaries on this</p>
27	<p>1 dealing with county and municipal splits, 2 how he addresses incumbency protection and 3 voting rights, and many other topics that 4 have nothing to do with the code underlying 5 his simulations at all.</p> <p>6 And, finally, to correct the record, 7 counsel for Petitioners suggests that 8 Dr. Cho relied on -- on a model using what's 9 called a Markov chain analysis from the 10 Princeton student, Feefield (phonetic). 11 That's not true. She ran her own 12 Monte Carlo simulation and is prepared to 13 testify concerning that matter.</p> <p>14 What she relied upon was a data set 15 that Feefield had prepared as part of a 16 small scale validation study. Experts in 17 the fields of simulation -- and she can get 18 into this when she testifies -- regularly 19 use data sets. That's part of what experts 20 use.</p> <p>21 The fact that she relied on a 22 small-scale data set to generate an example 23 absolutely adds value to these proceedings 24 and is absolutely an accepted method of 25 validating research and is absolutely a --</p>	29	<p>1 particular map. They're assertions that are 2 really no more than conjecture.</p> <p>3 And to be very clear about this, 4 these are not alternative explanations, 5 reasonable alternatives for why particular 6 boundaries on the map might be drawn the way 7 they are for nonpartisan reasons. That's 8 not what these are. Dr. Gimpel raises these 9 very clearly as assertions, as certainties 10 about what the legislative intent was for 11 particular boundaries and particular 12 districts.</p> <p>13 And Petitioners have provided some 14 examples of this in our written briefing, 15 but just a few -- he says, for example, the 16 12th District was certainly not constructed 17 as a safe Republican seat, certainly not 18 constructed that way. He says that there 19 was no thought of a need to counterbalance 20 Democratic voters and Republican voters in 21 the Third District, or that -- and he says 22 that the decision was made because of a -- 23 to -- to split your -- the decision was made 24 because of a -- particular nonpartisan 25 reasons, not that the decisions could have</p>

30	<p>1 been made that way or that there's a</p> <p>2 reasonable alternative, no.</p> <p>3 This is what the intent was. That</p> <p>4 is Dr. Gimpel's proffered expert testimony</p> <p>5 that the Legislative Respondents intend to</p> <p>6 offer here.</p> <p>7 He doesn't provide in his report any</p> <p>8 references for these statements. The</p> <p>9 grounds for any of his assertions about the</p> <p>10 intent behind his particular boundaries has</p> <p>11 not been disclosed to Petitioners, as</p> <p>12 required under the rule. But we do know,</p> <p>13 partly from some of Dr. Gimpel's testimony</p> <p>14 in the Agre trial last week -- we do know</p> <p>15 that he has been provided with and relied on</p> <p>16 some sources from the General Assembly in</p> <p>17 this case. And we do know that</p> <p>18 Mr. John Memme, the chief Republican</p> <p>19 mapmaker, is an expert consultant that the</p> <p>20 Legislative Respondents have -- have</p> <p>21 retained.</p> <p>22 Dr. Gimpel is aware of that. He</p> <p>23 testified to that last week --</p> <p>24 THE COURT: Counsel, let me ask you</p> <p>25 on that point, because I read that in your</p>	32	<p>1 for certain whether it's happened, and can I</p> <p>2 use it as a basis to exclude Dr. Gimpel's</p> <p>3 testimony?</p> <p>4 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, I believe</p> <p>5 that what you do know from the record that</p> <p>6 we've provided is that some information --</p> <p>7 THE COURT: Well, I understand</p> <p>8 that. I understand that.</p> <p>9 My question is -- I find -- I think</p> <p>10 it would be incredibly compelling if, as a</p> <p>11 matter of fact, Legislative Respondents'</p> <p>12 experts have been consulting with</p> <p>13 nontestifying consultants who you sought to</p> <p>14 depose but then were shielded. I think that</p> <p>15 would be an incredibly compelling argument</p> <p>16 to seek to preclude their experts from</p> <p>17 testifying.</p> <p>18 My question is, Is that the argument</p> <p>19 that you're making? Are you -- are you</p> <p>20 asserting and are you able to prove that the</p> <p>21 Legislative Respondents' experts have been</p> <p>22 consulting with individuals who were</p> <p>23 shielded from your deposition efforts?</p> <p>24 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, what we're</p> <p>25 asserting is that through counsel --</p>
31	<p>1 papers.</p> <p>2 Mr. Memme, was he one of the people</p> <p>3 that Petitioners sought to depose in this</p> <p>4 case?</p> <p>5 MR. CELLA: I believe he was,</p> <p>6 Your Honor.</p> <p>7 THE COURT: And your contention,</p> <p>8 then, is that Mr. Memme -- you specifically</p> <p>9 asked for Mr. Memme's deposition as a person</p> <p>10 with knowledge. There was an objection by</p> <p>11 Legislative Respondents to Mr. Memme's</p> <p>12 deposition, which this Court sustained. And</p> <p>13 your allegation now is that Mr. Memme has</p> <p>14 been feeding information to Dr. Gimpel?</p> <p>15 MR. CELLA: Well, Your Honor, that's</p> <p>16 certainly what it appears --</p> <p>17 THE COURT: I didn't ask you that.</p> <p>18 I asked you is that your allegation?</p> <p>19 MR. CELLA: I think it's a</p> <p>20 reasonable inference from the information</p> <p>21 that -- that Dr. Gimpel testified to last</p> <p>22 week. I don't -- we don't know for</p> <p>23 certain -- I don't know enough to make that</p> <p>24 allegation.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Well, then, do I know</p>	33	<p>1 THE COURT: No, I don't want to</p> <p>2 know what you're asserting. I want to say,</p> <p>3 Are you asserting what I just asked you are</p> <p>4 asserting?</p> <p>5 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, we're not</p> <p>6 asserting that. From the record, what we're</p> <p>7 asserting is that through counsel,</p> <p>8 Dr. Gimpel has apparently received sources</p> <p>9 of information from the General Assembly.</p> <p>10 And, perhaps, one of those sources is</p> <p>11 Mr. Memme.</p> <p>12 From the record --</p> <p>13 THE COURT: So you don't know that</p> <p>14 it's Mr. Memme?</p> <p>15 MR. CELLA: That's correct,</p> <p>16 Your Honor.</p> <p>17 THE COURT: And you don't know that</p> <p>18 it's any of the -- you don't have any</p> <p>19 information you can offer the Court today</p> <p>20 that it is any of the people that were</p> <p>21 shielded from your discovery?</p> <p>22 MR. CELLA: That's correct,</p> <p>23 Your Honor. We don't have certain</p> <p>24 information of that, but we do have some</p> <p>25 record from last week.</p>

34	<p>1 And I -- to move --</p> <p>2 THE COURT: Well, the record from</p> <p>3 last week is not here.</p> <p>4 I will give you -- if you have proof</p> <p>5 that Mr. -- that the Legislative Respondents</p> <p>6 have been using experts who have received</p> <p>7 information from individuals that were</p> <p>8 shielded from your discovery, I will allow</p> <p>9 you to put that evidence on, because that's</p> <p>10 a troubling allegation, if that, in fact, is</p> <p>11 an allegation that you're making.</p> <p>12 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor. We</p> <p>13 have statements from Dr. Gimpel that, on the</p> <p>14 one hand, are -- have no support. It could</p> <p>15 only be conjecture unless they are somehow</p> <p>16 supported by direct evidence of the intent</p> <p>17 of the mapmaker, such as Mr. Memme --</p> <p>18 THE COURT: But you don't have any</p> <p>19 direct evidence of -- of -- of -- of a -- I</p> <p>20 don't know how many times I can say it.</p> <p>21 I think you understand what I'm</p> <p>22 saying, right, that the Court's concern,</p> <p>23 based on your filing, was an allegation that</p> <p>24 the Legislative Respondents received the</p> <p>25 protection of the speech and debate clause</p>	36	<p>1 motion to exclude his testimony does depend</p> <p>2 on this question of whether, in fact,</p> <p>3 Petitioners can establish as a certainty</p> <p>4 that the information he's relying upon came</p> <p>5 from privileged sources.</p> <p>6 If it didn't come from that, then</p> <p>7 it's entirely unsupported and is simply</p> <p>8 conjecture and is not -- is not competent</p> <p>9 expert opinion in that regard.</p> <p>10 THE COURT: That -- I understand.</p> <p>11 Anything else?</p> <p>12 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor, if I</p> <p>13 may, just because of the opposition that</p> <p>14 came in early this morning from Legislative</p> <p>15 Respondents.</p> <p>16 They -- I think it's -- it's</p> <p>17 interesting that the very carefully worded</p> <p>18 paragraph or couple sentences on this</p> <p>19 question of where the information</p> <p>20 Dr. Gimpel's relying on came from, and</p> <p>21 it's -- it's very engineered and so</p> <p>22 carefully -- almost as carefully as some of</p> <p>23 the boundaries in these districts that we're</p> <p>24 talking about in this case.</p> <p>25 He -- they say --</p>
35	<p>1 immunity to shield depositions of former --</p> <p>2 current and former legislative staffers, and</p> <p>3 then those current and former, one or more,</p> <p>4 legislative staffers who were shielded under</p> <p>5 speech and debate immunity from discovery</p> <p>6 have been providing information to their</p> <p>7 testifying experts?</p> <p>8 If that, in fact, is the case, then</p> <p>9 I am very interested in that. If you cannot</p> <p>10 establish that to be the case, then it's a</p> <p>11 different analysis.</p> <p>12 MR. CELLA: Understood, Your Honor.</p> <p>13 MR. GERSCH: Your Honor, might we</p> <p>14 have a moment to consult with our colleague</p> <p>15 to help answer your question?</p> <p>16 THE COURT: Sure.</p> <p>17 (Counsel confer.)</p> <p>18 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, one source</p> <p>19 of information that Petitioners have cited</p> <p>20 is Exhibit C to our brief, which is that</p> <p>21 exchange from the Agre trial last week,</p> <p>22 but -- and we certainly intend to ask</p> <p>23 Dr. Gimpel about this question on the stand,</p> <p>24 if -- if we're permitted to do so.</p> <p>25 But I don't think that the -- our</p>	37	<p>1 THE COURT: Well, lawyers can do</p> <p>2 that.</p> <p>3 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: They're very skilled.</p> <p>5 MR. CELLA: Well, these skilled</p> <p>6 lawyers have said that Dr. Gimpel didn't use</p> <p>7 any data from any nonpublic source or a</p> <p>8 source that was not disclosed to</p> <p>9 Petitioners. And that careful wording, I</p> <p>10 think, leaves the question open of, Did</p> <p>11 Dr. Gimpel rely on any nonpublic source, not</p> <p>12 necessarily data, but some other source,</p> <p>13 perhaps, of legislative intent. Did he rely</p> <p>14 on that? And that hasn't been disclosed,</p> <p>15 and the Legislative Respondents haven't</p> <p>16 answered that question in their reply brief.</p> <p>17 They also say that Dr. Gimpel did</p> <p>18 not speak with any legislator or legislative</p> <p>19 employee.</p> <p>20 Did they include past legislators --</p> <p>21 past legislative employees in that? They</p> <p>22 haven't answered that question either.</p> <p>23 So, Your Honor, just to conclude,</p> <p>24 Dr. Gimpel has said that he's received</p> <p>25 sources of information from the</p>

38	<p>1 General Assembly through counsel. There is 2 some record -- 3 THE COURT: That reference is -- 4 wasn't that report amended? 5 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, there's -- 6 there is an amendment to Dr. Gimpel's report 7 on a couple citations -- 8 THE COURT: Right. 9 MR. CELLA: -- but in a general 10 sense, in the record that we've provided -- 11 THE COURT: His current report says 12 he obtained information from the 13 General Assembly? 14 MR. CELLA: His current report 15 changes the citation from the 16 General Assembly Legislative Data Processing 17 Center to -- to a different source. It's 18 not clear to Petitioners -- 19 THE COURT: It's going to be a long 20 day if we're talking past each other. 21 The question is -- the question is, 22 The current report, does it -- you had said 23 that Mr. Gimpel said in his report that he 24 received information from the General 25 Assembly.</p>	40	<p>1 Mr. Memme as an expert consultant in this 2 case, and has Dr. Gimpel relied on anything 3 provided to him, directly or indirectly, 4 from Mr. Memme. 5 We know that he testified in a case 6 last week, and he said that he was provided 7 information from counsel through sources 8 from the General Assembly that could have 9 been Mr. Memme. 10 How is he supposed to walk into this 11 courtroom this week and somehow turn off one 12 half of his mind of what he may have been -- 13 what he was provided in terms of intent 14 behind these particular maps, totally put 15 that out of his mind and testify and give 16 the assertions that he intends to, according 17 to his report in this case? 18 He is tainted from these sources of 19 information he's been provided, and the 20 cleanest thing is to exclude him from this 21 trial. 22 THE COURT: He's been tainted by 23 the sources of information that he's been 24 provided, but you're not exactly sure what 25 the sources of information are?</p>
39	<p>1 I know that there was an earlier 2 motion, which the Court denied without 3 prejudice, dealing with the assertion that 4 Mr. Gimpel's report said that he -- 5 Dr. Gimpel -- it's probably Dr. Gimpel, 6 right? 7 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor. 8 THE COURT: -- that Dr. Gimpel 9 received information from the 10 General Assembly or staff of the 11 General Assembly. 12 You folks lodged a motion. 13 Legislative Respondents answered and said he 14 made a mistake. 15 The report -- has that report been 16 amended, or is there still, in the current 17 report, some reference to obtaining 18 information directly from the 19 General Assembly? 20 MR. CELLA: I believe that's been 21 removed from the current report, Your Honor. 22 THE COURT: Okay. 23 MR. CELLA: But I would just ask -- 24 I would encourage the Court to ask 25 Legislative Respondents have you retained</p>	41	<p>1 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor -- 2 THE COURT: But he's tainted? 3 MR. CELLA: Well, Your Honor, he's 4 been provided sources of information from 5 the General Assembly that -- 6 THE COURT: Again, I'm trying to 7 understand your factual basis for that 8 allegation. 9 MR. CELLA: Your Honor, in the 10 portion of his -- of his testimony last week 11 that is before the Court as an exhibit to 12 our briefing -- 13 THE COURT: I'm not dealing with 14 his testimony. His testimony isn't in front 15 of me -- his testimony in the other case is 16 not in front of this Court right now. You 17 have to imagine that that didn't happen, for 18 my purposes. We're here in a different 19 case. 20 MR. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor. 21 THE COURT: So -- so do you have a 22 witness that is going to testify that 23 Dr. Gimpel received information from the 24 General Assembly that was otherwise 25 precluded by this Court's prior order?</p>

42	<p>1 MR. CELLA: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>2 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.</p> <p>3 So, Counsel, this was one of the</p> <p>4 motions that concerned me, because it</p> <p>5 certainly would be unfair -- I'm not going</p> <p>6 to say it's illegal -- there are a lot of</p> <p>7 unfair things that are legal, but it would</p> <p>8 certainly be unfair if the Court were to</p> <p>9 grant speech and debate immunity and</p> <p>10 preclude forced testimony from former and</p> <p>11 current legislative staff and legislators</p> <p>12 themselves only to have that information</p> <p>13 back-doored to an expert.</p> <p>14 So I'm very concerned about that,</p> <p>15 and I'd like you to directly address my</p> <p>16 concerns.</p> <p>17 MR. TUCKER: Absolutely, Your Honor.</p> <p>18 Let me address the 800-pound gorilla in the</p> <p>19 room on this issue.</p> <p>20 Let me be clear about this. The</p> <p>21 only thing we're talking about in</p> <p>22 Dr. Gimpel's report is one chart. I think</p> <p>23 it's Table 3. And that only deals with</p> <p>24 county and municipality splits under the</p> <p>25 2002 plan and the current plan. And the</p>	44	<p>1 in this case in his capacity as a former</p> <p>2 state legislative employee and who</p> <p>3 Petitioners sought documents from, but this</p> <p>4 Court shielded them under the asserted</p> <p>5 speech and debate immunity.</p> <p>6 MR. TUCKER: Well, the underlying</p> <p>7 documents --</p> <p>8 THE COURT: Am I correct?</p> <p>9 MR. TUCKER: Correct, but with one</p> <p>10 clarification, if I may, is that the data</p> <p>11 that we're talking about is -- it's publicly</p> <p>12 available data that -- all the GIS</p> <p>13 consulting expert did was basically assist</p> <p>14 Dr. Gimpel in -- in helping determine the</p> <p>15 splits, which Dr. Gimpel then took --</p> <p>16 THE COURT: The "GIS" is Geographic</p> <p>17 Information --</p> <p>18 MR. TUCKER: Systems.</p> <p>19 THE COURT: -- Systems?</p> <p>20 MR. TUCKER: Correct.</p> <p>21 So what he did is basically just</p> <p>22 assist --</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Hold on. Hold on. Go</p> <p>24 back to the table.</p> <p>25 I think the request is your</p>
43	<p>1 only thing we're talking about here is</p> <p>2 information that a GIS expert, consulting</p> <p>3 expert, provided to Dr. Gimpel on those</p> <p>4 splits. That's it.</p> <p>5 THE COURT: Well, let me ask you</p> <p>6 specifically.</p> <p>7 The undisclosed GIS expert -- I'm</p> <p>8 not going to ask you to disclose them.</p> <p>9 Is that undisclosed GIS expert a</p> <p>10 former employee of the Legislature?</p> <p>11 MR. TUCKER: Yes, sir.</p> <p>12 THE COURT: Was that GIS expert on</p> <p>13 the deposition list that was the subject to</p> <p>14 the Court's speech and debate immunity</p> <p>15 decision?</p> <p>16 MR. TUCKER: I don't believe they</p> <p>17 asked for his deposition. I believe they</p> <p>18 were subpoenaed documents. But I just want</p> <p>19 to make that clear on the record. I believe</p> <p>20 they were subpoenaed documents.</p> <p>21 THE COURT: And -- okay. So I just</p> <p>22 want to make sure I understand.</p> <p>23 Dr. Gimpel relied on documents he</p> <p>24 received from a former state legislative</p> <p>25 employee who worked on the maps in question</p>	45	<p>1 co-counsel would like to consult with you.</p> <p>2 Why don't you go back to the table?</p> <p>3 MR. TUCKER: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: Okay.</p> <p>5 MR. TUCKER: So what I'm trying to</p> <p>6 convey, Your Honor, is there's one document</p> <p>7 that was provided to Dr. Gimpel. That</p> <p>8 document -- that analysis has been turned</p> <p>9 over to the Petitioners. And it was based</p> <p>10 upon publicly available sources. It's not</p> <p>11 based upon any data or documents --</p> <p>12 THE COURT: I'm not sure that's the</p> <p>13 point. I'm not sure that's the point.</p> <p>14 If the Court were to limit</p> <p>15 Dr. Gimpel's testimony and preclude</p> <p>16 testimony with regard to that particular</p> <p>17 exhibit, would I have to preclude all of</p> <p>18 Dr. Gimpel's testimony or just limit it?</p> <p>19 MR. TUCKER: You would just have to</p> <p>20 limit it, because Dr. Gimpel does have other</p> <p>21 opinions in his report --</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Is there any other part</p> <p>23 of his opinion that Dr. Gimpel relies on</p> <p>24 information that he received from a witness</p> <p>25 or a -- "witness" is a strong term -- of a</p>

46	<p>1 current or former legislative staffer that 2 was the subject of the speech and debate 3 immunity order? 4 MR. TUCKER: No. I believe 5 everything else, including this, Your Honor, 6 was independently verified or confirmed by 7 Dr. Gimpel, himself. 8 THE COURT: I understand that. 9 But is there -- is there anything 10 else in Dr. Gimpel's report that is -- that 11 falls within the concerns that we've been 12 talking about? 13 MR. TUCKER: Not that I'm aware of, 14 Your Honor. 15 THE COURT: Okay. Do you have 16 anything else? 17 MR. TUCKER: The only thing I just 18 want to reiterate is, again, Dr. Gimpel's 19 opinions are not -- when you read his 20 report, they're couching it as he's saying 21 what the legislature's intent. That doesn't 22 appear anywhere in his opinion, nor do you 23 see language the legislature intended X or 24 the legislature intended Y -- 25 THE COURT: Well, there's a lot of</p>	48	<p>1 Anybody else want to be heard -- 2 other than rebuttal argument -- on the 3 motion regarding Dr. Gimpel's expert 4 testimony? 5 Okay. The next motion is 6 Legislative Respondents' motion regarding 7 the REDMAP data. 8 MR. TUCKER: Good morning again, 9 Your Honor. 10 I'll be brief on this one. 11 Our position is this -- is simple, 12 that Petitioners listed in exhibits a number 13 of documents and articles related to 14 something that's referred to as 15 Project REDMAP, which is a project in a -- 16 thing from the National Republican Party. 17 Petitioners, one, aren't going to 18 have any evidence that they're going to be 19 able to submit at trial that it had any 20 impact whatsoever on the drafting of the 21 2011 Congressional lines in Pennsylvania. 22 And moreover, there's no way that they can 23 authenticate these documents or lay any 24 foundation for these documents. 25 And given the expedited nature of</p>
47	<p>1 passive voice, and the word "intent" is used 2 a lot. And probably expect -- I don't think 3 he was a professor of grammar. But I can 4 understand Petitioners' concern by some of 5 the language used. 6 That's not my substantial concern 7 with regard to Dr. Gimpel. My concern, 8 really, based on the motion, was the 9 concerns about where -- his sources of 10 information. 11 MR. TUCKER: Understood, Your Honor. 12 Nothing further. 13 THE COURT: Thank you. 14 Legislative Respondents' motion 15 regarding the REDMAP information -- 16 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor, if I may, 17 just to clarify for the record what was 18 subpoenaed and asked for by the Petitioners. 19 THE COURT: That depends. 20 Who are you? 21 MR. TUCKER: For the Petitioners, 22 Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: No. I have not been 24 allowing any kind of rebuttal arguments. So 25 have a seat. We've got to move this along.</p>	49	<p>1 this trial, you know, any references they're 2 trying to admit this evidence is just not 3 going to be an efficient use of the parties' 4 or the Court's time. 5 And that's our position on this. 6 THE COURT: Thank you. 7 MR. ROBINSON: Good morning, 8 Your Honor. John Robinson from Arnold & 9 Porter Kaye Scholer. 10 Your Honor, these documents are 11 relevant. They're not prejudicial, and they 12 satisfy the hearsay exception for business 13 records. 14 So first on relevance, these -- I'll 15 get to the hearsay exception last, unless 16 you'd like me to deal with it first. First 17 on relevance, these documents go directly to 18 the issue of partisan intent, meaning the 19 Republicans' effort to gerrymander 20 districts -- 21 THE COURT: What Republicans? 22 MR. ROBINSON: The Republicans in 23 the Pennsylvania legislature, Your Honor. 24 Okay. 25 THE COURT: So you'll be able to</p>

50	<p>1 produce evidence that ties the REDMAP data</p> <p>2 to the conduct of the legislators in this</p> <p>3 case?</p> <p>4 MR. ROBINSON: I don't know that</p> <p>5 we'll do that, Your Honor; however, the</p> <p>6 documents are still relevant because it</p> <p>7 shows that the Republican Party as a party</p> <p>8 had a priority.</p> <p>9 THE COURT: The Republican Party is</p> <p>10 not a Respondent here. The General Assembly</p> <p>11 of Pennsylvania and the House and the Senate</p> <p>12 leaders are the party.</p> <p>13 The Republican Party, for whatever</p> <p>14 it is these days, has a lot of different</p> <p>15 agendas, not necessarily shared by the</p> <p>16 General Assembly when it enacted a piece of</p> <p>17 legislation back in 2012 or 2011.</p> <p>18 MR. ROBINSON: Well, Your Honor, if</p> <p>19 I may, if I had to prove that</p> <p>20 Ben Roethlisberger had the intent to beat</p> <p>21 the Ravens --</p> <p>22 THE COURT: You better be careful</p> <p>23 where you're going.</p> <p>24 MR. ROBINSON: -- I think it would</p> <p>25 be highly probative, Your Honor, that the</p>	52	<p>1 or not -- I'm not sure the issue is</p> <p>2 relevancy. I think the issue is taking a</p> <p>3 National Republican Party initiative and</p> <p>4 just assuming that it was an issue that was</p> <p>5 in place in Pennsylvania. I think that's</p> <p>6 the nature of the motion.</p> <p>7 MR. ROBINSON: I think that goes to</p> <p>8 weight and not admissibility, Your Honor. I</p> <p>9 mean, the bar for relevance, as Your Honor</p> <p>10 knows, is -- is quite low. And we're not</p> <p>11 saying that these documents conclusively</p> <p>12 established that RSLC or REDMAP was involved</p> <p>13 in drafting the 2011 Plan. That's not what</p> <p>14 we're saying.</p> <p>15 We're just saying that Republicans</p> <p>16 had the intent to gerrymander these</p> <p>17 districts to help Republicans --</p> <p>18 THE COURT: Every Republican?</p> <p>19 Every Republican in Pennsylvania?</p> <p>20 MR. ROBINSON: I don't think we need</p> <p>21 to show that to Your Honor.</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Well, that's my</p> <p>23 problem, is -- is the motion is you</p> <p>24 have what appears to be -- everybody seems</p> <p>25 to be agreeing -- was a national initiative,</p>
51	<p>1 Pittsburgh Steelers also had the intent to</p> <p>2 beat the Ravens and, in fact, the</p> <p>3 Pittsburgh Steelers were training</p> <p>4 Ben Roethlisberger to beat the Ravens and</p> <p>5 had locker room conversations about how to</p> <p>6 beat the Ravens.</p> <p>7 THE COURT: Do you have proof that</p> <p>8 the Republican National Party had specific</p> <p>9 conversations with the General Assembly</p> <p>10 members over congressional redistricting</p> <p>11 plan?</p> <p>12 MR. ROBINSON: We don't have direct</p> <p>13 evidence, but I think we do have</p> <p>14 circumstantial evidence, Your Honor.</p> <p>15 Some of these REDMAP documents are</p> <p>16 offers from people associated with REDMAP to</p> <p>17 legislative leaders throughout the country.</p> <p>18 Some of them are sent to Pennsylvania</p> <p>19 officials offering help. We know that this</p> <p>20 was going on in other states, in</p> <p>21 North Carolina, Wisconsin. I think it would</p> <p>22 be a reasonable inference; however, I don't</p> <p>23 want to focus on that because I think it's</p> <p>24 still relevant regardless because --</p> <p>25 THE COURT: The issue isn't whether</p>	53	<p>1 but the motion is, what you have is evidence</p> <p>2 that it was a national initiative; what you</p> <p>3 don't have is evidence that it was adopted</p> <p>4 as a local initiative, and that to put it in</p> <p>5 without that connection is a relevancy</p> <p>6 problem.</p> <p>7 MR. ROBINSON: Your Honor, I think</p> <p>8 the problem is, at this point, it just seems</p> <p>9 so obvious; it seems obvious that the</p> <p>10 Republicans want to gerrymander these</p> <p>11 districts in favor of Democrats. But Erfer</p> <p>12 says we have to prove this point. They</p> <p>13 haven't stipulated to it. And I think this</p> <p>14 is probative evidence of the Republicans'</p> <p>15 intent. Will we be able --</p> <p>16 THE COURT: Again, probative</p> <p>17 evidence of which Republicans' intent?</p> <p>18 MR. ROBINSON: Republicans who</p> <p>19 crafted -- there will be no dispute that</p> <p>20 Republicans had full control over the</p> <p>21 process of the development of the 2011 Plan,</p> <p>22 whether it be individual legislators</p> <p>23 themselves, whether it be Republican</p> <p>24 staffers working for those legislators.</p> <p>25 There will be no dispute about that</p>

54	<p>1 and the fact that their party, the party</p> <p>2 that they belong to, thought that this was a</p> <p>3 priority and that Pennsylvania was a REDMAP</p> <p>4 target state and that REDMAP had, as an</p> <p>5 explicit goal, to solidify conservative</p> <p>6 policymaking at the state level and maintain</p> <p>7 a Republican stronghold in the U.S. House of</p> <p>8 Representatives for the next decade.</p> <p>9 That's from Petitioners'</p> <p>10 Exhibit Number 131.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Does that go to</p> <p>12 REDMAP's intent, or does it go to the</p> <p>13 General Assembly's intent?</p> <p>14 MR. ROBINSON: It goes to both,</p> <p>15 Your Honor.</p> <p>16 THE COURT: What evidence do you</p> <p>17 have to link the two? That they just happen</p> <p>18 to be Republicans?</p> <p>19 MR. ROBINSON: Yes. I don't mean to</p> <p>20 dismiss that. They were on the same team,</p> <p>21 and their playbook said, We want to beat the</p> <p>22 Democrats by gerrymandering districts.</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Like I said, my concern</p> <p>24 is there's a lot of things happening</p> <p>25 nationally and in other states; in</p>	56	<p>1 heard on that motion?</p> <p>2 Okay. Next motion in limine is</p> <p>3 Petitioners' motion to allow the use of</p> <p>4 documents from the Agre case, which is the</p> <p>5 Federal gerrymandering litigation that was</p> <p>6 in trial last week in the Eastern District</p> <p>7 of Pennsylvania, and, actually, two motions:</p> <p>8 The flip side to the same coin, the</p> <p>9 Legislative Respondents' motion to exclude</p> <p>10 the same information.</p> <p>11 So I think it probably makes sense,</p> <p>12 since we would generally presume the</p> <p>13 admission or presume the allowability of the</p> <p>14 evidence asked in a motion to exclude, that</p> <p>15 we go with the motion to exclude first,</p> <p>16 again, the flip side of the same coin, but I</p> <p>17 will actually allow a little more argument</p> <p>18 on this issue because this one is a</p> <p>19 complicated one. Not that the other ones</p> <p>20 aren't, but this one is a complicated one.</p> <p>21 So why don't I hear from the</p> <p>22 Legislative Respondents first?</p> <p>23 MR. TUCKER: Thank you, Your Honor.</p> <p>24 Thank you for allowing a little more time on</p> <p>25 this issue.</p>
55	<p>1 particular, where Republicans have an agenda</p> <p>2 or Republican Party has an agenda that is</p> <p>3 not necessarily shared by other Republicans.</p> <p>4 MR. ROBINSON: I think that's a fair</p> <p>5 argument. I think they will make the</p> <p>6 argument. It doesn't mean the evidence</p> <p>7 should be excluded.</p> <p>8 If I could just discuss the hearsay</p> <p>9 exception briefly --</p> <p>10 THE COURT: Sure.</p> <p>11 MR. ROBINSON: -- this goes to the</p> <p>12 business records exception, 803(6).</p> <p>13 We obtained declarations from the</p> <p>14 RSLC and SGLF certifying that these were</p> <p>15 business records, that these documents</p> <p>16 satisfied all of the business records</p> <p>17 requirements under Pennsylvania Rule of</p> <p>18 Evidence 803(6). We've tendered those</p> <p>19 certifications in our Exhibit list, so under</p> <p>20 Rules 803(6) and the authenticity rule</p> <p>21 902(11), they satisfy the business records</p> <p>22 exception.</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.</p> <p>24 MR. ROBINSON: Thank you.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Anybody else want to be</p>	57	<p>1 I agree. I think this is a very,</p> <p>2 very important issue, and I think it -- it</p> <p>3 has broader implications than just this</p> <p>4 case.</p> <p>5 We have a ruling from Your Honor</p> <p>6 from last November, as we've discussed</p> <p>7 earlier this morning already, that found</p> <p>8 that there was an absolute legislative</p> <p>9 immunity. At least, if Your Honor could not</p> <p>10 compel the production of any documents</p> <p>11 protected by the speech or debate clause of</p> <p>12 the Pennsylvania Constitution, if this Court</p> <p>13 were not to allow documents into this case</p> <p>14 that they wouldn't have otherwise been able</p> <p>15 to obtain in this case, it would really</p> <p>16 completely undermine the basis of that</p> <p>17 ruling and the protections of the speech or</p> <p>18 debate clause in the Pennsylvania</p> <p>19 Constitution; it would really infringe upon</p> <p>20 the legislature's ability to conduct its</p> <p>21 affairs without the interference of the --</p> <p>22 the judicial branch or the executive branch.</p> <p>23 And so essentially what you would be</p> <p>24 ordering, if you would allow these documents</p> <p>25 to come into this case, is that the</p>

58	<p>1 Legislative Respondents have waived their 2 privilege as to those documents. And we 3 have not.</p> <p>4 In the Federal Court case, we filed 5 motions for protective order. We vigorously 6 tried to keep those documents out of 7 evidence as privilege in that case as well. 8 Unfortunately, we're dealing with a 9 different standard in the Federal Court than 10 we were dealing with here in State Court, 11 and the Federal Court found that those 12 documents could be admitted.</p> <p>13 But we cited this case law in our 14 original motion for protective order on this 15 issue that a compelled production of 16 privileged materials in another case cannot 17 constitute a waiver of the privilege in this 18 case.</p> <p>19 THE COURT: You agree, though, 20 there's really -- we're sort of in 21 unchartered territory here because neither 22 party has cited any case that is 23 particularly -- any opinion that is 24 particularly helpful for the Court on this 25 issue.</p>	60	<p>1 In that case, they actually turned 2 them over not even on an order to compel, 3 just under a production order that they had 4 to turn them over within such an expedited 5 time that it inadvertently resulted in them 6 turning over privileged documents.</p> <p>7 Here, we have an order from 8 Your Honor saying that there's an absolute 9 privilege and I can't compel the production. 10 They went and got these documents from a 11 compelled order from the Federal Court but 12 now want to use those documents in this 13 case. Well, the only way that can be 14 allowed is if this Court finds that we've 15 waived the legislative privilege. And we do 16 not, and we've stood by that position 17 throughout this entire case.</p> <p>18 But I think there's more here. 19 Petitioners argue that this evidence is 20 already in the public domain because it was 21 used in the Agre Federal case, but that's 22 incorrect for two reasons.</p> <p>23 First of all -- and I want to be 24 clear on this point -- something that 25 Mr. Gersch raised at the outset of the</p>
59	<p>1 MR. TUCKER: I think we have, 2 Your Honor, actually. In the original 3 briefing on this issue, we cited the 4 Transamerica case from the Ninth Circuit.</p> <p>5 What happened there, Your Honor, was 6 the parties were -- were ordered to produce 7 a bunch of documents on a rush basis, and 8 when they did that, they inadvertently 9 turned over a bunch of privileged 10 information, and then the parties that got 11 those documents tried to use them in another 12 case, and the party that turned it over 13 said, You can't use those in the new case 14 because -- because we had to turn those over 15 so quickly, it was an inadvertent waiver of 16 the privilege --</p> <p>17 THE COURT: In the Transamerica 18 case, where they -- where did they make that 19 argument?</p> <p>20 MR. TUCKER: They made it in the new 21 case.</p> <p>22 THE COURT: In the new case.</p> <p>23 MR. TUCKER: Correct, saying that 24 you cannot -- those documents are still 25 privileged, we didn't waive the privilege.</p>	61	<p>1 trial. It is not our position that the 2 Petitioners in this case violated a Court 3 order by obtaining the documents. It's not 4 their obtaining of the documents that we 5 have a problem with.</p> <p>6 It's the fact that now that they 7 have them, that they're trying to use them 8 in this case, despite the fact that the 9 Federal Court, at the conclusion of the Agre 10 trial, specifically held that they didn't 11 think the documents that were produced in 12 discovery in the Agre case should be used in 13 this case out of respect to this Court's 14 privileged orders.</p> <p>15 But that's exactly what they 16 intended. And they knew about that order at 17 the time they filed their exhibit list and 18 submitted these as exhibits, that the 19 Federal Court didn't think they should be 20 able to be used here. But -- but yet, 21 they're trying to all the same.</p> <p>22 So for that reason, one, we don't 23 think that they're in the public domain, 24 because the Federal Court, in Agre, says, We 25 don't think they are in the public domain.</p>

62	<p>1 And I'll read specifically from --</p> <p>2 from the transcript of what the Court said.</p> <p>3 They said, The Panel is not insensitive to</p> <p>4 the fact that there's a trial starting next</p> <p>5 week, where this Court is -- is -- where</p> <p>6 this Court, applying Federal law, found the</p> <p>7 privilege nonapplicable. But we have -- we</p> <p>8 are respectful of our colleagues in the</p> <p>9 State Court who have come to a different</p> <p>10 conclusion applying different law.</p> <p>11 Our goal is to ensure that we are</p> <p>12 being respectful of those proceedings, at</p> <p>13 the same time, not limiting counsel for</p> <p>14 their ability to use materials as part of</p> <p>15 this case in the way that we've described.</p> <p>16 What the Federal Court is saying is,</p> <p>17 We want them to be able to have the evidence</p> <p>18 in this case because there was only a</p> <p>19 qualified privilege, but we -- we want to be</p> <p>20 respectful of the fact that the State Court</p> <p>21 found that there was an absolute privilege.</p> <p>22 The second reason why they're not in</p> <p>23 the public domain is, the documents that are</p> <p>24 actually at issue that they list on their</p> <p>25 exhibit list were never actually admitted</p>	64	<p>1 case, the Court has attempted to explain why</p> <p>2 the Court shows a different path than what</p> <p>3 the Federal Court did. In this particular</p> <p>4 case, it's because this Court is bound by</p> <p>5 the Pennsylvania Constitution and the</p> <p>6 Federal Courts are not bound by the</p> <p>7 Pennsylvania Constitution.</p> <p>8 That being said, we're -- I do</p> <p>9 think, in reading the transcript from the</p> <p>10 Third Circuit, which I'm going -- I keep</p> <p>11 saying "Third District" -- it's a</p> <p>12 three-judge panel -- one circuit judge, two</p> <p>13 district judges, maybe one senior district</p> <p>14 judge; I'm not sure -- it does seem that as</p> <p>15 the trial was winding up, the Federal Judges</p> <p>16 were attempting to provide some kind of</p> <p>17 balanced approach in how to deal with the</p> <p>18 conflicting decisions.</p> <p>19 What I sort of understood they were</p> <p>20 saying -- and I want to give you a chance to</p> <p>21 disabuse me of it -- is they were making a</p> <p>22 distinction between documents obtained in</p> <p>23 discovery and used at trial or filed as the</p> <p>24 public record and documents obtained in</p> <p>25 discovery but that were not filed on the</p>
63	<p>1 into evidence in the Agre case. And, in</p> <p>2 fact, the Federal Court was clear on this</p> <p>3 point as well.</p> <p>4 In an exchange with counsel for the</p> <p>5 executive defendants in this case,</p> <p>6 Judge Smith said the reference is in the</p> <p>7 public domain; the underlying document is</p> <p>8 not. The Federal Court was clear that any</p> <p>9 documents that were actually</p> <p>10 admit -- that -- not admitted into evidence</p> <p>11 in that case -- and none of these were --</p> <p>12 are not in the public domain.</p> <p>13 And the public domain argument,</p> <p>14 Your Honor, is -- again, goes back to the</p> <p>15 waiver issue.</p> <p>16 THE COURT: Counsel, can I</p> <p>17 interrupt you for a second? I want to make</p> <p>18 sure I -- because this is -- this is -- this</p> <p>19 is difficult, and I'm struggling with it</p> <p>20 because we did enter the order that we</p> <p>21 entered.</p> <p>22 I think in our order, we recognized</p> <p>23 that the Federal Court could reach a</p> <p>24 different conclusion, and where this Court</p> <p>25 has deviated from what happened in the Agre</p>	65	<p>1 docket or used at the trial.</p> <p>2 And that was a distinction that the</p> <p>3 Court -- the Federal Judges were making, the</p> <p>4 difference between discovery that had become</p> <p>5 public through the litigation versus</p> <p>6 discovery that wasn't public through</p> <p>7 litigation but was nonetheless shared.</p> <p>8 Some of the discovery information</p> <p>9 was barred from being shared; some of it was</p> <p>10 not. So this is my long way of saying that</p> <p>11 I may be inclined to see a distinction</p> <p>12 between documents that were merely shared as</p> <p>13 a result of them occurring in discovery but</p> <p>14 that did not see the light of day in the</p> <p>15 sense that they were not made public versus</p> <p>16 documents that were obtained through</p> <p>17 discovery and became part of the public</p> <p>18 record in the Federal case.</p> <p>19 What about that distinction?</p> <p>20 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor -- and I can</p> <p>21 confer with my co-counsel on this, but I</p> <p>22 don't believe any of the documents that</p> <p>23 we're talking about were made part of that</p> <p>24 public record in the Federal Court case.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Okay. So that's --</p>

66	<p>1 that's kind of the nub of the question. All</p> <p>2 of the exhibits that you are challenging in</p> <p>3 your motion, you're saying were not part of</p> <p>4 the public record, were not used at the</p> <p>5 trial in the Federal case.</p> <p>6 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor, if I may</p> <p>7 just have a moment. I wasn't at the Agre</p> <p>8 trial. I just want to confirm that point</p> <p>9 with those who were.</p> <p>10 THE COURT: Take a moment.</p> <p>11 (Counsel confer.)</p> <p>12 MR. TUCKER: Thank you for that</p> <p>13 brief interruption, Your Honor.</p> <p>14 Yes, I've conferred with our counsel</p> <p>15 that none of the documents that we're</p> <p>16 talking about here were -- were introduced</p> <p>17 into evidence in the Agre trial. In</p> <p>18 particular, the data that you see referred</p> <p>19 to in Dr. Chen's report, that was never</p> <p>20 introduced into evidence in the Agre trial.</p> <p>21 THE COURT: Well, I know -- that's</p> <p>22 the next motion -- or the motion with regard</p> <p>23 to Dr. Chen and the use of the shapefiles.</p> <p>24 Your motions -- your motion with</p> <p>25 regard to the Agre case, was that limited to</p>	68	<p>1 party who is prevented from obtaining</p> <p>2 certain discovery in State Court from simply</p> <p>3 filing a companion case in Federal Court or</p> <p>4 having someone else file a companion case in</p> <p>5 Federal Court and using that discovery</p> <p>6 availability there to get documents, but</p> <p>7 then really not to go forward with trial.</p> <p>8 Maybe they dismiss the case before</p> <p>9 it goes to trial, they've got all the</p> <p>10 documents that they want, and now they're</p> <p>11 just going to use them in the State case;</p> <p>12 however, if the documents become public, are</p> <p>13 actually filed of record and used in a</p> <p>14 proceeding, then that's -- that's a place</p> <p>15 you can potentially draw the line.</p> <p>16 MR. TUCKER: My response,</p> <p>17 Your Honor, is, from our perspective, we</p> <p>18 don't believe that line is appropriate,</p> <p>19 because in order to draw that line, you're</p> <p>20 still saying that even the documents that</p> <p>21 were filed in the other case, if they were</p> <p>22 only obtained because they were compelled to</p> <p>23 be produced, you have to be finding a waiver</p> <p>24 of the privilege in this case for those</p> <p>25 documents. And there's been no waiver --</p>
67	<p>1 certain enumerated exhibits?</p> <p>2 MR. TUCKER: Yes, Your Honor.</p> <p>3 THE COURT: Okay. Your claim is</p> <p>4 that all of those exhibits were obtained in</p> <p>5 the Federal litigation but not filed -- in a</p> <p>6 docket anywhere, attached to any kind of a</p> <p>7 filing, and not used at trial?</p> <p>8 MR. TUCKER: I believe that's</p> <p>9 correct, Your Honor.</p> <p>10 THE COURT: Okay. Do you have</p> <p>11 anything else?</p> <p>12 MR. TUCKER: I want to emphasize the</p> <p>13 point here that it's a slippery slope if we</p> <p>14 start going down this road where you allow</p> <p>15 defendants to -- when they can't get</p> <p>16 documents in one case, to go to another case</p> <p>17 that has maybe a less stringent standard to</p> <p>18 get there.</p> <p>19 THE COURT: I'm very -- I'm very</p> <p>20 attune to the slippery slope.</p> <p>21 So I'm going to -- I'm really going</p> <p>22 to be asking Petitioners the same questions.</p> <p>23 This is why I thought the balance that the</p> <p>24 Federal Judges were trying to strike seemed</p> <p>25 like a fair balance; it would preclude a</p>	69	<p>1 waiver is a voluntarily -- voluntary</p> <p>2 relinquishment of a known right.</p> <p>3 We didn't voluntarily relinquish any</p> <p>4 right. We were compelled by the Court in</p> <p>5 the Federal Court case to produce those.</p> <p>6 THE COURT: But the only -- the</p> <p>7 only right you have -- recognized by this</p> <p>8 Court so far in this case was the right not</p> <p>9 to have this Court force discovery.</p> <p>10 MR. TUCKER: That's true. Although,</p> <p>11 I do recognize, I think in Your Honor's</p> <p>12 subsequent order on that -- reserve the</p> <p>13 right to review objections and</p> <p>14 admissibility --</p> <p>15 THE COURT: Absolutely.</p> <p>16 MR. TUCKER: -- and that's what I'm</p> <p>17 saying, is there shouldn't be a distinction</p> <p>18 between compelling somebody to produce it</p> <p>19 and then the admissibility of those</p> <p>20 documents; there really is -- you know --</p> <p>21 they go hand-in-hand.</p> <p>22 I mean, the privilege isn't just to</p> <p>23 not being compelled to produce them; the</p> <p>24 privilege is not having them be used against</p> <p>25 you at trial, which is what they're</p>

70	<p>1 intending to do here. And so there really 2 shouldn't be a distinction between 3 compelling production and the admissibility 4 of those documents. If they couldn't compel 5 production here, then they shouldn't also be 6 able to use them here just because they got 7 them in another case where we were compelled 8 to produce them in that case. 9 THE COURT: Thank you. 10 MR. TUCKER: Thank you. 11 THE COURT: Let's see if we can 12 start with some -- why don't you identify 13 yourself for the record? 14 MS. THEODORE: Yes, Your Honor. I'm 15 Elizabeth Theodore on behalf of the 16 Petitioners. 17 THE COURT: Okay. So let's see if 18 we can agree on something. 19 MS. THEODORE: Sure. 20 THE COURT: Can we agree that the 21 exhibits that are the subject of 22 Legislative Respondents' motion are all 23 exhibits that are not of record in the 24 Federal litigation? 25 MS. THEODORE: No. So I --</p>	72	<p>1 reports that were admitted as exhibits, as I 2 understand it. 3 THE COURT: Okay. 4 So if I were to rule on this motion 5 simply that Petitioners can only use 6 exhibits that were actually used or filed of 7 docket at the Agre matter, you would be able 8 to reach agreement with the other side as to 9 what the universe of that is? 10 MS. THEODORE: So my -- 11 THE COURT: Anytime my wife starts 12 with "so" dot dot dot -- 13 MS. THEODORE: -- I think -- and I 14 don't want to speak for the other side -- I 15 think we can reach agreement that the 16 documents that Dr. Chen relies on in his 17 report -- 18 THE COURT: I'm not talking about 19 Dr. Chen. 20 We're going to have argument on that 21 later, or that's the next motion in the list 22 of motions. 23 MS. THEODORE: The issues, though, 24 if I may, Your Honor, are overlapping 25 because --</p>
71	<p>1 THE COURT: We can't agree on that? 2 MS. THEODORE: Correct. 3 And let me just make sort of two 4 related points. If you're talking about 5 whether these documents were admitted into 6 evidence -- 7 THE COURT: No, I'm not talking 8 about that. I'm taking what the 9 Federal Judges said, which is, it's not -- 10 they're not on the docket, and they're 11 not -- they weren't produced as evidence in 12 the hearing. 13 MS. THEODORE: So they absolutely 14 were used as evidence in the hearing 15 repeatedly. So there are two expert reports 16 that were -- that are on the docket 17 publicly -- they were admitted as exhibits, 18 those expert reports, in the Federal 19 litigation -- that discussed extensively the 20 data calculating partisanship scores for 21 every voting tabulation district and 22 precinct and Census block in Pennsylvania. 23 So they -- those documents were 24 discussed extensively at the Federal trial. 25 They're discussed extensively in expert</p>	73	<p>1 THE COURT: I agree they're 2 overlapping. I just didn't know -- the Chen 3 motion -- the Chen report relates to the 4 shapefiles. 5 MS. THEODORE: But the shapefiles 6 are also on our exhibit list, so they're 7 actually also covered by -- it's, like, 8 Exhibit 27 to 31 of our exhibit list, which 9 is covered by their exhibit-related motion. 10 Those are the files that Dr. Chen is going 11 to testify on. 12 THE COURT: So you're saying the 13 Legislative Respondents filed a duplicative 14 motion? 15 MS. THEODORE: I wouldn't -- I 16 wouldn't say that, Your Honor. 17 THE COURT: Okay. I'll say it. 18 MS. THEODORE: Absolutely. 19 So -- so I think -- so I think we 20 can agree that those files were all 21 extensively discussed by the experts in the 22 Agre litigation publicly. 23 THE COURT: Okay. Let me ask you 24 this question: Are there exhibits that are 25 the subject of their motion that you seek to</p>

74	<p>1 use in this case that were not -- that are 2 not on the docket in a Federal case, meaning 3 I couldn't go to the docket today and find 4 it, and that were not used at trial either 5 as an attachment to an expert report or a 6 separate exhibit? 7 Are there documents? 8 MS. THEODORE: I believe so; 9 although, I wasn't at the Agre trial. So I 10 can tell you that with respect to the other 11 documents, the documents that are, like, 12 approximately Exhibits 137 to 151 of our 13 exhibit list -- so those are a series of 14 maps with partisan scores on them and 15 PowerPoint presentations attaching maps with 16 partisan scores on them. 17 And one of the experts in the Agre 18 litigation -- I believe it was Dr. Hanna -- 19 described those maps. I think she said that 20 there were 31 of them, and she talked about 21 them. I know at least one of them was 22 actually admitted, and that's a map called, 23 like, CD18 Maximized. 24 THE COURT: I think one of the 25 Federal Judges -- I can't remember which</p>	76	<p>1 Third District was trying to -- I keep 2 saying "Third District" -- what the 3 Federal -- my clerk corrected me earlier 4 when I said "Third Circuit," too -- but what 5 the three Federal Judges, three-judge panel, 6 Federal Judges, seemed to have been trying 7 to do was -- was make a distinction. 8 MS. THEODORE: And, Your Honor, if I 9 may, what I'm suggesting, though, is that 10 later on they clarified that the distinction 11 they were making -- that that distinction 12 you're referencing, was just prospectively 13 and that they were not making that 14 distinction with respect to documents that 15 had been given by the Agre Plaintiffs to us 16 and that had already been given to us. 17 THE COURT: No, I understand that. 18 But the prospective rationale is certainly 19 something I should consider in this case, if 20 the Federal Judges felt that that rationale 21 was good enough for them to apply it 22 prospectively. 23 This is prospective right here. 24 This is a trial happening the week after 25 that trial.</p>
75	<p>1 one -- talked about one thing, not in the 2 record, another, right? 3 MS. THEODORE: I'm sorry? 4 THE COURT: I forget the wording 5 that the Judge used. 6 There was a specific -- there was 7 a -- Judge Smith said, The reference is in 8 the public domain; the underlying document 9 is not. 10 MS. THEODORE: Right. 11 And, Your Honor, I -- if I may, 12 though, I'd just like to clarify that I 13 think that that -- so that is -- comes a 14 little bit earlier in the transcript. 15 THE COURT: I read the whole thing. 16 I -- I understand -- I understand -- I'm 17 trying to -- this is a complicated issue -- 18 MS. THEODORE: Absolutely. 19 THE COURT: -- and, again, I said 20 it earlier, and you heard my concerns about 21 what happens if we just allow it as a 22 blanket rule. 23 MS. THEODORE: Right. 24 THE COURT: So what I'm trying to 25 do is I'm trying to see if what the</p>	77	<p>1 MS. THEODORE: So with respect to 2 the PowerPoint and the maps with the 3 partisan scoring, I don't know -- I don't 4 believe that every single one of those 5 documents was admitted, but they were 6 discussed, absolutely, and Dr. Hanna, the 7 Plaintiffs' expert, described the partisan 8 scoring of those maps on the record in the 9 Agre trial. 10 And if I can just speak to some of 11 the legal issues for a moment. 12 THE COURT: The legal issues 13 associated with the motion? 14 MS. THEODORE: Yes, with the speech 15 and debate clause. 16 THE COURT: Go ahead. 17 MS. THEODORE: Sure. 18 THE COURT: Sure. 19 MS. THEODORE: So our -- our view 20 is -- our view is, we're not suggesting that 21 the Legislative Respondents somehow waived 22 their legislative privilege by producing 23 these documents. We're just suggesting -- 24 and, you know, a waiver would apply, then, 25 that we could then get all sorts of other</p>

78	<p>1 discovery from them. That's not what we're</p> <p>2 suggesting at all.</p> <p>3 What we're suggesting is that the</p> <p>4 speech or debate clause simply doesn't apply</p> <p>5 to documents that are now public.</p> <p>6 THE COURT: That puts the rabbit in</p> <p>7 the hat now, doesn't it? The question is,</p> <p>8 Federal Courts, including the United States</p> <p>9 Supreme Court and at least one</p> <p>10 Superior Court case, have said that</p> <p>11 discovery is not public; discovery is</p> <p>12 private between the parties.</p> <p>13 That doesn't mean that the parties</p> <p>14 can't share the information with whomever</p> <p>15 they wish to do in the absence of a gag</p> <p>16 order or a protective order, but it doesn't</p> <p>17 mean that it's public. And I think</p> <p>18 that's -- I think that's what the</p> <p>19 Federal Judges were saying, is -- is there's</p> <p>20 a difference between use of documents that</p> <p>21 are public in the sense that they are filed</p> <p>22 of record or used in the trial versus</p> <p>23 documents that are just obtained because</p> <p>24 another party in the litigation shared them</p> <p>25 with another party.</p>	80	<p>1 the Legislative -- or that the speech and</p> <p>2 debate clause would apply in this</p> <p>3 circumstance, and this is highly relevant,</p> <p>4 probative evidence that shows directly and</p> <p>5 conclusively that this map was drawn</p> <p>6 intentionally to disadvantage Democratic</p> <p>7 voters.</p> <p>8 Much of this evidence is now on the</p> <p>9 Web site of The Philadelphia Inquirer and --</p> <p>10 THE COURT: How did they get it?</p> <p>11 If you know, you have to answer my</p> <p>12 question.</p> <p>13 MS. THEODORE: I can -- I'm happy to</p> <p>14 answer your question, Your Honor. So</p> <p>15 some -- some of that, you know, was from, of</p> <p>16 course, the fact that it was in -- used in</p> <p>17 the Agre litigation. But -- it wasn't me</p> <p>18 personally, but, yes, our team absolutely</p> <p>19 spoke with The Philadelphia Inquirer, and we</p> <p>20 had every right to do so.</p> <p>21 And this evidence is of extreme</p> <p>22 public importance, and we think that when we</p> <p>23 have evidence that was not compelled by you,</p> <p>24 it doesn't violate the separation of powers,</p> <p>25 that goes directly to the issues in this</p>
79	<p>1 Obviously, I'm assuming they were</p> <p>2 shared -- I'm making this assumption, but</p> <p>3 I'm assuming the reason why the Plaintiffs'</p> <p>4 counsel in Agre shared them with you folks</p> <p>5 is because you folks wanted them because</p> <p>6 they would be helpful in this case because</p> <p>7 this Court prevented you from getting that</p> <p>8 discovery.</p> <p>9 MS. THEODORE: I think that would be</p> <p>10 a fair assumption, Your Honor.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Okay.</p> <p>12 So that's the concern I have, and it</p> <p>13 seemed, to me, that the three</p> <p>14 Federal Judges, at least, articulated a good</p> <p>15 middle ground.</p> <p>16 MS. THEODORE: Well, Your Honor, I</p> <p>17 would say this: So the actual privilege at</p> <p>18 issue here, right, is the privilege</p> <p>19 against -- against members of the</p> <p>20 General Assembly being questioned. It</p> <p>21 doesn't apply to -- certainly, there's --</p> <p>22 the Legislative Respondents, whose burden it</p> <p>23 is to substantiate a privilege, have offered</p> <p>24 not a single case in their briefing -- in</p> <p>25 their briefing yesterday that suggests that</p>	81	<p>1 case, that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court</p> <p>2 should get to see it.</p> <p>3 THE COURT: Thank you.</p> <p>4 The last -- does anybody else want</p> <p>5 to be heard on that motion?</p> <p>6 The last motion is the motion to</p> <p>7 exclude -- Legislative Respondents' motion</p> <p>8 to exclude the testimony of Dr. Chen, which</p> <p>9 is -- if it's duplicative, then we can move</p> <p>10 on.</p> <p>11 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor, I'll be</p> <p>12 brief because I think a lot of the issues do</p> <p>13 overlap.</p> <p>14 I just want to clarify that what</p> <p>15 we're talking about here is just data, data</p> <p>16 that Dr. Chen obviously received from</p> <p>17 Petitioners' counsel in this case that they</p> <p>18 received from the Federal Court Agre trial.</p> <p>19 But we have a few additional arguments with</p> <p>20 that data.</p> <p>21 One is, Dr. Chen cannot lay a</p> <p>22 foundation for that data.</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Well, that's -- I</p> <p>24 don't -- the foundational issues, I think I</p> <p>25 have to kind of wait and see if they can</p>

82	<p>1 raise that; I'm prejudging that.</p> <p>2 I'm more interested in this -- this</p> <p>3 issue of where do -- where do we draw the</p> <p>4 line between these documents, some of which</p> <p>5 are public because they are part of public</p> <p>6 litigation in Federal Court, some of them</p> <p>7 which are small "p" public because they've</p> <p>8 been given to the newspapers and -- and</p> <p>9 preserving them nonetheless in this Court,</p> <p>10 which is a state court dealing with state</p> <p>11 Legislative Respondents bound by the</p> <p>12 Pennsylvania Constitution, preserving some</p> <p>13 semblance of protection that the framers of</p> <p>14 the Constitution, which just so happened to</p> <p>15 be the people of Pennsylvania, decided were</p> <p>16 to appropriate to include.</p> <p>17 MR. TUCKER: I just want to clarify,</p> <p>18 too, with the Dr. Chen motion, what we're</p> <p>19 talking about is just the data that he's</p> <p>20 relying on in that section of the report</p> <p>21 where he's taking a look at that data and</p> <p>22 then drawing conclusions about intent from</p> <p>23 it. The other documents and exhibits are</p> <p>24 not part of the Dr. Chen motion. It's only</p> <p>25 the data.</p>	84	<p>1 THE COURT: I'm familiar with the</p> <p>2 general rule that you can -- you can testify</p> <p>3 to facts normally relied upon by experts in</p> <p>4 the field. That usually doesn't</p> <p>5 include -- it usually includes data sources</p> <p>6 that are regularly relied upon by experts,</p> <p>7 not necessarily parties' documents that were</p> <p>8 obtained in discovery. So it's a</p> <p>9 little -- it's a different thing.</p> <p>10 MS. THEODORE: Fair enough.</p> <p>11 Although, the Legislative Respondents, in</p> <p>12 producing these documents, said in an e-mail</p> <p>13 that these were the facts and data</p> <p>14 considered in creating the 2011 Plan, their</p> <p>15 counsel did.</p> <p>16 And, again, just, again, with</p> <p>17 respect to Dr. Chen, you know, we just think</p> <p>18 it would be really remarkable for the Court</p> <p>19 to ignore direct, conclusive evidence of</p> <p>20 discriminatory partisan intent, when any</p> <p>21 Pennsylvania citizen can look at these</p> <p>22 documents.</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Well, they can --</p> <p>24 "remarkable" is a pretty strong word.</p> <p>25 I'm sensitive to the notion that</p>
83	<p>1 THE COURT: But is the data part of</p> <p>2 your other motion?</p> <p>3 MR. TUCKER: Correct.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: So this motion is</p> <p>5 duplicative?</p> <p>6 MR. TUCKER: It's encompassed within</p> <p>7 it, Your Honor.</p> <p>8 THE COURT: Okay. Great. Thank</p> <p>9 you.</p> <p>10 Anything else?</p> <p>11 MS. THEODORE: Yeah. Thank you,</p> <p>12 Your Honor.</p> <p>13 I just want to make one small point</p> <p>14 about the Dr. Chen motion.</p> <p>15 Of course, as you're well aware, an</p> <p>16 expert can testify to opinions regardless of</p> <p>17 whether the underlying facts are admissible.</p> <p>18 So even if the data files are not admissible</p> <p>19 as exhibits -- although, of course, we</p> <p>20 submit that they are -- that wouldn't</p> <p>21 preclude Dr. Chen from testifying to his</p> <p>22 opinions based on those files, especially</p> <p>23 given that, as I said before, the experts in</p> <p>24 the Federal litigation testified extensively</p> <p>25 to opinions based on those files.</p>	85	<p>1 everybody should have a fair trial in this</p> <p>2 proceeding. My rulings are going to be</p> <p>3 considered what they are going to be</p> <p>4 considered. Some people may consider them</p> <p>5 remarkable. Some people may consider them</p> <p>6 ridiculous. Some people may consider them</p> <p>7 sound. But my decisions will be based not</p> <p>8 on what particular people perceive but what</p> <p>9 I think the law should be.</p> <p>10 Okay?</p> <p>11 MS. THEODORE: Understood,</p> <p>12 Your Honor.</p> <p>13 THE COURT: Thank you.</p> <p>14 Anybody else on the Chen motion?</p> <p>15 Have I identified and had argument</p> <p>16 on all of the motions in limine, of which I</p> <p>17 believe there were eight?</p> <p>18 Are there any motions in limine that</p> <p>19 I missed?</p> <p>20 MR. GERSCH: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>21 MR. TUCKER: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Okay. At this point,</p> <p>23 the Court will have a recess in which we</p> <p>24 will consider the argument and come back and</p> <p>25 issue our rulings.</p>

86	<p>1 THE CLERK: The Court is now in 2 recess. 3 - - - 4 (Whereupon, a recess was taken from 5 10:48 a.m. to 11:32 a.m.) 6 THE CLERK: All rise. The 7 Commonwealth Court will now resume session. 8 THE COURT: Please be seated, 9 everyone. 10 I want to thank counsel for the 11 well-argued and, for the most part, concise 12 oral arguments on the pending motions in 13 limine. 14 As lawyers know, motions in limine 15 have much greater impact in cases where 16 there's actually a jury. The theory being 17 that if you allow certain evidence in during 18 a jury trial and then -- if you allow it in, 19 period, it's kind of hard to unring the 20 bell. Use whatever analogy you want to 21 use -- put the toothpaste back in the tube, 22 put the water back over the dam -- whatever 23 you want to use. 24 But that's why motions in limine are 25 generally filed; it's to essentially stop</p>	88	<p>1 Ultimately, the lawyers will have 2 the opportunity, I am assuming, to make what 3 additional arguments they want to make to 4 the Supreme Court with regard to anything 5 that happens here. But I want to put that 6 predicate out there, particularly for the 7 nonlawyers in the room. 8 So here are my rulings -- 9 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor, there's two 10 brief matters that we need to address with 11 the Court before the Court rulings. 12 THE COURT: I was so excited to 13 give my rulings, though. You completely 14 ruined my flow. 15 Please approach -- approach, please. 16 MR. TUCKER: And, Your Honor, we do 17 apologize for interrupting. We are very 18 much looking forward to your rulings, but 19 these two issues, I think, impact your 20 rulings. 21 So we wanted to inform the Court 22 that, first of all, with regards to 23 Dr. Gimpel's report, we are going to go 24 ahead and withdraw Pages 17 to 29 of his 25 report. Those are the sections of his</p>
87	<p>1 the evidence from being presented to a jury. 2 One of my charges, as I said at the 3 outset, as the Judge in this case is to 4 create a record, create a -- as fulsome a 5 record as possible for the Supreme Court 6 Justices to review the record and review my 7 proposals on findings of fact and 8 conclusions of law, but, ultimately, for the 9 Supreme Court to decide the case based on 10 the evidence that's produced here. So many 11 of my rulings here are based with that 12 charge in mind. 13 What does that mean? It means that 14 I may be allowing things in during this 15 trial that if there were a jury sitting 16 here, I wouldn't. 17 And it also doesn't mean that just 18 because I'm allowing certain evidence in, 19 that I am -- as I write my findings of fact 20 or I do my legal analysis, that I am going 21 to consider them or weigh them one or 22 another, or what have you. 23 It simply means that I am creating 24 a -- I'm leaning in favor of creating as 25 fulsome a record as possible.</p>	89	<p>1 report that he -- that were -- part of it 2 that was addressed during argument on the 3 motions in limine with the chart on the 4 county splits, and the other part is the 5 district-by-district -- 6 THE COURT: Counsel, you're going 7 way too fast for me, Number 1. If you could 8 move the microphone up closer to your mouth, 9 that would be really helpful. 10 Okay. There you go. 11 Now, as I understand it, you are 12 going to withdraw a portion of Dr. Gimpel's 13 report and -- and, correspondingly, I 14 assume, reduce the scope of his testimony? 15 MR. TUCKER: That's correct. 16 THE COURT: Okay. And what were 17 the pages of the report that you're going to 18 withdraw? 19 MR. TUCKER: Sure. It's Pages 17 to 20 29 of his report. And I believe withdrawing 21 those pages addresses the Petitioners' 22 motion in limine on Dr. Gimpel -- 23 MR. FREEDMAN: Your Honor, it 24 doesn't -- 25 THE COURT: Hold --</p>

90	<p>1 MR. FREEDMAN: -- the Petitioners 2 would like to be heard on that matter as 3 well. 4 But I will let counsel proceed. 5 THE COURT: Thank you. That's very 6 nice of you. 7 Go ahead. 8 MR. TUCKER: That's -- that's the 9 first thing -- 10 THE COURT: That's the nub of it? 11 MR. TUCKER: That's the nub of it on 12 Dr. Gimpel. 13 THE COURT: Let's do Dr. Gimpel, 14 and then we'll do whatever your next thing 15 is. 16 MR. TUCKER: Sure. No problem. 17 THE COURT: Go ahead and retreat to 18 counsel table. 19 MR. TUCKER: Thank you. 20 MR. FREEDMAN: Your Honor, 21 John Freedman from Arnold & Porter Kaye 22 Scholer. 23 Pages 17 through 29 are the 24 district-by-district analysis. We are 25 assuming they are being withdrawn because</p>	92	<p>1 report. 2 MR. TUCKER: Thank you, Your Honor. 3 MR. FREEDMAN: We don't think it 4 goes far enough. 5 THE COURT: That's -- all I've 6 heard is -- all I've heard is their 7 withdrawal. And they've offered to 8 withdraw; you've accepted their withdrawal. 9 They withdraw it. 10 MR. FREEDMAN: Thank you. 11 THE COURT: Okay. You're welcome. 12 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor, the second 13 matter relates to the evidence that was 14 admitted into the Agre case, and there's 15 some questions from the Court about what was 16 actually admitted and what was not admitted. 17 And we went back and checked and 18 matched up all the exhibits on their exhibit 19 list to the Agre transcript and identified 20 that there was one of them that, it looks 21 like, was admitted in the Agre case, and 22 that is Petitioners' Exhibit 140. 23 We just want to make the Court -- 24 correct the record and make sure the Court 25 was clear on that.</p>
91	<p>1 there was some merit in our suggestion, 2 accusation, what you will, that it was 3 infected by materials that had been blocked 4 by legislative privilege -- 5 THE COURT: Don't assume that. 6 Why don't you just assume that they 7 were trying to avoid a conflict? 8 MR. FREEDMAN: There are other 9 aspects of the report that we complained 10 about in our motion starting at Page 3, 11 Pages 10 through 17 that also contain 12 similar characterizations that appear to us 13 to be of the same ilk as the portions that 14 they have withdrawn -- 15 THE COURT: Let me ask you this 16 question: Do you have any objection to them 17 withdrawing Pages 17 through 29? 18 MR. FREEDMAN: At a minimum, no. 19 THE COURT: So you have no 20 objection to their offer to withdraw 21 Pages 17 through 29? 22 MR. FREEDMAN: That's correct. 23 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 24 We will accept your willingness to 25 withdraw Pages 17 through 29 of the Gimpel</p>	93	<p>1 THE COURT: Thank you. 2 MR. TUCKER: Thank you. 3 THE COURT: Okay. First is 4 Petitioners' motion to exclude or limit 5 Intervenors' testimony. I'm going to grant 6 motion. 7 As far as the witnesses that the 8 Intervenors are going to call, I'm going to 9 grant the motion and preclude the testimony 10 of a potential -- or of an existing 11 Congressional candidate. 12 The reason why is because I don't 13 think I need an existing Congressional 14 candidate to inform the Court as to how 15 prejudicial a change in the maps will be. 16 I think everybody understands that 17 if the maps change, that that will certainly 18 change who can or cannot run for office and 19 the corresponding burden associated with 20 that. 21 In reality, I'll say, anecdotally, 22 I'm not sure it changes who can or cannot 23 run, because I don't think you need to be a 24 resident of your Congressional district to 25 run for Congress. With that being said, I</p>

94	<p>1 understand the practical burden associated 2 with being a carpetbagger, so to speak. 3 But, nonetheless, I don't think we need any 4 testimony on that particular inconvenience. 5 I also -- I will also limit the 6 number of witnesses that can testify as 7 party chairs and the number of witnesses 8 that can testify as so-called "Republicans 9 at large." The Intervenors can present the 10 testimony of one party chair and one 11 Republican at large, but the rest of the 12 testimony seems, to me, to be duplicative. 13 So in that regard, that motion will 14 be granted. 15 Next is Petitioners' motion to limit 16 or preclude Legislative Respondents from 17 presenting evidence or argument about 18 intent, motives and activity in enacting the 19 2011 Plans. 20 I'm going to grant that motion to 21 the extent that it seeks to bar 22 Legislative Respondents from offering 23 evidence that Petitioners could not obtain 24 in discovery due to this Court's 25 November 22nd, 2017 order regarding the</p>	96	<p>1 Legislative Respondents' proffer to withdraw 2 Pages 17 through 29. Accordingly, the Court 3 expects that there will be no testimony on 4 that portion of that expert report; however, 5 we are otherwise going to deny the motion. 6 I would note that this ruling is 7 also subject to the order I just dictated 8 previously with regard to speech and debate 9 immunity, but I will also note that, given 10 the oral argument, I am going to give 11 Petitioners wide latitude to cross-examine 12 Dr. Gimpel. 13 Next is Legislative Respondents' 14 motion regarding REDMAP. 15 I am going to deny the motion; 16 however, I am going to note that if there 17 were a jury here, I would probably exclude 18 the evidence. 19 And I probably will not be 20 personally assigning any weight to that 21 evidence, unless, of course, there's any 22 kind of testimony tying, specifically, the 23 REDMAP data or the REDMAP evidence that's 24 going to be offered at the trial and 25 admitted as an exhibit to the particular</p>
95	<p>1 speech and debate clause, a provision in the 2 Pennsylvania Constitution. 3 As far as the request to limit 4 argument, that's -- we'll wait to see what 5 argument they want to have. But I was 6 concerned in the motion there was some 7 suggestion that they could -- that the 8 Legislative Respondents will be precluded 9 from making any arguments about the evidence 10 that the Petitioners might produce, and that 11 seemed to be overbroad. So we'll deal with 12 that more on a case-by-case basis. 13 But as far as the speech and debate 14 immunity and sword and shield argument, I 15 think the order I just provided on the 16 record adequately addresses Petitioners' 17 concerns. 18 The next motion is Petitioners' 19 motion to exclude the testimony of 20 Dr. Wendy Cho, critical to the expert report 21 of Dr. Chen. I'm going to deny that motion. 22 Next is Plaintiffs' motion to 23 exclude Dr. Gimpel's expert testimony 24 regarding the effect of the 2011 Plans. 25 The Court has already accepted the</p>	97	<p>1 legislators. 2 The remaining motions relate to the 3 Federal Court litigation in the Agre matter. 4 And they are Petitioners' motions to allow 5 the use of documents from the Agre case and 6 Legislative Respondents' motion to exclude 7 the same, as well as the 8 Legislative Respondents' motion to exclude 9 Dr. Chen's expert report. 10 For purposes of this case, we are 11 going to allow the use in this case of any 12 documents of record in the Federal 13 litigation. 14 So what does that mean? That means 15 to the extent that a document is -- appears 16 on the docket in the Federal litigation and 17 is, therefore, public, that document can be 18 used in this litigation, assuming it can be 19 admitted in terms of authenticity and 20 relevance and all those other objections. 21 The Court will also allow the offer 22 of documents that were actually admitted 23 into evidence at the trial in the Agre case. 24 The Court will also allow experts to 25 use the documents, so long as those experts</p>

98	<p>1 used them in the Agre case, and can only use 2 those documents to the extent they were used 3 by the experts in the Agre case. This means 4 that if an expert in the Agre case relied on 5 a document or referenced the document as 6 part of the report, that the expert can rely 7 and use that document to that same extent 8 here. 9 However, if the document itself was 10 not admitted and is not part of the record 11 in the Agre case, it will not be admitted in 12 this case. 13 In terms of other documents that 14 Petitioners may have received from the 15 plaintiffs in the Agre case, unless they 16 fall into the categories I have just 17 announced, they are precluded. 18 And I think that applies to the 19 Legislative Respondents' motion to exclude 20 the expert report of Dr. Chen. We will not 21 be granting the motion to exclude the report 22 of Dr. Chen, but it is still subject to the 23 Agre court limitations that I just provided 24 on the record. 25 I think that addresses all of the</p>	100	<p>1 AFTERNOON SESSION 2 (12:59 p.m.) 3 THE CLERK: All rise. The 4 Commonwealth Court will now resume. 5 THE COURT: Please be seated, 6 everyone. 7 As everybody knows, we have multiple 8 parties in this proceeding. I wanted to 9 propose to the parties an order more so in 10 terms of cross-examination, since the 11 Plaintiffs have the burden of presenting 12 their case first. 13 So I was proposing to go with the 14 Legislative Respondents as the first 15 opportunity to cross-examine, followed by 16 what I refer to as the "Executive Branch 17 Respondents," sans Lieutenant Governor, so 18 they would be second; and then the 19 Lieutenant Governor; and then the 20 Intervenors. 21 Have I left out a party? 22 Does anybody have any objection to 23 that order? 24 Okay. Well, with that, let's -- 25 let's start with the evidence presentation.</p>
99	<p>1 motions in limine. 2 Petitioners' -- or Plaintiffs' 3 counsel, has that addressed all the motions? 4 MR. GERSCH: Yes, Your Honor. 5 THE COURT: Okay. 6 Legislative Respondents? 7 MR. TUCKER: Yes, Your Honor. 8 THE COURT: Any of the other 9 lawyers think that we haven't addressed the 10 pending motions in limine? 11 Okay. 12 So at this point in time, we are 13 going to recess for a lunch break. We will 14 begin at 1:00 with the first witness because 15 the parties have waived opening argument. 16 Thank you. 17 THE CLERK: The Court is now in 18 recess. 19 (Whereupon, at 12:13 p.m., a 20 luncheon recess was taken.) 21 22 23 24 25</p>	101	<p>1 Petitioners, please call your first 2 witness. 3 MS. MCKENZIE: Apologies, 4 Your Honor. Our first witness doesn't 5 appear to be in the Courtroom. 6 (Pause.) 7 MS. MCKENZIE: Sorry. 8 THE COURT: Boy, that's 9 embarrassing. 10 MS. MCKENZIE: Yes, it is, 11 Your Honor. 12 THE COURT: Why don't you take a 13 deep breath and sit down? It's okay. 14 We'll give you a few minutes to see 15 if you can find the witness. 16 We'll go off the record. 17 - - - 18 (Whereupon, a discussion was held off 19 the record.) 20 - - - 21 THE COURT: Okay. Let's go back on 22 the record. 23 MS. MCKENZIE: Your Honor, the 24 Petitioners call William Marx. 25 THE COURT: Mr. Marx, please</p>

DIRECT EXAMINATION - WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III

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1 approach and be sworn.
 2 - - -
 3 WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III,
 4 after having been first duly sworn, was
 5 examined and testified as follows:
 6 - - -
 7 - - -
 8 DIRECT EXAMINATION
 9 - - -
 10 BY MS. MCKENZIE:
 11 **Q. Good afternoon, Mr. Marx.**
 12 A. Good afternoon.
 13 **Q. Could you state your full name?**
 14 A. It's William Anton Marx, III.
 15 **Q. And where are you from, Mr. Marx?**
 16 A. I currently live in Delmont,
 17 Pennsylvania, in Westmoreland County.
 18 **Q. Okay. And I understand you've had a**
 19 **pretty busy weekend; is that correct?**
 20 A. I -- I have. So I had my Reserve
 21 training this weekend, so I spent Saturday and Sunday
 22 with my Reserve unit. And as soon as I was done, I
 23 grabbed my daughter, and we drove out here.
 24 **Q. So you -- you have a family member in**
 25 **the Courtroom; is that correct?**

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1 A. I do.
 2 **Q. And who's that?**
 3 A. My 14-year-old daughter sitting over
 4 there (indicating). So she's all excited. She just
 5 met Brian Sims, so we're kind of late because of
 6 that. I'm sorry.
 7 THE COURT: That's okay.
 8 Mr. Marx, could you pull that
 9 microphone a little closer so we can hear
 10 you a little bit better?
 11 THE WITNESS: Sure.
 12 BY MS. MCKENZIE:
 13 **Q. All right. So, Mr. Marx, can you give**
 14 **us your address?**
 15 A. It's 127 Abbe, A-B-B-E, Place, Delmont,
 16 Pennsylvania.
 17 **Q. And how long have you lived there?**
 18 A. It will be almost three years next
 19 month.
 20 **Q. Okay. And where did you live before**
 21 **that?**
 22 A. Prior to living there, I lived just
 23 down the street in Murrysville, 6921 Spring Valley
 24 Lane, which was in the municipality of Murrysville.
 25 I don't know the ZIP code.

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1 **Q. How long did you live there?**
 2 A. About three years.
 3 **Q. And before that, where did you live?**
 4 A. Prior to that, I lived in the
 5 North Hills of Pittsburgh in Ross Township.
 6 **Q. And, Mr. Marx, what is your profession?**
 7 A. I am currently a teacher at Pittsburgh
 8 Allerdice High School in the City of Pittsburgh. I
 9 teach social studies, grades 9 through 12, which
 10 includes world history, U.S. history, civics, AP
 11 U.S. Government. And I'm a military policeman.
 12 **Q. And how long have you been a teacher?**
 13 A. Since 2010.
 14 **Q. And before you were a teacher, what did**
 15 **you do?**
 16 A. Prior to being a teacher, I joined the
 17 Marine Corps in 1997. I was a military policeman
 18 with the Corps until 2000, at which time I left the
 19 Marines and joined the Army. And I was a helicopter
 20 pilot until 2008.
 21 I left that to be a single dad, raise
 22 my daughter. And then in 2014, I rejoined the
 23 Army Reserves.
 24 **Q. Okay. So let's see. You teach.**
 25 **You're in the Reserves.**

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1 **Do you have any -- you're a dad.**
 2 **Do you have any other responsibilities?**
 3 A. I -- I -- yeah, I have a couple. I
 4 like to stay busy. Sorry.
 5 So I just got elected to my borough
 6 council, and I'll be a council member in Delmont
 7 starting in January.
 8 **Q. And what made you decide to run for**
 9 **borough council?**
 10 A. You can call it civic duty. I like to
 11 be involved. If you're going to make a change, you
 12 should get involved.
 13 So I -- when I came back from
 14 deployment in January, I wanted to make the town that
 15 I was living in a little better place for my family.
 16 I was looking around and saw that there were some
 17 needs, so I decided to get on council to try to
 18 change.
 19 **Q. Are you registered with a political**
 20 **party?**
 21 A. I am. I'm a Democrat.
 22 **Q. And how long have you been a registered**
 23 **Democrat?**
 24 A. Since I was 18.
 25 **Q. So approximately how many years?**

DIRECT EXAMINATION - WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III

106	<p>1 A. Twenty-two. 2 Do I have to admit that in court? 3 (Laughter.) 4 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 5 Q. And how often do you vote? 6 A. I pretty much try to vote in every 7 election, even the elections -- as I tell my 8 students, even the school board elections, which most 9 people skip, just because they are extremely 10 important when it comes to property taxes and what 11 affects your community. 12 So I try to vote in every election, 13 whether it be home or -- last year, I was on 14 deployment, and I still wrote my county election 15 board and requested an absentee ballot. 16 Q. And why do you make a point of voting 17 so regularly? 18 A. You can call it an over sense of civic 19 duty, I guess. I love my country. Serving in the 20 military is just one way that I serve my country. I 21 really feel that voting and being part of the 22 political process is another way. 23 Our founders really extolled the -- 24 really, the benefits of having an engaged citizenry. 25 Throughout our history, people have died to give me</p>	108	<p>1 Joint Exhibit 5? 2 A. I do. It's the outline of the 3 Pennsylvania Congressional districts, the current 4 map. 5 Q. And can you identify your current 6 Congressional district? 7 A. Sure. I live in the 12th District, 8 which is in Southwestern PA, right here (indicating). 9 And it's the pink-colored district which stretches 10 pretty much from the Ohio line all the way through 11 the North Hills of Allegheny County into the northern 12 half of Westmoreland County, where I live now. And 13 it covers the southern half of Cambria and the 14 northern half of Somerset County out to and including 15 Johnstown. 16 Q. Okay. And I'm now going to direct your 17 attention to Joint Exhibit 17 and ask if you 18 recognize that map. 19 A. I do. That's a map of Southwestern 20 Pennsylvania, which includes -- that's my 21 12th District outlined. 22 Q. Okay. And where do you live in the 23 12th District? 24 A. So I live just north of Greensburg. So 25 Greensburg is right here (indicating). So I live</p>
107	<p>1 the right to vote, so I really honor them by voting. 2 And it's one of those things where if I don't make my 3 voice known, how are you going to know what I want. 4 So I make it a point to go out there 5 and vote so people will pay attention to me and, 6 hopefully, will vote in areas that I also agree with. 7 Q. So I want to direct your attention to 8 Joint Exhibit 5. 9 And I'm going to give you a laser 10 pointer. 11 A. Giving a teacher a laser pointer. 12 (Laughter.) 13 THE COURT: Just so we're clear, 14 Counsel, Joint Exhibit 5 is part of your 15 stipulations. 16 MS. MCKENZIE: That is correct, 17 Your Honor. 18 THE COURT: So these exhibits have 19 already been entered into the record because 20 the stipulations have been filed with the 21 Court. 22 MS. MCKENZIE: Thank you, 23 Your Honor. 24 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 25 Q. So, Mr. Marx, do you recognize</p>	109	<p>1 about 2, 3 miles north of there. So I would just be 2 over the line right here (indicating). 3 Q. And do you have any -- do you know 4 how -- the length of District 5? 5 A. I believe it's about 120 miles from end 6 to end, from the Ohio line out to the easternmost 7 region. 8 THE COURT: You mean District 12? 9 MS. MCKENZIE: I'm sorry. I meant 10 District 12. Thank you, Your Honor. 11 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 12 Q. So how long have you been in 13 Congressional District 12? 14 A. I've been a resident of District 12 15 ever since it was created. I believe that was in 16 2011. 17 Q. And what was your Congressional 18 district under the prior Pennsylvania Congressional 19 district map? 20 A. Under the prior map, I lived in the 21 North Hills of Pittsburgh, and that was covered by 22 the Fourth Congressional District. 23 Q. And how long were you in the Fourth 24 Congressional District? 25 A. I lived in that district, barring,</p>

DIRECT EXAMINATION - WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III

<p style="text-align: right;">110</p> <p>1 like, military service -- that was my home of record 2 since I was born. 3 Q. And how did you end up in the 12th 4 Congressional District? 5 A. That's a good question. 6 They -- after the 2010 Census, there's 7 a -- I'm sure you guys know this -- there's a process 8 called "reappointment," where they have to look at 9 population. And Pennsylvania loses population, so we 10 lose Congressional seats. So because of that, they 11 redistricted the Congressional seats from, I believe 12 it was, 20 to 18. So we lost two. 13 And the 12th was part of that 14 redistricting process. So they carved up parts of 15 the Fourth District and parts of the existing 16 12th District, and they split them and merged them. 17 And now you get the Rorschach test that you see up 18 there. 19 Q. And you had mentioned, though, that you 20 had moved. 21 Did that impact you being placed into 22 the 12th District under the new map? 23 A. Under this map, it did not. So I moved 24 from the North Hills of Pittsburgh, which is just 25 over the city line, out to where I live. And as you</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">112</p> <p>1 A. He did. 2 Q. And how about in 2012? Who did you 3 vote for? 4 A. In 2012, that was the new district that 5 we have now, and I voted for -- I think it was 6 Mark Critz, because they took his district away and 7 forced him into a runoff between another Congressman. 8 And he won that primary, and then he ran against 9 Mr. Rothfus, who was running for this Congressional 10 district. 11 He ran -- Mr. Rothfus ran for the 12 Fourth District prior to this redistricting and lost. 13 And then he ran again for the 12th District against 14 an incumbent, and he won. 15 Q. And in 2010, you would have been in the 16 Fourth Congressional District? 17 A. I was, yes. 18 Q. And who did you vote for in that 19 election? 20 A. Jason Altmire. 21 Q. And which party is Mr. Altmire? 22 A. He was a Democrat. 23 Q. And who was he running against? 24 A. In 2010, he was running against 25 Melissa Hart, the previous Congresswoman that he had</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">111</p> <p>1 can see from this map, I went from here (indicating) 2 to here (indicating). So it still was in the 3 12th District. 4 Q. So who is your current Congressman in 5 the 12th District? 6 A. My Congressman is Representative 7 Keith Rothfus. 8 Q. And which party is he? 9 A. He's a Republican. 10 Q. You said that you vote regularly, so 11 that -- does that include elections for U.S. House of 12 Representatives? 13 A. Yes, it does. 14 Q. And who did you vote for in 2016 in the 15 U.S. Congressional race in your district? 16 A. In 2016, I voted for Erin McClelland, 17 who was the challenger to Mr. Rothfus. 18 Q. And which party is she affiliated with? 19 A. She's a Democrat. 20 Q. And how about in 2014? Who did you 21 vote for in the election for U.S. House? 22 A. I, again, voted for Erin McClelland. 23 Q. And who was the opponent in that race? 24 A. It was Mr. Rothfus. 25 Q. Okay. And did -- Mr. Rothfus won?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">113</p> <p>1 defeated. 2 Q. And who in the 2010 election? 3 A. Mr. Altmire. 4 Q. So, Mr. Marx, has the 2011 5 Congressional Map in Pennsylvania, the current map -- 6 has that impacted your ability to influence the 7 political process? 8 A. I would say definitely yes, it has, in 9 that it's really taken away my ability to express my 10 vote and vote for, I guess, competitive candidates 11 that have a chance of winning. 12 The way this -- this district itself is 13 drawn, there's no chance of a Democrat winning in 14 this -- in this district. The political report has 15 it a solid Republican. 16 But overall, the entire map of the 17 State has really taken away any chance of having a 18 Democratic majority Congressional delegation. 19 Because if you look at the results of 2012, '14 and 20 '16, you get the consistently advantage 13 to 5 21 Republican to Democratic Congressional districts. 22 And it doesn't change, and it won't change. 23 And I feel that if we have districts 24 that are so -- drawn to such an advantage of one 25 party over the other, it's really taken away my</p>

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114	<p>1 voice, because I have no hope of expressing my voice</p> <p>2 and making it heard.</p> <p>3 Q. So are there political issues currently</p> <p>4 before the U.S. House that are important to you,</p> <p>5 Mr. Marx?</p> <p>6 A. Oh, there's many.</p> <p>7 Q. Could you -- could you give us an</p> <p>8 example?</p> <p>9 A. An example would be the most current</p> <p>10 tax bill that's in front of the -- of the House that</p> <p>11 the Senate just passed. And now they're in</p> <p>12 conference committee trying to work it out. It takes</p> <p>13 away deductions for teachers, deductions for student</p> <p>14 loans, which I have many. So -- so that's -- those</p> <p>15 are issues that are important to me --</p> <p>16 Q. And let me stop you for a moment.</p> <p>17 On -- on the tax bill, is that an issue</p> <p>18 where your current Congressman represents your point</p> <p>19 of view?</p> <p>20 A. He does not. Mr. Rothfus</p> <p>21 actually voted in favor of this tax bill that would</p> <p>22 raise taxes on working families in the long run and,</p> <p>23 actually, took away state and local tax deductions,</p> <p>24 student loan deductions and money for programs like</p> <p>25 teacher preparedness programs.</p>	116	<p>1 important to me because I have a daughter. He's</p> <p>2 voted against any kind of equality legislation,</p> <p>3 climate change legislation, antidiscriminatory</p> <p>4 legislation for gays and lesbians.</p> <p>5 When you look at the polling that's</p> <p>6 done in our area, these are all laws and rules that</p> <p>7 most people favor, and he's consistently voting</p> <p>8 against them.</p> <p>9 So I really don't think he represents</p> <p>10 our district fairly.</p> <p>11 Q. Have you ever reached out to</p> <p>12 Congressman Rothfus?</p> <p>13 A. I have.</p> <p>14 Q. And how often?</p> <p>15 A. So last week, I tried to call his</p> <p>16 office in response to the tax bill, and I was -- I</p> <p>17 was actually able to get through to one of his</p> <p>18 offices, but his voice message was -- the system was</p> <p>19 full, so I was unable to leave a message.</p> <p>20 A couple of his other offices in Beaver</p> <p>21 County was just a busy signal. I couldn't even get</p> <p>22 through, so I'm unable to leave a message. And</p> <p>23 that's not the first time; this is the most recent.</p> <p>24 So, usually, what I have to do is go on</p> <p>25 his Web site. And there's a form that you fill out.</p>
115	<p>1 Q. And could you give us an example of</p> <p>2 another issue before the U.S. House that's important</p> <p>3 to you?</p> <p>4 A. Currently or just in general?</p> <p>5 Q. Currently.</p> <p>6 A. So, currently, I really favor</p> <p>7 healthcare. I think it's important that we have a</p> <p>8 healthy population. The House has repeatedly voted</p> <p>9 to take away healthcare for members of -- or for the</p> <p>10 citizens of America. That is something I disagree</p> <p>11 with. That is something that my Congressman</p> <p>12 consistently votes to repeal the Affordable Care Act.</p> <p>13 He has voted to repeal the clean</p> <p>14 streams rule. And if you know anything about Western</p> <p>15 Pennsylvania, we have a problem with -- well, we had</p> <p>16 a problem with mine discharges into our streams. And</p> <p>17 they've stained the streams that are around us, and</p> <p>18 it took decades for us to clean them up.</p> <p>19 And to have somebody in our district</p> <p>20 vote to repeal the rules that help keep those streams</p> <p>21 clean, it's kind of like a slap in the face.</p> <p>22 Q. And maybe give us one more example of</p> <p>23 an issue that's important to you.</p> <p>24 A. Mr. Rothfus has repeatedly voted</p> <p>25 against the Violence Against Women Act, which is</p>	117	<p>1 You put your name and you put in your ZIP code and</p> <p>2 your address. And then there's a box there that you</p> <p>3 can fill out and type any concerns you have. And</p> <p>4 that's what I've resorted to doing.</p> <p>5 But when I do that, I don't have a</p> <p>6 record of knowing does anybody read it, does he read</p> <p>7 it, does he see it, or does it just go to some</p> <p>8 Internet cloud and sits there. So . . .</p> <p>9 Q. Have you ever attended any of his town</p> <p>10 halls?</p> <p>11 A. I would like to if he would have one.</p> <p>12 Q. Now, Mr. Marx, is it your position that</p> <p>13 you're entitled to a representative from your party</p> <p>14 or a representative who represents you on all of your</p> <p>15 viewpoints?</p> <p>16 A. No, I wouldn't say that. I'm not</p> <p>17 entitled to someone who aligns with me 100 percent of</p> <p>18 the time. That's not what I'm looking for in signing</p> <p>19 on to this lawsuit, I guess I will say. That's not</p> <p>20 what I want.</p> <p>21 I want -- I want competitive districts.</p> <p>22 I want a chance to be able to put somebody in there</p> <p>23 who would represent me. You know, I would like a</p> <p>24 chance to hold somebody who is in there accountable,</p> <p>25 that if they don't represent me, then at least I</p>

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<p style="text-align: right;">118</p> <p>1 could mount a challenge to have them unseated. 2 Back when it was the Fourth, we had 3 Melissa Hart; she was a Republican, but she had town 4 halls. She went to debates with people who ran 5 against her. 6 She sat down with me for an hour or two 7 and went over my background and wrote me a 8 recommendation to officer school. Like, she was very 9 willing to reach out to her constituents because she 10 knew she had to. She had to cross those lines and 11 work for all of her constituents, not just the base 12 that would put her in. 13 And then Mr. Altmire was the same way. 14 You know, I didn't always agree with everything he 15 wanted to do, but I understood why he voted the way 16 he did because he represented a lot of different 17 interests and opinions. 18 When it comes to the current 19 Congressional district, there's no benefit for 20 Mr. Rothfus to reach out to us because he doesn't 21 have to. He doesn't have to have town halls because 22 why hear people who disagree with you when you don't 23 care? You're going to be safe anyway. 24 Q. So you've testified a lot about your 25 own district.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">120</p> <p>1 Do you teach gerrymandering in your AP 2 history class? 3 A. So as part of the Government, we talk 4 about the legislator, the legislative process and how 5 districts are drawn. So, yes, gerrymandering does 6 come up when we talk about Article I of the 7 Constitution and how we get our Congressional 8 districts. 9 Q. And have you done -- in preparation for 10 your -- your high school seniors, have you done 11 research? 12 A. Yes, so I -- 13 MR. GIANCOLA: Objection, 14 Your Honor. 15 Is the witness being offered as an 16 expert? 17 THE COURT: I haven't heard that. 18 I asked her to lay a foundation, so she's 19 trying to lay a foundation, which I think 20 she's allowed to do. 21 So the answer to your question is 22 not yet. 23 You can proceed. 24 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 25 Q. Do you do research in preparation for</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">119</p> <p>1 Are you aware of any impact that the 2 current Congressional Map has on the entire 3 Commonwealth of Pennsylvania? 4 A. So looking at the map you presented and 5 looking at everything that's happened since the map 6 was drawn, Pennsylvania is considered one of the most 7 gerrymandered states in the country based on our 8 districts. We're -- we're -- 9 THE COURT: Hold on. 10 MR. GIANCOLA: Objection, 11 Your Honor. 12 THE COURT: Is that mic on? 13 MR. GIANCOLA: I believe so. 14 THE COURT: Okay. What's your 15 objection? 16 MR. GIANCOLA: It's calling for 17 hearsay and speculation. 18 THE COURT: I'm going say no on the 19 hearsay, and I'm going to sustain 20 speculation, but I'm going to give you a 21 chance to establish a foundation for this 22 witness. 23 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 24 Q. So, Mr. Marx, you said you teach high 25 school civics and history.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">121</p> <p>1 your AP history class? 2 A. I do research, and I also look at 3 articles that my students bring in, because we do 4 have a current events. And each week that we do it, 5 I pick a theme, and they have to bring in something. 6 So I -- I do research on my own. I 7 read on my own, because this is something I teach and 8 I'm interested in, yes. 9 Q. And based on your research and your 10 reading, do you have an awareness of the impact of 11 the Pennsylvania Congressional Map on the State as a 12 whole, not just your district? 13 A. I do -- 14 MR. GIANCOLA: Same objection, 15 Your Honor. It's speculation and hearsay. 16 THE COURT: Okay. Look, laypeople 17 are entitled to offer their opinion. I 18 think what she's trying to avoid doing is 19 using the word "opinion." 20 If you want to ask him if he has an 21 opinion on what the map means for purposes 22 of his personal view of gerrymandering -- 23 I'm assuming he's here because he opposes 24 gerrymandering and he doesn't like the map. 25 So I'm willing to allow you to ask him his</p>

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122	<p>1 opinion if it will move along. 2 Understand he isn't an expert. You 3 haven't offered him as an expert. You 4 haven't identified him as an expert. He's a 5 Petitioner. I'll let him offer his lay 6 viewpoint of why he signed on as a 7 Petitioner in this case, which I assume is 8 going to be because he doesn't like the map. 9 Okay? 10 So objection overruled. 11 Please get to -- get to the point. 12 MS. MCKENZIE: I'm actually not 13 asking his opinion, just his factual 14 observations of what this map does to the 15 statewide delegation. 16 THE COURT: Well, that would be 17 different. If you're going to ask him 18 factual observations, he better have a basis 19 for it. I'm -- I'm willing to let him 20 provide a lay opinion about it, but if 21 you're going to start laying factual 22 observations and ask him to issue an 23 opinion, that's getting very close to expert 24 testimony. 25 MS. MCKENZIE: No, Your Honor, I</p>	124	<p>1 Why is this lawsuit important to you? 2 Why are you here? 3 A. It's important to me for many reasons. 4 You know, our country really depends on not just 5 military service but, like I said, an engaged 6 populace in the political process, right? It needs 7 people to want to get involved. 8 Now, as I said before, I teach this. I 9 teach this to seniors. Last year, I had an AP 10 U.S. Government class, and they were all seniors. 11 And I had some of the most engaging, really good 12 conversations with them until I got to the 13 legislature and how these districts were drawn and 14 what the effects have been. 15 We've read articles about 16 gerrymandering and how Pennsylvania has a 13-5 17 representation in Congress -- and it will always be 18 13-5 because of the way these districts have been 19 drawn to such safe districts -- and you just see 20 these 18-years-olds, before I send them out to the 21 world, before they even have experience -- they just 22 ask me questions, like, Well, then, why should we 23 vote? Why does this matter? I'm not going to make a 24 difference. Why should I care? 25 And as a civics teacher, as somebody</p>
123	<p>1 wasn't doing that. I really was just asking 2 for his observations of, under this map, 3 what does the Pennsylvania delegation to the 4 U.S. House look like. 5 He says -- sorry. He says, in his 6 district, he is -- 7 THE COURT: "Look like"? What do 8 you mean? Like -- 9 MS. MCKENZIE: In terms of -- in 10 terms of Republicans versus Democrats, I was 11 just -- 12 THE COURT: Well, we know that, 13 right? That's in the stipulated facts, 14 right? 15 MS. MCKENZIE: Yes, Your Honor. 16 THE COURT: So you don't need him 17 to testify to that. 18 MS. MCKENZIE: Okay, Your Honor. 19 We'll move on. 20 THE COURT: Okay. 21 BY MS. MCKENZIE: 22 Q. One last question, Mr. Marx. So you've 23 taken the time to be a Petitioner in this lawsuit, to 24 drive here last night from Pittsburgh after your 25 Reserve duty.</p>	125	<p>1 who, you know, really puts my heart out there into my 2 subject, that's upsetting to me, and that's 3 depressing, you know. 4 My daughter is sitting here. You know, 5 sometimes we go back and forth. And to tell her that 6 your voice makes a difference when I know, when it 7 comes to stuff like this, it might not -- I don't 8 want to have to tell my kids that -- like, yeah, you 9 can make a change in this world, except when it comes 10 to Congress, because it won't matter. 11 That's what I'm against. I'm -- I'm 12 deeply opposed to anything that stinks of unfair, and 13 these districts are unfair. They take away 14 somebody's ability to express themselves to their 15 Government. They create apathy; they create 16 political dysfunction. And that is a safety concern 17 to our form of government -- 18 MR. GIANCOLA: Objection -- 19 THE COURT: Hold on, Mr. Marx. 20 You're being interrupted by counsel. Let me 21 take care of this. 22 Overruled. 23 Please continue with your answer. 24 THE WITNESS: And as somebody who, 25 you know -- and I can go back to my military</p>

DIRECT EXAMINATION - WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III

126	<p>1 service. I have raised my hand and took an</p> <p>2 oath to defend our country against all</p> <p>3 enemies, foreign and domestic. This is a</p> <p>4 domestic enemy. This is causing people to</p> <p>5 distrust our Government, pull away from the</p> <p>6 political process, and just have such a</p> <p>7 terrible opinion of Congress and our world</p> <p>8 law. And it's wrong, and it needs to</p> <p>9 change.</p> <p>10 Like I said, I'm not here to say</p> <p>11 give me a Democrat in my district. That's</p> <p>12 not what I want. I want fairness. I want</p> <p>13 you to give me a chance to at least have</p> <p>14 somebody in there that if I don't agree,</p> <p>15 like Congressman Hart -- or</p> <p>16 Congresswoman Hart -- I didn't agree with</p> <p>17 her, but at least I knew I could go to her,</p> <p>18 I could petition her, and she would listen</p> <p>19 to me because she had to. And I had a</p> <p>20 chance that if she did a bad enough job, she</p> <p>21 could be elected out.</p> <p>22 And that's not the case that's</p> <p>23 currently happening, not just in my district</p> <p>24 but in the districts across the State. So</p> <p>25 that's why I'm here.</p>	128	<p>1 been a busy weekend for you.</p> <p>2 A. It has.</p> <p>3 Q. You've talked on direct about making</p> <p>4 your voice heard, correct?</p> <p>5 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>6 Q. And voting is one of those ways that</p> <p>7 you feel that you can make your voice heard, correct?</p> <p>8 A. One of the ways, yes, sir.</p> <p>9 Q. Okay. There are other ways, right?</p> <p>10 A. There are --</p> <p>11 Q. Okay.</p> <p>12 A. -- you mean, like I did running for</p> <p>13 local government, getting involved, like that.</p> <p>14 Q. You've campaigned for other candidates</p> <p>15 for office in the past?</p> <p>16 A. I have.</p> <p>17 Q. Have you made political contributions</p> <p>18 to any candidates?</p> <p>19 A. I have.</p> <p>20 Q. No one has ever prevented you from</p> <p>21 making a contribution, correct?</p> <p>22 A. No, they have not.</p> <p>23 Q. You've never been prevented from</p> <p>24 campaigning for a candidate, correct?</p> <p>25 A. I'm sorry. Say that again.</p>
127	<p>1 MS. MCKENZIE: Thank you, Mr. Marx.</p> <p>2 I have no further questions.</p> <p>3 THE WITNESS: Thank you.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: Cross-examination in</p> <p>5 the order that I put out.</p> <p>6 Yeah. Hold on for a second.</p> <p>7 Are you plan on using any exhibits,</p> <p>8 Counsel?</p> <p>9 MR. GIANCOLA: No, I'm not,</p> <p>10 Your Honor.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Can we go off the</p> <p>12 record for a minute?</p> <p>13 - - -</p> <p>14 (Whereupon, a discussion was held off</p> <p>15 the record.)</p> <p>16 - - -</p> <p>17 THE COURT: Okay. Let's proceed.</p> <p>18 MR. GIANCOLA: Thank you,</p> <p>19 Your Honor.</p> <p>20 - - -</p> <p>21 CROSS-EXAMINATION</p> <p>22 - - -</p> <p>23 BY MR. GIANCOLA:</p> <p>24 Q. Mr. Marx, I want to thank you for</p> <p>25 coming in and for your service. I understand it's</p>	129	<p>1 Q. You've never been prevented from</p> <p>2 campaigning for a candidate, correct?</p> <p>3 A. I have not.</p> <p>4 Q. And you mentioned that you've voted in</p> <p>5 just about every election that you've been able to,</p> <p>6 correct?</p> <p>7 A. I've tried to, yes.</p> <p>8 Q. Okay. You've never been prevented from</p> <p>9 casting your vote, correct?</p> <p>10 A. I have not, no.</p> <p>11 Q. No. You -- you voted for</p> <p>12 Representative Altmire under the old plan, correct,</p> <p>13 back in 2010?</p> <p>14 A. I did, yes, sir.</p> <p>15 Q. And you -- you voted for him in the</p> <p>16 primary in 2012, correct?</p> <p>17 A. I did. I did.</p> <p>18 That was the primary he was running</p> <p>19 against Mark Critz, correct?</p> <p>20 Q. Correct.</p> <p>21 A. Yes, correct.</p> <p>22 Q. Were you aware that</p> <p>23 Representative Altmire had approved the form and the</p> <p>24 plan that had the 12th District as it's comprised?</p> <p>25 A. I am not.</p>

CROSS-EXAMINATION - WILLIAM ANTON MARX, III

130	1 Q. You mentioned on your direct exam that 2 you had some difficulty contacting 3 Representative Rothfus recently, correct? 4 A. Yes, sir -- 5 Q. You contacted -- 6 A. -- I would say it was not just 7 recently. It's been many, many times in the past 8 since he's taken over. There's no town halls. 9 There's no way to independently contact him. Quite 10 often, his voice messages in his offices are full, so 11 you can't leave a message. Everything is directed to 12 his Web site, his form, and then there's not even a 13 re -- not even a "thank you for submitting your form" 14 type of thing. 15 Q. You -- you did testify in a deposition, 16 though, that you have contacted 17 Representative Rothfus in the past, correct? 18 A. I have tried to. I've never 19 actually gotten ahold of him or his staff. 20 Q. You testified just a moment ago that 21 you felt that the 12th District isn't competitive, 22 correct? 23 A. Yes. 24 Q. In your opinion, is a -- if a 25 winning -- if a winner in a Congressional race wins	132	1 he's the one who garnered the most votes. 2 MR. GIANCOLA: That's all the 3 questions I have. Thank you. 4 MS. MCKENZIE: I have nothing 5 further. 6 MS. HANGLEY: Nothing -- 7 THE COURT: I think I have to ask 8 the Defendant -- the rest of the Defendants 9 yet whether they have anything. 10 MS. MCKENZIE: I apologize, 11 Your Honor. 12 THE COURT: It's a little 13 confusing. 14 MS. MCKENZIE: They're in the back 15 row. I forgot about them. 16 THE COURT: Okay. 17 So in my order, do the Executive 18 Respondents have any cross-examination? 19 MS. HANGLEY: No, we don't, 20 Your Honor. 21 THE COURT: How about the 22 Lieutenant Governor? 23 MR. LEVINE: No, Your Honor. 24 THE COURT: Intervenors? 25 MR. TABAS: No, Your Honor.
131	1 only 51.7 percent of the vote, is that competitive? 2 A. Well, I mean, I'm not an expert, but 3 51 percent, I would say, yes, that's competitive. 4 Q. Are you aware of 5 Representative Rothfus's margin of victory in the 6 2012 election? 7 A. I am not. 8 Q. You mentioned a moment ago that most 9 people in your district disagree with the way that 10 Representative Rothfus votes. 11 Did I hear that correctly? 12 A. Yes, sir. 13 Q. Okay. But he's been up for reelection 14 multiple times, correct? 15 A. I think he's been up for reelection 16 twice. 17 Q. And he's won both of those? 18 A. He has. 19 Q. So the majority of the people who were 20 voting voted for him? 21 A. The majority of the people that are 22 voting? 23 I don't know. I don't know what his 24 final numbers were. I don't know if it was split 25 between third candidates or not. I just know that	133	1 THE COURT: And you have nothing 2 further? 3 MS. MCKENZIE: Yes, Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: Sir, thank you very much 5 for your testimony and your service. I 6 think it's great that you brought your 7 daughter here today. 8 THE WITNESS: Thank you. 9 THE COURT: So you are released. 10 THE WITNESS: Thank you, 11 Your Honor. 12 (The witness is excused.) 13 THE COURT: Please call your next 14 witness. 15 MR. JACOBSON: Yes, Your Honor. 16 We call Dr. Chen. 17 (Counsel confer.) 18 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, I'm told 19 that the deck is working again, but they 20 need two minutes to reload the system. 21 Is that correct? 22 THE COURT: Okay. Let's go off the 23 record for a second. 24 - - - 25 (Whereupon, a discussion was held off

DIRECT EXAMINATION - MARY ELIZABETH LAWN

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1 the record.)
 2 - - -
 3 THE CLERK: Identify your witness on
 4 the record for me.
 5 THE COURT: My understanding -- my
 6 understanding, Counsel, is you're going out
 7 of order in your witness presentation, so
 8 you're not calling Dr. Chen right now.
 9 So please call your next witness.
 10 MS. MCKENZIE: The Petitioners call
 11 Mary Elizabeth Lawn.
 12 - - -
 13 MARY ELIZABETH LAWN,
 14 after having been first duly sworn, was
 15 examined and testified as follows:
 16 - - -
 17 - - -
 18 DIRECT EXAMINATION
 19 - - -
 20 BY MS. MCKENZIE:
 21 Q. Please state your full name.
 22 A. It's Mary Elizabeth Lawn.
 23 Q. And where do you live, Ms. Lawn?
 24 A. I live in Chester, Pennsylvania in the
 25 Seventh District.

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1 Q. And how long have you lived in Chester?
 2 A. Since 2004.
 3 Q. Can you tell us a little bit about the
 4 city of Chester?
 5 A. The city of Chester is a population of
 6 about 32,000 people. It is heavily African-American.
 7 And it is a poor city. It has lost its industrial
 8 base in recent years, and many of the people there
 9 are renters. I think the population is about 2-to-1
 10 renters to homeowners.
 11 So it's a depressed city, you know.
 12 Q. And, Ms. Lawn, what's your profession?
 13 A. I'm a chaplain in a retirement
 14 community.
 15 Q. And how long have you been a chaplain?
 16 A. I've been a chaplain at White Horse
 17 Village since 2003; and then for several years before
 18 that, I worked in a hospital.
 19 Q. And can you tell us a little bit about
 20 your work as a chaplain?
 21 A. Well, I offer spiritual care to people,
 22 so I pray with them. I do individual visits. I do a
 23 lot of listening, yeah, um-hum. I lead worship
 24 services; I lead memorial services.
 25 Q. Are you registered with a political

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1 party?
 2 A. Yes. I'm a registered Democrat.
 3 Q. And how long have you been a registered
 4 Democrat?
 5 A. Well, since I was 18 -- and I had to do
 6 the math, since you asked the prior person that --
 7 and so that is 53 years old.
 8 Q. How often do you vote, Ms. Lawn?
 9 A. I vote in every election, including the
 10 primaries.
 11 Q. Why do you make it a point to vote in
 12 every election?
 13 A. Well, I feel it's my duty as a citizen
 14 to participate, that if I want to have an impact, if
 15 I want to have a possibility of having my voice
 16 heard, of having the things that are important to me,
 17 the things that I value to be listened to and to have
 18 some chance of -- of being enacted, that I need to
 19 vote and I need to put -- or do my part, at least, in
 20 putting people into office that have my values.
 21 Q. Ms. Lawn, I'm going to refer you to
 22 Joint Exhibit 5, which, unfortunately, we can't put
 23 up on the screen.
 24 A. There it is.
 25 Q. Oh, we can.

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1 A. So do I have a laser?
 2 Q. Since we went out of order, we didn't
 3 get to practice this, but here's (indicating) the
 4 button.
 5 A. Okay.
 6 Q. Do you recognize Joint Exhibit 5,
 7 Ms. Lawn?
 8 A. Yes, I do. It's the Congressional Map
 9 of Pennsylvania.
 10 Q. And where is your Congressional
 11 district?
 12 A. It is right here (indicating),
 13 District 7. It goes over here (indicating) up and
 14 down.
 15 Q. So you're District 7; is that correct?
 16 I'm sorry. I couldn't hear.
 17 A. Yes, District 7.
 18 Q. And now I'm going to ask you to take a
 19 look at Joint Exhibit 12.
 20 A. Yes.
 21 Q. And do you recognize Joint Exhibit 12?
 22 A. Yes. That's District 7.
 23 Q. Where in District 7 do you live?
 24 Can you point to it and describe it?
 25 A. Yes. I live right here (indicating) in

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139	<p>1 to the U.S. House in District 7?</p> <p>2 A. Patrick Meehan.</p> <p>3 Q. And which party is Mr. Meehan</p> <p>4 affiliated with?</p> <p>5 A. He's Republican.</p> <p>6 Q. And when you lived in the</p> <p>7 First Congressional District, who was your</p> <p>8 Congressional representative?</p> <p>9 A. Bob Brady.</p> <p>10 Q. And which party is Mr. Brady affiliated</p> <p>11 with?</p> <p>12 A. Democrat.</p> <p>13 Q. So you said you vote in every election,</p> <p>14 including the primaries.</p> <p>15 Does that include U.S. House races?</p> <p>16 A. Yes.</p> <p>17 Q. So in 2016, who did you vote for, for</p> <p>18 U.S. House?</p> <p>19 A. I voted for the Democratic candidate.</p> <p>20 Q. And Mr. Meehan won.</p> <p>21 A. Right.</p> <p>22 Q. So how about in 2014? Who did you vote</p> <p>23 for?</p> <p>24 A. The Democratic candidate.</p> <p>25 Q. And how about in 2012?</p>	141	<p>1 with this tax bill for a lot of reasons.</p> <p>2 Of course, the -- the main thrust of</p> <p>3 the tax bill, or the foundation of it, being the</p> <p>4 income distribution, which I think this makes worse,</p> <p>5 you know, in terms of the inequality of income in our</p> <p>6 country, because it favors people of wealth and</p> <p>7 favors corporations, who are now people, too, and,</p> <p>8 disfavors, you know, people of -- of middle and lower</p> <p>9 incomes.</p> <p>10 And there are other things that are</p> <p>11 attached to this tax bill which I have a lot of</p> <p>12 problems with, the main one being the repeal of the</p> <p>13 individual mandate for the -- the Health Care Act,</p> <p>14 that it really essentially guts it, guts the</p> <p>15 Health Care -- the Affordable Care Act. It also</p> <p>16 allows for drilling in the Arctic Preserve, which is</p> <p>17 very much of a concern to me, very damaging to our</p> <p>18 environment. And these are things that some of them</p> <p>19 can be fixed perhaps in the future, but that is one,</p> <p>20 at least, that cannot be fixed once that damage is</p> <p>21 done.</p> <p>22 Q. And does Congressman Meehan represent</p> <p>23 you on any of these issues that you have said are</p> <p>24 important to you?</p> <p>25 A. No, he does not.</p>

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142	<p>1 Q. Does he represent your point of view?</p> <p>2 A. No, he does not.</p> <p>3 Q. You mentioned the Affordable Care Act.</p> <p>4 Why is that issue important to you,</p> <p>5 personally?</p> <p>6 A. Well, I know many people who are very</p> <p>7 much in need of the healthcare that's provided by the</p> <p>8 Affordable Care Act, living in the city of Chester,</p> <p>9 where many people have very low incomes, but also, it</p> <p>10 impacts me very personally, because both of my sons</p> <p>11 are depending on the Affordable Care Act for at least</p> <p>12 part of their care.</p> <p>13 My oldest son lost his job two years</p> <p>14 ago. And he has a family; he has a wife and two</p> <p>15 children. Part of the reason he lost his job was his</p> <p>16 health. He had health problems, and he has only been</p> <p>17 able to get health insurance for himself and his</p> <p>18 family because of the Medicaid Expansion Act in the</p> <p>19 state of Delaware, where he lives.</p> <p>20 My younger son is disabled. He was</p> <p>21 disabled at age 25, 15 years ago, in an accident.</p> <p>22 And he has attendant care. He's in a wheelchair.</p> <p>23 And he is able to work, fortunately, but he also</p> <p>24 needs a lot of extra help, and part of his help comes</p> <p>25 from Medicaid.</p>	144	<p>1 your Congressman?</p> <p>2 A. I make phone calls.</p> <p>3 Q. And are you ever -- are you able to get</p> <p>4 through to his office?</p> <p>5 A. I do get through to his office. I talk</p> <p>6 to a staffer, who just takes basic information.</p> <p>7 Last week, when I called about the tax</p> <p>8 plan, since I knew it went back to conference after</p> <p>9 it passed the Senate, I called to say that I was</p> <p>10 opposed to it and wanted him to vote against it.</p> <p>11 Well, he was one of the sponsors of it, so I didn't</p> <p>12 think there was much chance of that, but I expressed</p> <p>13 that opinion.</p> <p>14 And I also asked if he was going to be</p> <p>15 part or is part of the commission that's working to</p> <p>16 iron out the differences between the House and the</p> <p>17 Senate. And the staffer first told me, no, he</p> <p>18 wasn't. And I said, Well, I would like to talk to</p> <p>19 him about these things. I wanted to talk about the</p> <p>20 issues that I mentioned earlier. And then she said,</p> <p>21 Well, he may be part of it; I'm not sure. And she</p> <p>22 said she would find out and call me back. And that</p> <p>23 was a week ago, and I haven't heard anything.</p> <p>24 Q. Now, you've testified about the impact</p> <p>25 of the 2011 Map on you, personally, and -- and on</p>
143	<p>1 And both of these things are threatened</p> <p>2 by it, and my family has been under a great deal of</p> <p>3 stress because of the attacks on the Affordable Care</p> <p>4 Act and a great deal of worry about what's going to</p> <p>5 happen to them, whether they will even be able to</p> <p>6 work if they lose their health insurance. Both of</p> <p>7 them could end up being totally dependent on public</p> <p>8 assistance and not be able to work at all.</p> <p>9 Q. And does Congressman Meehan represent</p> <p>10 your point of view on the Affordable Care Act?</p> <p>11 A. No, he does not. He voted to repeal</p> <p>12 the Affordable Care Act, and he supports this tax</p> <p>13 legislation which has this individual mandate. He</p> <p>14 had an article in the paper last week supporting this</p> <p>15 and saying that it doesn't affect the Affordable Care</p> <p>16 Act, when we all know it does.</p> <p>17 Q. Now, have you ever tried to reach your</p> <p>18 Congressman on these issues that are of importance to</p> <p>19 you?</p> <p>20 A. Yes, I have, many times.</p> <p>21 Q. How -- approximately how often?</p> <p>22 A. Well, it's mostly been recently, in the</p> <p>23 last several months, four or five or six times maybe</p> <p>24 on each one of these.</p> <p>25 Q. And how do you typically reach out to</p>	145	<p>1 your -- on your district.</p> <p>2 Does the 2011 Map have any impact</p> <p>3 statewide?</p> <p>4 A. Yes, it does. Yes.</p> <p>5 Q. And what is that?</p> <p>6 A. Well, as has already been presented</p> <p>7 here at different times, it favors Republicans</p> <p>8 winning more Congressional districts, 13 out of the</p> <p>9 18 Congressional districts. It -- it makes it very</p> <p>10 frustrating, I think, for me and for many other</p> <p>11 people who feel that we should have fairness in our</p> <p>12 political system.</p> <p>13 I've talked to many people who say,</p> <p>14 Well, you know, there's nothing we can do. There's</p> <p>15 just nothing we can do. Especially since the last</p> <p>16 election, the last presidential election, I've heard</p> <p>17 that from more and more people, feeling frustration.</p> <p>18 And I think that, you know, a lot of people really</p> <p>19 are disengaging from the political system, feeling</p> <p>20 that they -- they can't make a difference.</p> <p>21 And I know for me, personally, and for</p> <p>22 people in the Seventh District, we're very</p> <p>23 frustrated, because we feel that we can't make a</p> <p>24 difference. We can't get the attention of our</p> <p>25 representative, because he's just not available to</p>

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146	<p>1 us; he doesn't have to listen to us; there's no</p> <p>2 incentive for him to do that. And I think that's a</p> <p>3 feeling of many people statewide.</p> <p>4 Q. Now, Ms. Lawn, are you saying that</p> <p>5 you're entitled to have a representative of your</p> <p>6 choice who represents you on all of your points of</p> <p>7 view?</p> <p>8 A. No, no, absolutely not. I feel that we</p> <p>9 need to have a dialogue. I think we need to be</p> <p>10 talking to each other and talking about these issues.</p> <p>11 And I think if we have competitive elections, where</p> <p>12 each of the candidates has the opportunity to be --</p> <p>13 to be elected, that we will be able to talk to our</p> <p>14 candidates; we'll have competition; we'll have</p> <p>15 debates; we'll have the opportunity for people to</p> <p>16 engage and for the -- the candidates and whoever is</p> <p>17 elected to engage with us; and it wouldn't matter, in</p> <p>18 the end, if it was Democrat or Republican if they had</p> <p>19 to be accountable to us and if we could have dialogue</p> <p>20 with them and present our views.</p> <p>21 Q. So, Ms. Lawn, how did you get here</p> <p>22 today from Chester?</p> <p>23 A. By train.</p> <p>24 Q. So you took the train here today, and</p> <p>25 you've taken this time to be a Petitioner in this</p>	148	<p>1 And I feel I have an obligation to them and to the</p> <p>2 future generations to do what I can to bring back a</p> <p>3 sense of fairness, a sense of listening to each</p> <p>4 other, a sense of dialogue, a sense of civility. And</p> <p>5 we've gotten very, very apart on this. And I'm very</p> <p>6 concerned about it, not just for myself but, again,</p> <p>7 as I said, for future generations. It's essential.</p> <p>8 Q. And as someone who votes -- regularly</p> <p>9 votes for Democratic candidates, are you -- do you</p> <p>10 feel you, in particular, are harmed by the 2011 Map?</p> <p>11 A. Yes. I'm definitely harmed by it. I</p> <p>12 don't have the opportunity, first of all, to elect a</p> <p>13 candidate of my choice. That's been, you know, just</p> <p>14 shut out for me totally in the Seventh District. I</p> <p>15 cannot elect a Democrat. And I also don't access to</p> <p>16 the person who is elected, to the Republican. He</p> <p>17 doesn't have to be responsive to me, and he has shown</p> <p>18 this.</p> <p>19 I have contacted him about the</p> <p>20 Affordable Care Act. I've contacted him about the</p> <p>21 tax plan. I've contacted him about the budget. And</p> <p>22 I got no response, no interest at all.</p> <p>23 MS. MCKENZIE: Thank you very much.</p> <p>24 I have no questions.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Cross-examination.</p>
147	<p>1 lawsuit.</p> <p>2 Why are these issues important to you?</p> <p>3 A. These issues are really very</p> <p>4 fundamental to who I am as a person and especially as</p> <p>5 a person of faith. As I said, I'm a chaplain. And</p> <p>6 I'm Quaker, by the way, and, of course, I'm very much</p> <p>7 attuned to the fact that Pennsylvania was founded by</p> <p>8 Quakers. It was founded for religious freedom.</p> <p>9 That's why William Penn came here and established it.</p> <p>10 And I feel that our Constitution at</p> <p>11 least and -- and the issues that we're looking at</p> <p>12 here reflect those values and reflect the values of</p> <p>13 fairness, of equality, of integrity, of community, of</p> <p>14 care for each other and that these are essential to</p> <p>15 our -- to our -- our engagement with -- with each</p> <p>16 other in a democracy and that these things, I feel,</p> <p>17 are being threatened.</p> <p>18 I really feel that -- I feel very, very</p> <p>19 strongly that our democracy is being threatened. I</p> <p>20 have not been politically active for a long time, not</p> <p>21 since a period of time when I was in my 30s, until</p> <p>22 this past year and I finally woke up and I felt like</p> <p>23 our democracy is being threatened. And I have to do</p> <p>24 something about it.</p> <p>25 I have children; I have grandchildren.</p>	149	<p>1 - - -</p> <p>2 CROSS-EXAMINATION</p> <p>3 - - -</p> <p>4 BY MR. GIANCOLA:</p> <p>5 Q. Good afternoon, Ms. Lawn.</p> <p>6 A. Good afternoon.</p> <p>7 Q. Before the 2011 Plan, you were in the</p> <p>8 First Congressional District?</p> <p>9 A. That's right.</p> <p>10 Q. And Representative Brady was your</p> <p>11 representative in Congress?</p> <p>12 A. That's right.</p> <p>13 Q. And you said he's a Democrat, correct?</p> <p>14 A. That's right.</p> <p>15 Q. He's been in office for a while?</p> <p>16 A. A long time, yeah. Yeah.</p> <p>17 Q. And so would you -- you testified that</p> <p>18 you believe that the Seventh Congressional District</p> <p>19 now is a safe Republican district, right?</p> <p>20 A. That is right.</p> <p>21 Q. Do you feel that the First</p> <p>22 Congressional District for Representative Brady is a</p> <p>23 safe Democrat district?</p> <p>24 A. Absolutely, yes. It works both ways.</p> <p>25 Q. Were you involved in any lawsuits</p>

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151	<p>1 contributions or campaigning for any candidate,</p> <p>2 correct?</p> <p>3 A. That's right. I'm not.</p> <p>4 Q. You mentioned that you've -- it sounds</p> <p>5 like recently, in the last few months -- started</p> <p>6 trying to contact Representative Meehan.</p> <p>7 A. Right. Yes.</p> <p>8 Q. Did you ever contact him before or try</p> <p>9 to contact him before you became a Petitioner in this</p> <p>10 lawsuit?</p> <p>11 A. No, I did not.</p> <p>12 As I said, I really just become</p> <p>13 politically active and I'm learning how to do these</p> <p>14 things.</p> <p>15 Q. Did you ever try to contact</p> <p>16 Congressman Brady before, when you were in his</p> <p>17 Congressional district?</p> <p>18 A. No.</p> <p>19 MR. GIANCOLA: All right. That's</p> <p>20 all the questions I have.</p> <p>21 Thank you.</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Any other Respondents</p> <p>23 wish to cross-examine?</p> <p>24 Any redirect?</p> <p>25 MS. MCKENZIE: No, Your Honor.</p>	153	<p>1 - - -</p> <p>2 VOIR DIRE</p> <p>3 - - -</p> <p>4 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>5 Q. Good afternoon, Dr. Chen.</p> <p>6 A. Good afternoon, sir.</p> <p>7 Q. Could you please state your full name</p> <p>8 for the record?</p> <p>9 A. Dr. Jowei Chen.</p> <p>10 Q. What is your educational background?</p> <p>11 A. I have a Bachelor's in ethics, politics</p> <p>12 and economics from Yale University in 2004; I have a</p> <p>13 Master's in science, in statistics, from</p> <p>14 Stanford University in 2007; and in 2009, I received</p> <p>15 a Ph.D. in political science from</p> <p>16 Stanford University.</p> <p>17 Q. What is your current employment?</p> <p>18 A. I am an associate professor in the</p> <p>19 Department of Political Science at the University of</p> <p>20 Michigan in Ann Arbor.</p> <p>21 Q. Do you hold any other academic</p> <p>22 affiliations?</p> <p>23 A. Yes, sir, I do.</p> <p>24 I'm also a research associate professor</p> <p>25 at the Center for Political Studies, also at the</p>

154	<p>1 University of Michigan; I'm a research associate at 2 the Spatial Social Science Laboratory at 3 Stanford University; and I'm also a research 4 associate, principal investigator, at the Center for 5 Governance and Public Policy at Willamette University 6 in Oregon.</p> <p>7 Q. What are your fields of academic 8 expertise?</p> <p>9 A. My areas of academic expert are 10 redistricting and political geography, sir.</p> <p>11 Q. When you say "political geography," 12 what do you mean when you use that term?</p> <p>13 A. As "political geography" is applied in 14 my particular research, it means the study of the 15 residential patterns or the geographic patterns of 16 voters and their behaviors.</p> <p>17 So that's studying things like where 18 Democrats and Republicans live in geographic space, 19 what the residential patterns look like, as well as 20 what implications that geography has for things like 21 redistricting.</p> <p>22 Q. And can you give us an example of what 23 sort of implications those would be?</p> <p>24 A. Well, if a particular state has one 25 party's voters being geographically concentrated in</p>	156	<p>1 legislative districting plan.</p> <p>2 Q. And has your research using that 3 simulation approach been published in peer-reviewed 4 journals?</p> <p>5 A. Yes, sir, four peer-reviewed articles.</p> <p>6 Q. And are those articles on your CV?</p> <p>7 A. Yes, sir, they are.</p> <p>8 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 9 Petitioners' Exhibit Number 2. 10 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>11 Q. Dr. Chen, can you identify this as your 12 CV?</p> <p>13 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>14 And I'm going to move this computer 15 monitor over so that I can -- I can have it closer.</p> <p>16 MR. JACOBSON: If that's okay with 17 the Court.</p> <p>18 THE COURT: That's fine. 19 There's also paper. 20 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>21 Q. I'm going to use the paper because I 22 can't see that far.</p> <p>23 And I should say for the record, 24 Dr. Chen, do you have your complete report and the 25 exhibits derived from that report in front of you?</p>
155	<p>1 urban areas while the other party's voters are more 2 geographically spread out, that can have implications 3 on the number of Republican and Democratic districts 4 in any reasonable districting plan that follows 5 traditional districting criteria in that particular 6 state.</p> <p>7 So those are the kinds of questions 8 and phenomena that I often study in my academic 9 research.</p> <p>10 Q. And have you published peer-reviewed 11 works on that particular phenomenon you just 12 described?</p> <p>13 A. Yes, sir, I have.</p> <p>14 Q. Dr. Chen, in your academic research, 15 what approach do you take to study questions about 16 political geography and legislative districting?</p> <p>17 A. The approach that I take, the 18 methodology I use primarily is to conduct 19 computer-simulated districting plans. So I have a 20 computer simulate a large number of districting 21 plans, generally following traditional districting 22 criteria that I specifically program into the 23 computer algorithm, and then I compare those 24 districting plans, those simulated plans, against, 25 say, an enacted state plan, a Congressional or</p>	157	<p>1 A. I do, yes, sir, Exhibit 1.</p> <p>2 Q. I think I just asked you this, but, 3 again, Dr. Chen, can you identify that as your CV?</p> <p>4 A. Yes, sir, it is.</p> <p>5 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 6 admit Exhibit 2 into evidence. 7 THE COURT: Any objection? 8 MR. LEWIS: No. 9 THE COURT: I heard one. 10 MS. HANGLEY: No objection, 11 Your Honor. 12 MR. TUCKER: No, Your Honor. 13 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>14 Q. Dr. Chen, can you --</p> <p>15 THE COURT: Hold on a second. 16 You want me to admit it, right? 17 MR. JACOBSON: Yes, I do. 18 THE COURT: Okay. Exhibit 2 will 19 be admitted without objection. 20 - - - 21 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 22 2 was admitted into evidence.) 23 - - - 24 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you, 25 Your Honor.</p>

158	<p>1 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>2 Q. Dr. Chen, can you identify the articles</p> <p>3 on your CV in which you employed a simulation</p> <p>4 methodology of the type that you just described?</p> <p>5 And you can take these one at a time.</p> <p>6 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>7 The first one is the fourth one right</p> <p>8 in front of us in the -- in the section called</p> <p>9 Publications, and that is the 2013 article by Chen</p> <p>10 and Rodden. And the title of the article is</p> <p>11 Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and</p> <p>12 Electoral Bias in Legislatures. It was published in</p> <p>13 the Quarterly Journal of Political Science.</p> <p>14 Q. And that journal, who were the editors</p> <p>15 of that journal at the time this article was</p> <p>16 published?</p> <p>17 A. At the time the article was accepted</p> <p>18 for publication, the editors were Dr. Nolan McCarty</p> <p>19 as well as Dr. Keith Krehbiel.</p> <p>20 Q. In connection with this article, did</p> <p>21 you disclose your computer code containing the</p> <p>22 simulation algorithm?</p> <p>23 A. Yes, sir. I was required to as a</p> <p>24 condition of publication.</p> <p>25 Q. And whose condition was that?</p>	160	<p>1 MS. THEODORE: No objection.</p> <p>2 MR. TABAS: No objection.</p> <p>3 MR. LEVINE: No.</p> <p>4 THE COURT: It's admitted without</p> <p>5 objection, Petitioners' Exhibit 25.</p> <p>6 - - -</p> <p>7 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>8 25 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>9 - - -</p> <p>10 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>11 Q. Let's move back to your CV,</p> <p>12 Petitioners' Exhibit Number 2.</p> <p>13 Dr. Chen, can you identify the other</p> <p>14 three articles you mentioned in which you employed a</p> <p>15 simulation methodology?</p> <p>16 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>17 When we go to the second page of the</p> <p>18 CV, the next article is the fourth article down from</p> <p>19 the top. It's a 2015 article, and it was published</p> <p>20 in the Election Law Journal, Volume 14, Number 4,</p> <p>21 Page 331 to 345.</p> <p>22 So that was the second one.</p> <p>23 The third one is the next one down on</p> <p>24 the list, and that was this Chen and Cottrell article</p> <p>25 in 2016. The title of it was Evaluating Partisan</p>
159	<p>1 A. Quarterly Journal of Political Science</p> <p>2 requires all authors to turn over all computer code</p> <p>3 as well as replication data used to produce the</p> <p>4 results in -- in articles that are published, so as a</p> <p>5 condition of publication, Quarterly Journal of</p> <p>6 Political Science required me to turn over all</p> <p>7 computer code as well as all data that I used.</p> <p>8 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>9 Petitioners' Exhibit 25.</p> <p>10 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>11 Q. Dr. Chen, what is this that you're</p> <p>12 looking at?</p> <p>13 A. That is a Web page containing all</p> <p>14 computer code and data that I used in that article</p> <p>15 that we were just talking about. This was the Web</p> <p>16 page containing all the data and all the computer</p> <p>17 code that I had to turn over as a condition of having</p> <p>18 that 2013 article published by the Quarterly Journal</p> <p>19 of Political Science.</p> <p>20 Q. And is this code publicly available</p> <p>21 today?</p> <p>22 A. It is. It's on the Internet.</p> <p>23 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>24 admit Exhibit Number 25 into evidence.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Any objection?</p>	161	<p>1 Gains from Congressional Gerrymandering: Using</p> <p>2 Computer Simulations to Estimate the Effect of</p> <p>3 Gerrymandering in the U.S. House. And that was</p> <p>4 published in the Electoral Studies in 2016.</p> <p>5 The fourth one is the last article you</p> <p>6 see on the screen in front of you there, and that's</p> <p>7 the 2016 article, and that one -- the title of that</p> <p>8 article is Analysis of Computer-Simulated Districting</p> <p>9 Maps for the Wisconsin State Assembly. That is</p> <p>10 listed here on this CV as forthcoming in 2017 in</p> <p>11 Election Law Journal. It's since been published</p> <p>12 since I -- I actually wrote this CV. It was</p> <p>13 published earlier this year.</p> <p>14 Q. And all of those articles you just</p> <p>15 described, were they published -- are those</p> <p>16 peer-reviewed journals?</p> <p>17 A. All four of those were published in</p> <p>18 peer-reviewed journals, yes, sir.</p> <p>19 Q. And -- and going back to the Chen and</p> <p>20 Cottrell 2016 article that you just mentioned, did</p> <p>21 you publish the code containing the algorithm you</p> <p>22 used in connection with that report?</p> <p>23 A. Yes, sir. I not only published the</p> <p>24 code, I turned over all the data, including all of</p> <p>25 the computer-simulated maps and, obviously, the</p>

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1 code -- the computer code that I used to produce and
 2 to analyze those maps.
 3 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up
 4 Petitioners' Exhibit 26.
 5 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 6 **Q. Dr. Chen, can you tell us what this is?**
 7 A. Yes, sir.
 8 That is a very lengthy page on the
 9 Internet. It was a very lengthy article. It had
 10 lots of maps from lots of different states. So that
 11 is the very lengthy replication data, as well as
 12 computer code, that I used in the production of that
 13 article, that 2016 Chen and Cottrell article. I
 14 turned over all -- well, I just produced on the
 15 Internet to make available to scholars all of the
 16 data code used in that article.
 17 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to
 18 admit Exhibit 26 into evidence.
 19 THE COURT: Any objection?
 20 MR. TABAS: No, Your Honor.
 21 MR. LEVINE: No, Your Honor.
 22 MS. HANGLEY: No, Your Honor.
 23 THE COURT: It's admitted without
 24 objection.
 25

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1 - - -
 2 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number
 3 26 was admitted into evidence.)
 4 - - -
 5 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 6 **Q. Dr. Chen, have you submitted expert**
 7 **reports in litigation before?**
 8 A. Yes, sir, I have.
 9 **Q. And can you tell us, if you know, how**
 10 **many expert reports you've submitted in cases**
 11 **previously?**
 12 A. In seven different cases, sir.
 13 **Q. And have you testified as an expert**
 14 **witness in any of those cases?**
 15 A. Yes, sir, at three of those cases.
 16 **Q. What was the most recent of those cases**
 17 **in which you testified as an expert?**
 18 A. The most recent case in which I
 19 testified at trial was North Carolina case. It was
 20 Common Cause versus Rucho. It was a case examining
 21 North Carolina's Congressional districting plan.
 22 **Q. And in your testimony in that case, did**
 23 **you employ a computer-simulation methodology like --**
 24 **similar to the one you employed today -- or for this**
 25 **case, I should say?**

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1 A. Yes, sir, I did.
 2 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, at this
 3 time, we would offer Dr. Chen as an expert
 4 in the fields of legislative districting and
 5 political geography.
 6 THE COURT: Does any Respondent
 7 wish to voir dire the witness?
 8 (Pause.)
 9 THE COURT: Any objections to his
 10 qualifications as an expert in districting
 11 and political geography?
 12 MR. TABAS: No, Your Honor.
 13 MR. LEVINE: No, Your Honor.
 14 MS. HANGLEY: No objections.
 15 THE COURT: Dr. Chen will be
 16 accepted as an expert witness in
 17 redistricting and political geography.
 18 You may proceed with your
 19 examination.
 20 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you,
 21 Your Honor.
 22 - - -
 23 DIRECT EXAMINATION
 24 - - -
 25

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1 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 2 **Q. Dr. Chen, can you briefly summarize**
 3 **what Petitioners have asked you to evaluate in this**
 4 **case?**
 5 A. Yes, sir.
 6 Petitioners asked me to evaluate three
 7 questions: First, Petitioners' counsel asked me to
 8 evaluate whether partisan intent was the predominant
 9 factor in the drawing of the enacted Act 131
 10 Congressional Districting Plan in Pennsylvania.
 11 Second, I was asked to evaluate, if
 12 partisan intent was the predominant factor, what was
 13 the effect of the enacted Act 131 plan on the number
 14 of Congressional Democrats and Republicans elected in
 15 Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation.
 16 And then, finally, as a separate
 17 matter, I was asked to analyze the effect of the
 18 enacted 131 Plan on the ability of the 18 individual
 19 Petitioners in this case to elect a Democrat or
 20 Republican Congressional candidate from their
 21 respective Congressional districts.
 22 **Q. Now, we'll dive into details -- greater**
 23 **details in a moment, but can you give us an overview**
 24 **of how you went about answering those three**
 25 **questions?**

166	<p>1 A. Generally, what I did was to conduct a 2 large number of simulated -- computer-simulated 3 districting plans for Pennsylvania's Congressional 4 districts, following traditional districting 5 criteria, adhering to traditional principles, and 6 then I compared how the enacted plan looked, what 7 characteristics it had relative to those simulated 8 plans.</p> <p>9 Q. And broadly, what were your findings?</p> <p>10 A. Broadly, what I found is that partisan 11 intent predominated the drawing of the enacted 12 Act 131 Congressional Plan and that Congressional 13 Plan, the enacted Plan, was drawn with a partisan 14 intent to create a 13-5 Republican advantage and that 15 this partisan intent subordinated traditional 16 districting principles in the drawing of the enacted 17 plan.</p> <p>18 Q. Dr. Chen, I'd like to now dive into how 19 you went about creating your simulations. 20 In what you refer to as 21 Simulation Set 1 in your expert report in this case 22 and in the exhibits, can you tell us what criteria 23 did you use in creating the simulated districting 24 plans?</p> <p>25 A. In the first set of simulations, what</p>	168	<p>1 districting principles is for two -- well, there are 2 two reasons: first, as an expert who has worked on 3 redistricting cases in a wide range of jurisdictions 4 and in multiple states, I know that these are the 5 traditional districting principles applied when it 6 comes to drawing Congressional districting plans for 7 various states. And so it's on the basis of my 8 expertise in redistricting that I am using those 9 traditional districting principles.</p> <p>10 Now, on top of that -- on top of my own 11 expertise on that matter, Petitioners' counsel 12 informed me that the Pennsylvania Constitution 13 enshrined those same principles into the Constitution 14 with respect to the drawing of legislative State 15 House and Senate district boundaries.</p> <p>16 So Petitioners' counsel informed me of 17 that. I looked for myself. I looked at the 18 Pennsylvania Constitution, and I could see that that 19 was, in fact, the case, that those principles are, in 20 fact, mentioned in the Pennsylvania Constitution when 21 it comes to drawing State legislative districts. So 22 that confirmed my understanding of traditional 23 districting principles as applied to Pennsylvania.</p> <p>24 Q. And are these the same criteria you use 25 in running simulations in your academic work?</p>
167	<p>1 you referred to as Simulation Set Number 1, I 2 programmed the computer to follow five traditional 3 districting principles in drawing Pennsylvania's 4 Congressional districts.</p> <p>5 The first principle is absolute 6 population equality, which, specifically for 7 Pennsylvania, means that every district has to have a 8 precise population of 705,687 or -88 with no 9 deviations or zero deviations from that ideal 10 district population; second, districts had to be 11 geography contiguous; third, districts were drawn to 12 avoid the splitting of counties, except when 13 necessary to achieve equal population; fourth, that 14 the computer avoided splitting the municipality -- 15 avoided splitting municipalities in Pennsylvania, 16 which includes cities, towns, townships and boroughs; 17 and, finally, the districts were drawn to be 18 geographically compact.</p> <p>19 So those were traditional districting 20 principles that the computer algorithm followed.</p> <p>21 Q. And why did you choose those five 22 principles -- criteria?</p> <p>23 A. Well, those are traditional districting 24 principles in Congressional districting. And so the 25 reason that I applied those five traditional</p>	169	<p>1 A. Yes, they generally are. Although I 2 just want to qualify that, obviously, some of these 3 will change from one jurisdiction to the next. If 4 we're looking at, say, a county commissioner, or a 5 school district plan, then, obviously, some of these 6 criteria, like avoiding county splits, aren't 7 necessarily going to be applicable.</p> <p>8 Q. Dr. Chen, if you had been given a list 9 of other nonpartisan criteria that this 10 General Assembly had used in drawing the 2011 11 Congressional District Plan in Pennsylvania, could 12 you have incorporated such additional criteria into 13 your computer simulations?</p> <p>14 A. Oh, absolutely. If I had been given a 15 list of other nonpartisan criteria, I would have 16 happily incorporated them into -- into my computer 17 algorithm if I had been told that those were the 18 nonpartisan principles used by the General Assembly.</p> <p>19 So, certainly, I could have done so 20 from a technical standpoint.</p> <p>21 Q. And has that happened in other cases in 22 which you've served as an expert witness?</p> <p>23 A. That happens very frequently where I am 24 told here are the criteria that the state legislature 25 in this particular state used. They are nonpartisan</p>

170	<p>1 criteria, so -- and then I would go and build those</p> <p>2 criteria into my computer algorithms.</p> <p>3 Q. So why didn't you do that here? Why</p> <p>4 didn't you incorporate additional nonpartisan</p> <p>5 criteria into your simulations?</p> <p>6 A. Well, as I always do, I asked</p> <p>7 Petitioners' counsel -- in this case, I asked</p> <p>8 Petitioners' counsel whether they could tell me the</p> <p>9 nonpartisan criteria used by Pennsylvania's</p> <p>10 General Assembly in the drawing of the enacted</p> <p>11 Act 131 Congressional Plan. I told them it was very</p> <p>12 important that I have that information.</p> <p>13 Petitioners' counsel told me that the</p> <p>14 General Assembly refused to provide that information.</p> <p>15 So that was it.</p> <p>16 Q. Now, how many simulated districting</p> <p>17 plans did you create in your Simulation Set 1 using</p> <p>18 the criteria that you just described?</p> <p>19 A. In Simulation Set 1, the computer</p> <p>20 produced 500 independent simulated plans.</p> <p>21 Q. Why did you pick 500 as the number?</p> <p>22 A. Well, in general, in my academic work,</p> <p>23 what I have found and what I've written about is</p> <p>24 that, generally, we need 25 or more simulated plans,</p> <p>25 as long as those simulations are conducted</p>	172	<p>1 So that's why I go overboard and</p> <p>2 produce 500.</p> <p>3 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>4 Petitioners' Exhibit 3, which is Figure 1 of</p> <p>5 Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>6 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>7 Q. Dr. Chen, can you tell us what?</p> <p>8 A. Figure 1 here, Exhibit 3, is an example</p> <p>9 of one of the 500 simulated districting plans</p> <p>10 produced by my computer in Simulation Set Number 1.</p> <p>11 Q. And to be clear, this is just one of</p> <p>12 those 500 plans?</p> <p>13 A. Yes, sir, it is just one of those</p> <p>14 independent 500 simulated plans.</p> <p>15 Q. And can you briefly explain how your</p> <p>16 computer algorithm created this particular simulated</p> <p>17 map?</p> <p>18 A. It produced this particular simulated</p> <p>19 map just like the other 499, by following the</p> <p>20 traditional districting principles that we described</p> <p>21 just a minute ago -- that I described just a minute</p> <p>22 ago. So it produced 18 districts following those</p> <p>23 traditional districting principles.</p> <p>24 Q. And are all 500 simulated maps created</p> <p>25 using that same process?</p>
171	<p>1 independently. We need 25 or more in order to</p> <p>2 generally come to strong statistical conclusions</p> <p>3 about the distribution of simulated plans arising</p> <p>4 under traditional districting principles. And that</p> <p>5 provides us enough of a base to compare those against</p> <p>6 the enacted plan.</p> <p>7 So we generally need 25 or more, but in</p> <p>8 this case, as I often do in my expert reports, I went</p> <p>9 way overboard, went way overkill. And here, I</p> <p>10 produced 500.</p> <p>11 So why that many? And the reason is</p> <p>12 because, very frequently -- after I've conducted a</p> <p>13 set of computer-simulated districting plans, very</p> <p>14 frequently, I want to go back and analyze just a</p> <p>15 smaller subset within all of those simulated plans,</p> <p>16 say, just a subset containing a certain racial</p> <p>17 characteristic, just as an example. And that's</p> <p>18 something I do very frequently in my expert reports,</p> <p>19 as well as in my academic work.</p> <p>20 And when I do that, I want to make sure</p> <p>21 that if I just isolate a subset of those plans, that</p> <p>22 I'm still able to have a large-enough subset, 25 or</p> <p>23 more, in order to still be able to draw strong</p> <p>24 statistical conclusions about the districting plans</p> <p>25 that we see in that subset.</p>	173	<p>1 A. Yes, sir. They are produced using the</p> <p>2 same algorithm. Of course, the algorithm produces --</p> <p>3 starts anew and produces independent plans each time.</p> <p>4 And so there are 500 different plans. They look</p> <p>5 different from one another. And this is just one of</p> <p>6 those 500, as an example.</p> <p>7 Q. I'd like to now walk through the</p> <p>8 numbers underneath the map. For the moment, I'll</p> <p>9 skip over the first line in those numbers that says,</p> <p>10 Expected Republican seats, and come back to that</p> <p>11 later.</p> <p>12 Dr. Chen, can you tell us what does the</p> <p>13 line that says County Splits represent underneath the</p> <p>14 map on Figure 3?</p> <p>15 A. Yes, sir. That's the second line below</p> <p>16 the map here in Figure 1. And that row tells us the</p> <p>17 number of counties, the number of Pennsylvania's 67</p> <p>18 counties that were split into multiple districts in</p> <p>19 both the simulated map as well as the enacted map.</p> <p>20 And so we can see here on the second row that this</p> <p>21 particular simulated map splits apart exactly 14 of</p> <p>22 Pennsylvania's 67 counties.</p> <p>23 Then we move to the right, and that</p> <p>24 number tells us -- the second column tells us that</p> <p>25 the enacted Act 131 map splits apart 28 of</p>

174	<p>1 Pennsylvania's 67 counties. Twenty-eight counties in 2 the enacted map are split into multiple districts. 3 Q. And moving to the next line, the line 4 that reads, Average Reock Compactness Score. 5 Can you explain what is a 6 Reock Compactness Score? 7 A. A Reock Compactness Score is a very 8 standard and widely used measure of district 9 geographic compactness. It's very widely used by 10 scholars of redistricting as well as by courts and 11 experts in redistricting cases. So it's just a 12 measure of geographic compactness. 13 Q. And just for the record, what is the 14 formula used to calculate a Reock Compactness Score? 15 A. The formula used is based on a 16 district-by-district analysis. So you look at the -- 17 each district, and you look at the area of each 18 individual district. And then you draw a bounding 19 circle around each district. The bounding circle is 20 just the smallest circle that will fully enclose the 21 entire area of the district. 22 So now that you've looked at the area 23 of the district as well as the bounding circle, you 24 then take the ratio of the district's area to the 25 area of that bounding circle. Obviously, higher</p>	176
175	<p>1 scores are going to indicate more geographically 2 compact districts, districts that look more like a 3 circle in shape. So higher scores are going to be 4 greater in compactness. 5 Now, to calculate the Reock score of 6 the entire plan, you just take the average of all 18 7 districts' Reock score. And so, again, higher scores 8 closer to one indicate greater geographic 9 compactness, whereas lower scores closer to zero 10 indicate more noncompact districts. 11 Q. And what do you find with respect to 12 the line relating to Reock Compactness Scores on this 13 particular figure? 14 A. It's the third row here below the 15 figure, below Figure 1, and the third row is telling 16 us that the simulated map that we see in this figure, 17 in Figure 1, has an average Reock score of .442. 18 Look at the second column, and that 19 tells us that the enacted plan, the enacted Act 131 20 plan, has an average Reock score of .278. That tells 21 us that the enacted map is significantly less compact 22 than the simulated map that we see here in Figure 1. 23 Q. The last row on this figure, Average 24 Popper-Polsby Compactness Score -- what is a 25 Popper-Polsby Compactness Score?</p>	177
	<p>1 Popper-Polsby measure. 2 And intuitively, what it means is that 3 higher scores mean greater geographic compactness; 4 lower scores closer to zero mean more noncompact 5 districts. So, once again, you just take the average 6 Popper-Polsby score across all 18 districts, and 7 that's the average score for the entire plan. 8 Q. And what do you find with respect to 9 the Popper-Polsby scores on this particular figure? 10 A. It's listed on the bottom row, this 11 fourth row here underneath Figure 1. And what that 12 fourth row tells us is that the enacted plan -- the 13 enacted map has a Popper-Polsby score of .164. The 14 simulated map here on Figure 1 has an average 15 Popper-Polsby score of .310. 16 That tells us that the enacted map is 17 significantly far less geographically compact than 18 this simulated map. 19 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 20 admit Exhibit Number 3 into evidence. 21 THE COURT: Any objection? 22 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 23 MR. LEVINE: No objection. 24 MR. TABAS: No objection. 25 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 3</p>	

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1 is admitted without objection.
 2 - - -
 3 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number
 4 3 was admitted into evidence.)
 5 - - -
 6 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 7 **Q. Dr. Chen, you said that the exhibit**
 8 **that we just looked at was just one of your 500**
 9 **simulated maps in Set Number 1. I'd like to now turn**
 10 **to your findings across all 500 simulations.**
 11 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up
 12 Petitioners' Exhibit Number 4, which is
 13 Figure 3 of Dr. Chen's report.
 14 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 15 **Q. Dr. Chen, what does the red star in the**
 16 **top right of this figure represent?**
 17 A. That red star at the very far right at
 18 the top -- that represents the Act 131 enacted plan.
 19 **Q. And how about the black circles?**
 20 A. There are 500 black circles here, and
 21 they denote each of the 500 simulated districting
 22 plans that my computer produced as part of Simulation
 23 Set Number 1.
 24 **Q. What does the horizontal axis that goes**
 25 **from left to right represent on this figure?**

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1 A. That horizontal axis here in
 2 Figure 3 -- that horizontal axis tells us the number
 3 of counties that were split into multiple districts
 4 in each one of these plans, in each one of the 500
 5 simulated plans as well as in the enacted plan.
 6 **Q. And what does the horizontal axis**
 7 **show -- show here with respect to the data presented**
 8 **on the chart?**
 9 A. The horizontal axis here in Figure 3
 10 shows us that the simulated plans -- the 500
 11 simulated plans split apart anywhere from 11 up to 16
 12 counties in each districting plan. In other words,
 13 there are some simulated plans that split as few as
 14 11, and there is actually one simulated plan that
 15 splits as many as 16 counties.
 16 The vast majority of these simulations
 17 are right around 12, 13 or 14 counties being split.
 18 So those are the number of county split
 19 in each of the 500 simulated plans.
 20 Now we turn to the red star at the
 21 upper right corner. That's the enacted plan. What
 22 this figure tells us is that the enacted plan splits
 23 28 counties. So we can see here that the enacted
 24 plan splits significantly far more than all 500 of
 25 the simulated plans.

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1 **Q. What about the vertical axis going from**
 2 **bottom to top? What does that represent?**
 3 A. It's very similar except that vertical
 4 axis measures the number of municipalities that were
 5 split. And, again, by "municipalities," I'm counting
 6 cities, towns, boroughs and townships in
 7 Pennsylvania.
 8 So the vertical axis is telling us the
 9 number of municipalities that each plan splits. And
 10 we can see from this figure that most of the
 11 simulated plans split anywhere from 40 up to a
 12 maximum of 58 municipalities. That's the entire
 13 range of municipalities that were split.
 14 Then we turn to the red star once
 15 again. And what do we see in the upper right corner?
 16 We see that the Act 131 enacted plan splits 68
 17 counties.
 18 So we're able to see pretty clearly
 19 from this figure that the Act 131 enacted plan splits
 20 significantly more municipalities than would have
 21 resulted from the simulated plans following
 22 traditional districting criteria, and they also split
 23 significantly more counties.
 24 **Q. Dr. Chen, as a whole, what can you**
 25 **conclude from the data in this chart?**

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1 A. What this chart together shows us is
 2 that the Act 131 enacted plan significantly
 3 subordinated the traditional districting criteria of
 4 avoiding county splits and avoiding municipal splits.
 5 It shows us that the enacted plan split far more
 6 counties, as well as more municipalities, than the
 7 sorts of plans that would have arisen under a
 8 districting process following traditional districting
 9 principles in Pennsylvania.
 10 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to
 11 admit Exhibit Number 4 into evidence.
 12 THE COURT: Any objection?
 13 MR. LEVINE: No objection.
 14 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.
 15 MR. TABAS: No.
 16 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 4
 17 is admitted without objection.
 18 - - -
 19 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number
 20 4 was admitted into evidence.)
 21 - - -
 22 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up
 23 Petitioners' Exhibit 5, which is Figure 4 of
 24 Dr. Chen's report.
 25

182	<p>1 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>2 Q. Dr. Chen, again, what do the black</p> <p>3 circles on this figure represent?</p> <p>4 A. There are 500 black circles on this</p> <p>5 figure, and they represent the 500 simulated plans,</p> <p>6 once again, in Simulation Set Number 1.</p> <p>7 Q. And how about the red star in the</p> <p>8 bottom left of the figure?</p> <p>9 A. Again, that red star in the bottom left</p> <p>10 represents the Act 131 enacted plan.</p> <p>11 Q. What does the horizontal axis going</p> <p>12 from left to right represent?</p> <p>13 A. The horizontal axis in this figure, in</p> <p>14 Figure 4, tells us the average Reock score of each</p> <p>15 districting plan, of each of the 500 simulated plans,</p> <p>16 as well as the enacted 131 plan.</p> <p>17 Q. And what does the data on the</p> <p>18 horizontal axis reveal here?</p> <p>19 A. We can see pretty clearly by looking</p> <p>20 along the horizontal axis that the enacted Act 131</p> <p>21 plan was significantly less geographically compact</p> <p>22 than every single one of the 500 simulated plans in</p> <p>23 Set Number 1. The simulated plans create Reock</p> <p>24 scores ranging from about .38 to about .46. That's</p> <p>25 the normal range of most of the -- of almost all of</p>	184	<p>1 horizontal and the vertical measure, the Reock and</p> <p>2 the Popper-Polsby measure, they're telling us that no</p> <p>3 matter which measure of compactness you use, it's</p> <p>4 very clear that the Act 131 enacted plan</p> <p>5 significantly and completely sacrifice the</p> <p>6 traditional districting principle of geographic</p> <p>7 compactness compared to the sorts of plans that would</p> <p>8 have emerged under traditional districting</p> <p>9 principles.</p> <p>10 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>11 admit Exhibit Number 5 into evidence.</p> <p>12 MR. LEVINE: No objection.</p> <p>13 MR. TABAS: No objection.</p> <p>14 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.</p> <p>15 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 5</p> <p>16 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>17 - - -</p> <p>18 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>19 5 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>20 - - -</p> <p>21 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>22 Q. Dr. Chen, I'd like to now turn to how</p> <p>23 you calculate the partisan breakdown of your</p> <p>24 simulated maps.</p> <p>25 Do you have data on election returns in</p>
183	<p>1 the simulated plans.</p> <p>2 You can see from this figure -- from</p> <p>3 the horizontal axis that the enacted Act 131 plan is</p> <p>4 not only entirely outside of that range, it is far,</p> <p>5 far below that entire range. In other words, the</p> <p>6 enacted plan creates significantly less compact</p> <p>7 districts than any sort of simulated plan that arises</p> <p>8 from a districting process adhering to districting</p> <p>9 principles.</p> <p>10 Q. How about the vertical axis going from</p> <p>11 bottom to top? What does that depict?</p> <p>12 A. It tells us exactly the same thing,</p> <p>13 except using this other measure of geographic</p> <p>14 compactness, the Popper-Polsby measure.</p> <p>15 But using this other measure, which</p> <p>16 we -- which I discussed in some detail a few minutes</p> <p>17 ago, we arrive at exactly the same conclusions. You</p> <p>18 can see here that all of the simulations create a</p> <p>19 Popper-Polsby score of -- in the range of about .29</p> <p>20 up to about .35. But then we turn to the bottom left</p> <p>21 of the figure, and we can see the Act 131 enacted</p> <p>22 plan creates a Popper-Polsby score that is</p> <p>23 significantly far below that entire range. It's</p> <p>24 outside of and entirely far below the entire range.</p> <p>25 And together, these two axes, the</p>	185	<p>1 Pennsylvania?</p> <p>2 A. Yes, I do. I requested precinct-level</p> <p>3 election results for the last several election</p> <p>4 cycles. And I received those precinct-level data</p> <p>5 files from the Department of State.</p> <p>6 Q. When you say "precinct-level election</p> <p>7 results," can you just explain what you mean by that?</p> <p>8 A. Precincts are the administrative units</p> <p>9 where elections are held or administered in</p> <p>10 Pennsylvania, as they are in virtually every other</p> <p>11 state. So you go and vote at a precinct, and those</p> <p>12 votes are counted and collected at the level of the</p> <p>13 precinct. They roughly represent neighborhoods</p> <p>14 within cities.</p> <p>15 So precincts are just administrative</p> <p>16 units where election data, election results are made</p> <p>17 available.</p> <p>18 Q. And so you said that you obtained data</p> <p>19 from the Department of State showing historical</p> <p>20 election results at the precinct level; is that</p> <p>21 right?</p> <p>22 A. Yes, sir, that's correct. I made a</p> <p>23 request, and I received precinct-level election</p> <p>24 results from the Department of State.</p> <p>25 Q. Without going into the details, how did</p>

186	<p>1 you use those precinct-level election results to</p> <p>2 estimate the partisan leaning of one of your</p> <p>3 simulated districts?</p> <p>4 A. Well, I did what political scientists</p> <p>5 normally do with this kind of data. I took those</p> <p>6 precinct level vote counts and I overlaid them on top</p> <p>7 of the district boundaries of each one of those</p> <p>8 simulated plans, as well as the enacted plan.</p> <p>9 Q. And so to be clear, are you using</p> <p>10 simulated or -- or hypothetical election results or</p> <p>11 actual election results?</p> <p>12 A. No. These are actual election results.</p> <p>13 They are results of the actual statewide elections --</p> <p>14 of the actual elections held in the State of</p> <p>15 Pennsylvania over the last several election cycles.</p> <p>16 Q. And which elections did you use to</p> <p>17 measure the partisanship of each precinct in</p> <p>18 Pennsylvania?</p> <p>19 A. In the main part of my report, I used</p> <p>20 every of the six statewide elections that were held</p> <p>21 in Pennsylvania from 2008 to 2010.</p> <p>22 Q. And, Dr. Chen, I believe you list those</p> <p>23 specific elections on Page 13 of your report.</p> <p>24 If you could, could you just list those</p> <p>25 six statewide elections into the record?</p>	188	<p>1 Department of State doesn't -- do they give</p> <p>2 you data on how registered voters voted,</p> <p>3 specifically?</p> <p>4 THE WITNESS: Your Honor, because we</p> <p>5 have a secret ballot, no, we do not know how</p> <p>6 individuals --</p> <p>7 THE COURT: What do you mean by</p> <p>8 "election results"? You just mean who won?</p> <p>9 THE WITNESS: Your Honor, it just</p> <p>10 means precinct level results. We are told,</p> <p>11 for each precinct in Pennsylvania, how many</p> <p>12 total Republican votes were cast for, say,</p> <p>13 the Republican candidate, how many votes</p> <p>14 were cast for the Democrat candidate.</p> <p>15 THE COURT: So you have data that</p> <p>16 says how many Republicans voted for a</p> <p>17 Republican and how many Democrats voted for</p> <p>18 a Democrat and how many Democrats voted for</p> <p>19 a Republican and all that -- all those ways</p> <p>20 around?</p> <p>21 You got that data from State?</p> <p>22 THE WITNESS: Not quite, Your Honor.</p> <p>23 Let me just restate that, because I think I</p> <p>24 misspoke, which might have misled you a</p> <p>25 little bit.</p>
187	<p>1 A. Yes, sir. There were six statewide</p> <p>2 elections. Four of them were in 2008. And those</p> <p>3 four were the presidential election, the attorney</p> <p>4 general election, the auditor for general election</p> <p>5 and the state treasurer elections in 2008.</p> <p>6 In 2010, there were two more elections,</p> <p>7 and those were the U.S. senator election as well as</p> <p>8 the gubernatorial -- the state gubernatorial election</p> <p>9 in 2010.</p> <p>10 So that's a total of six elections over</p> <p>11 those two years.</p> <p>12 THE COURT: No. 2009?</p> <p>13 THE WITNESS: No statewide</p> <p>14 elections.</p> <p>15 THE COURT: I beg to differ.</p> <p>16 (Laughter.)</p> <p>17 THE COURT: Unless I can go home.</p> <p>18 (Laughter.)</p> <p>19 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>20 Q. Dr. Chen, could you tell us -- I</p> <p>21 believe -- actually, I'll strike that question.</p> <p>22 THE COURT: Counsel, can I just ask</p> <p>23 a point of clarification so I understand?</p> <p>24 The data, these are results, but</p> <p>25 these are not per-voter results -- the</p>	189	<p>1 So let me start again.</p> <p>2 What the Department of State</p> <p>3 provides are precinct-level vote counts for</p> <p>4 each candidate in a race. That means, for</p> <p>5 example, that I know, for every precinct in</p> <p>6 Pennsylvania, how many votes were cast for</p> <p>7 Donald Trump and how many votes were cast</p> <p>8 for Hillary Clinton.</p> <p>9 I can't tell you anything about who</p> <p>10 the specific individuals were who cast each</p> <p>11 one of those votes, except that they lived</p> <p>12 in Precinct 1, Precinct 2, Precinct 3 --</p> <p>13 THE COURT: That's the</p> <p>14 clarification I needed. Thank you.</p> <p>15 MR. JACOBSON: Sure.</p> <p>16 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>17 Q. Dr. Chen, why did you use those six</p> <p>18 statewide elections to measure the partisanship of</p> <p>19 each precinct in your simulated districts?</p> <p>20 A. Well, I used these six statewide</p> <p>21 elections because they were the statewide elections</p> <p>22 held in the two main election years, 2008 and 2010,</p> <p>23 that were available to the General Assembly when it</p> <p>24 drew its 2011 enacted map. So those were the</p> <p>25 two years' worth of elections that were available in</p>

190	<p>1 the most recent elections in 2008 and 2010 and were 2 available to the General Assembly.</p> <p>3 Q. And is the idea of using statewide 4 elections to project election results in legislative 5 districts -- is that accepted in the political 6 science community?</p> <p>7 A. Yes, sir, that's a standard way of 8 measuring the partisanship of districts.</p> <p>9 Q. And in your experience and based on 10 your expertise, do actual map makers drawing 11 legislative districts, such as Congressional 12 districts, use statewide election results to predict 13 partisanship in the districts they're drawing?</p> <p>14 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>15 Based on my expertise, working on 16 redistricting cases in a wide variety of 17 jurisdictions and in multiple states, it is very 18 common for partisan-motivated legislators to measure 19 the partisan performance of proposed districts using 20 past statewide elections and, specifically, using 21 recent past statewide elections, because recent 22 statewide elections are the most reliable indicator 23 of the underlying partisan tendencies of a particular 24 district.</p> <p>25 Q. And do you know examples of particular</p>	192	<p>1 U.S. House elections reflect district-specific 2 characteristics, things like the presence of a 3 quality challenger, whether or not a quality 4 challenger ran against an incumbent in this district 5 but maybe not in that district. So those things 6 influence district-level U.S. House election results.</p> <p>7 Now, those things, those factors, are 8 also related to the very specific ways that each 9 individual district's boundaries were drawn. And so 10 what that tells us is that we can't compare a 11 completely different simulated map using U.S. House 12 election results that arose from the enacted 13 Congressional plan in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>14 If all we wanted to do was to measure 15 the partisan skew or the partisan -- or the partisan 16 performance of the actual U.S. House map, then 17 certainly, that is something that we could use actual 18 U.S. House election results to look at.</p> <p>19 So, instead, what I have to do, when I 20 look at the simulated maps and want to compare them 21 directly, using the same measure, to the enacted map, 22 is to look at statewide elections, which have the 23 same candidates for all districts, obviously, because 24 they're statewide elections.</p> <p>25 So that's why I don't use U.S. House</p>
191	<p>1 states where that happened, where map makers used 2 recent statewide elections to predict partisanship of 3 legislative districts?</p> <p>4 A. Yes, sir. In the states that I've done 5 work in, I've seen that happen both in North Carolina 6 and in Wisconsin, where state legislators 7 specifically used recent statewide elections to 8 measure the partisan performance of proposed 9 districts that they were considering.</p> <p>10 Q. Why didn't you use data from past U.S. 11 House elections, given that your model is trying to 12 measure the partisanship of simulated U.S. House 13 districts?</p> <p>14 A. I don't use data from U.S. House 15 elections because when the task at hand is to 16 measure, as I'm doing here -- is to measure and 17 compare the partisanship of an enacted plan against 18 many simulated plans, against many different 19 hypothetical districting plans, the use of U.S. House 20 elections -- of actual U.S. House elections is not 21 very useful or accurate.</p> <p>22 And let me explain why. When it comes 23 to comparing an enacted map against several simulated 24 maps, all of which have slightly different district 25 boundaries, the problem we run into is that actual</p>	193	<p>1 elections to directly compare the simulated to the 2 enacted maps.</p> <p>3 Q. And what about party registration? Why 4 don't you just look at the party registration in a 5 particular precinct to measure the expected partisan 6 outcomes in your simulated districts?</p> <p>7 A. Well, there are two different reasons 8 why we don't use partisan registration to 9 actually measure the partisan performance of a 10 directing plan: one is that, as a political 11 scientist, what we know from decades of studies is 12 that partisan voter registration is not necessarily 13 an accurate predictor of the actual partisan behavior 14 of voters in actual elections.</p> <p>15 And that's because in many states, 16 including in Pennsylvania, there are many voters that 17 may consistently vote for a Republican candidate but 18 do not necessarily register as a Republican on their 19 voter registration forms.</p> <p>20 And, indeed, I looked at partisan voter 21 registration numbers in Pennsylvania and saw that 22 that mismatch exists in Pennsylvania, that mismatch 23 between partisan registration numbers and actual 24 partisan voting tendencies at the precinct level, as 25 well as at the county level.</p>

194	<p>1 So, certainly, we know as a political</p> <p>2 science matter that partisan voter registration is</p> <p>3 not a reliable indicator of the partisan performance</p> <p>4 of districts.</p> <p>5 On top of that, on top of my knowledge</p> <p>6 as a political scientist, we also know -- or I also</p> <p>7 have seen from my -- from my experience working on</p> <p>8 redistricting in a variety of states that legislators</p> <p>9 do not commonly or exclusively rely on partisan</p> <p>10 registration numbers in determining the partisanship</p> <p>11 of proposed or hypothetical districts that they might</p> <p>12 be considering. So it's just not commonly practiced</p> <p>13 that way in addition to not being very good political</p> <p>14 science.</p> <p>15 Q. Thank you.</p> <p>16 I'd like to now turn to how you</p> <p>17 calculate the partisan outcomes under your simulated</p> <p>18 maps.</p> <p>19 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>20 again Petitioners' Number 3, which was</p> <p>21 Figure 1 of Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>22 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>23 Q. Dr. Chen, this is the same illustrative</p> <p>24 map, one of your 500 simulations that we looked at</p> <p>25 earlier.</p>	196	<p>1 Q. And, again, those are actual</p> <p>2 precinct -- actual precinct level election results?</p> <p>3 A. Yes, sir, the actual precinct election</p> <p>4 results from each of the Pennsylvania statewide</p> <p>5 elections in 2008 and 2010.</p> <p>6 Q. And how do you determine whether you</p> <p>7 characterize something as a Republican district or a</p> <p>8 Democratic district?</p> <p>9 A. So after I overlaid those precinct</p> <p>10 level actual election results from the 2008 and 2010</p> <p>11 statewide elections, I then aggregated up the votes</p> <p>12 for those statewide elections here in District 7,</p> <p>13 here in the simulated district, and I just counted up</p> <p>14 the total number of votes cast for Republican</p> <p>15 candidates and the total number of votes cast for</p> <p>16 Democratic candidates in those statewide elections.</p> <p>17 And all of these elections were</p> <p>18 contested elections. They had a Democratic as well</p> <p>19 as a Republican candidate.</p> <p>20 So I just totaled up the total number</p> <p>21 of votes for Republican candidates and the total</p> <p>22 number of votes for Democratic candidates, and I</p> <p>23 asked whether this was a district with more</p> <p>24 Republican votes or whether this was a district with</p> <p>25 more Democratic votes over those statewide elections</p>
195	<p>1 I'm going to just pick a random</p> <p>2 district on this map. I'm going to picture</p> <p>3 District Number 7.</p> <p>4 And before I ask you a question,</p> <p>5 actually, Dr. Chen, is there any special significance</p> <p>6 to the district numbers that are assigned on your</p> <p>7 simulated maps?</p> <p>8 A. No, sir, there's no significance at</p> <p>9 all. They're effectively random. I didn't try to</p> <p>10 make sure, for example, that District 1 lines up with</p> <p>11 the same District 1 on the enacted map or that</p> <p>12 District 7 lines up with the same District 7 on the</p> <p>13 enacted map.</p> <p>14 Q. So looking at just this hypothetical</p> <p>15 District Number 7, which -- if you can see, it's in</p> <p>16 the southwest portion of the State that includes all</p> <p>17 of Fayette County.</p> <p>18 How did you go about estimating the</p> <p>19 partisan leaning or partisan outcome of that</p> <p>20 simulated district?</p> <p>21 A. I took those precinct level -- precinct</p> <p>22 level election results that we talked about a few</p> <p>23 moments ago -- I took those precinct-level election</p> <p>24 results and I overlaid them on top of the geographic</p> <p>25 boundaries of this District 7.</p>	197	<p>1 in 2008 and 2010.</p> <p>2 Q. And if -- and if it's more Republican</p> <p>3 votes, do you characterize that as a Republican</p> <p>4 district?</p> <p>5 A. Yes, sir. Look at the total number of</p> <p>6 Republican votes and the total number of Democratic</p> <p>7 votes, and I characterize it as either a district</p> <p>8 with more Republicans or a district with more</p> <p>9 Democratic votes.</p> <p>10 Q. And do you do that for each of the</p> <p>11 simulated districts on this particular simulated map?</p> <p>12 A. Yes, sir, I do that same exact</p> <p>13 calculation for all 18 districts on this simulated</p> <p>14 map.</p> <p>15 Q. And now let's look at the number on the</p> <p>16 first row underneath -- on Figure 1 from your report,</p> <p>17 Exhibit 3, underneath the map.</p> <p>18 What does that row show? And by "that</p> <p>19 row," I mean the row that says, Expected Republican</p> <p>20 seats.</p> <p>21 A. Yes, sir.</p> <p>22 So this is the first row under</p> <p>23 Figure 1. And the first row tells us the number of</p> <p>24 Republican seats in the simulated map as well as the</p> <p>25 number of Republican seats in the enacted Act 131</p>

198	<p>1 map.</p> <p>2 So in the left column here, what this</p> <p>3 number tells us is that there are 18 total simulated</p> <p>4 districts in this simulated map. Nine of those 18</p> <p>5 are Republican districts. In other words, nine of</p> <p>6 those are, as we just said a minute ago -- these are</p> <p>7 districts in which there are more Republican votes</p> <p>8 than Democratic votes in those statewide elections.</p> <p>9 So there are nine Republican and nine</p> <p>10 Democratic districts on this map.</p> <p>11 And then I turned and looked at the</p> <p>12 enacted map, which is not shown in this Figure. But</p> <p>13 I looked at the enacted map and analyzed that using</p> <p>14 the exact same election data, those same statewide</p> <p>15 elections. And I counted up the number of Democratic</p> <p>16 voters -- number of Democrat votes and the number of</p> <p>17 Republican votes in those statewide elections on the</p> <p>18 enacted map, and I found that the enacted map has 13</p> <p>19 districts that are Republican and five districts that</p> <p>20 are Democrat.</p> <p>21 Q. Thanks, Dr. Chen. And we'll return to</p> <p>22 that in a moment as well.</p> <p>23 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>24 Petitioners' Exhibit Number 6, which is</p> <p>25 Figure 2 of Dr. Chen's report.</p>	200	<p>1 districts and, therefore, nine Democratic districts.</p> <p>2 Q. Right. How about the other bars on the</p> <p>3 chart?</p> <p>4 A. Well, there are other possible</p> <p>5 outcomes, although they occur less frequently. The</p> <p>6 vast majority, as in over 90 percent, of these</p> <p>7 simulated plans produce either eight or nine.</p> <p>8 So eight is a number -- eight</p> <p>9 Republican districts is an outcome that occurs</p> <p>10 36.2 percent of the time. So the vast majority of</p> <p>11 the time, eight or nine Republican districts is what</p> <p>12 emerges from the plans produced by Simulation Set</p> <p>13 Number 1. The overall range goes from as few as</p> <p>14 seven to up to 10. Ten is an outcome that occurs</p> <p>15 2 percent of the time.</p> <p>16 So that's the entire range, is seven,</p> <p>17 eight, nine or 10 Republican districts in these</p> <p>18 simulated maps.</p> <p>19 Q. Do Republicans ever win 13 districts</p> <p>20 under your nonpartisan simulations?</p> <p>21 A. No, sir, not a single time.</p> <p>22 Q. Do they ever even win 11 or 12</p> <p>23 districts?</p> <p>24 A. No, sir, not a single time.</p> <p>25 Q. Now, you alluded to this a moment ago,</p>
199	<p>1 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>2 Q. Before going into the details,</p> <p>3 Dr. Chen, what does this figure depict?</p> <p>4 A. This figure, Figure 2, Exhibit 6 --</p> <p>5 this figure shows us the number of Republican</p> <p>6 districts in each of the 500 simulated plans produced</p> <p>7 in Simulation Set Number 1, and it compares that</p> <p>8 against the number of Republican districts in the</p> <p>9 enacted Act 131 plan.</p> <p>10 Q. And what does the tallest bar on this</p> <p>11 chart show?</p> <p>12 A. This tallest bar is right at the number</p> <p>13 of nine. And what that tells us is that the majority</p> <p>14 of simulated plans produced by Simulation Set</p> <p>15 Number 1 -- the majority of these simulated plans</p> <p>16 produce exactly nine Republican districts -- nine</p> <p>17 Republican and nine Democrat districts.</p> <p>18 And, again, in this figure, just as we</p> <p>19 were a minute ago, I'm measuring the number of</p> <p>20 Republican districts using those statewide elections.</p> <p>21 So I'm measuring the simulated plans as well as the</p> <p>22 enacted plan using that same set of statewide</p> <p>23 elections from 2008 and 2010.</p> <p>24 And we see here that the majority of</p> <p>25 the simulated plans produce exactly nine Republican</p>	201	<p>1 but I would like to go through it in more detail and</p> <p>2 turn from your simulated plans to the enacted plan,</p> <p>3 the Act 131 plan.</p> <p>4 If you take the same exact 2008 to 2010</p> <p>5 statewide elections data that you used to predict</p> <p>6 partisanship in your simulated plans for each</p> <p>7 precinct and you overlay that over the enacted map,</p> <p>8 what do you find?</p> <p>9 A. I did that analysis, and I found that</p> <p>10 the enacted plan has 13 districts that had more</p> <p>11 Republican votes than Democratic votes in those</p> <p>12 statewide elections that we talked about a</p> <p>13 few minutes ago.</p> <p>14 Q. And is there any special notable</p> <p>15 characteristic of those 13 districts?</p> <p>16 A. Well, I saw that there were 13</p> <p>17 Republican districts and five democratic districts in</p> <p>18 the enacted plan using this statewide measure, the</p> <p>19 statewide elections in 2008 and 2010. I looked at</p> <p>20 those enacted districts, and I saw that those 13</p> <p>21 Republican districts are the same 13 districts that</p> <p>22 have consistently elected Republican candidates to</p> <p>23 the U.S. House, in November 2012, November 2014 and</p> <p>24 November 2016.</p> <p>25 So, essentially, I found that using my</p>

202	<p>1 measure of statewide elections in 2008 and 2010, that 2 measure perfectly predicted the actual 13 districts 3 that have consistently elected Republicans to the 4 U.S. House over the last three Congressional 5 elections.</p> <p>6 Q. And what is the -- what does that tell 7 you about the accuracy of your partisanship measure?</p> <p>8 A. That tells us that it's been a 9 perfectly accurate measure of actual partisan 10 outcomes in Congressional elections over the last 11 three electoral cycles. In the last three 12 Congressional elections, there have been a total of 13 54 races, 18 in each year, because Pennsylvania has 14 18 districts. So there have been a total of 54 15 Congressional races over the last three election 16 cycles.</p> <p>17 And by using the 2008 and 2010 18 statewide elections, that data -- that measure 19 perfectly predicted the outcome of all 54 of those 20 Congressional elections. It predicted the actual 21 partisan outcome of 54 out of 54 elections. That 22 tells us that it's a very statistically accurate 23 measure of the partisan performance of these 24 Congressional districts in the enacted plan.</p> <p>25 Q. And what does that tell you about the</p>	204	<p>1 process adhering to and following traditional 2 districting principles.</p> <p>3 We also saw earlier how the enacted 4 plan performed relative to the simulated plans in 5 terms of traditional districting principles, like 6 county -- avoiding county splits and geographic 7 compactness.</p> <p>8 What that allows me to conclude is the 9 enacted Act 131 plan was drawn with extreme partisan 10 intent where partisan intent predominated in the 11 drawing of enacted Act 131 plan and, specifically, 12 that the pursuit of that partisan 13-5 Republican 13 advantage subordinated the traditional districting 14 criteria of avoiding county splits and drawing 15 geographically compact districts.</p> <p>16 Q. And in terms of total number of seats 17 won by each party, what conclusions can you draw with 18 respect to those effects?</p> <p>19 A. Using the results here on Figure 2 20 describing Simulation Set Number 1 and comparing it 21 to the enacted plan, we start by looking at the fact 22 that the vast majority of simulations, over 23 90 percent of them, produced either eight or nine 24 Republican seats, whereas the enacted Act 131 plan 25 created 13 Republican seats.</p>
203	<p>1 ability to draw apples-to-apples comparisons between 2 the enacted plan and your 500 simulated plans?</p> <p>3 A. That finding tells us that it's very 4 straightforward and very easy to draw a direct 5 apples-to-apples comparison between simulated plans 6 and the enacted plan.</p> <p>7 When we look at statewide elections, 8 those statewide elections, as we've just discussed, 9 turn out to be very accurate predictors of whether a 10 particular district will elect a Republican or a 11 Democrat to Congress. In the enacted plan, we see 12 that it is perfectly predicted, that partisan 13 outcome, 54 out of 54 times.</p> <p>14 Q. Overall, Dr. Chen, what conclusions can 15 you draw from your Simulation Set Number 1?</p> <p>16 A. When we look at Simulation Set Number 1 17 and when we specifically look at the results here in 18 Figure 2, as well as the earlier results that we 19 looked at regarding county splits and geographic 20 compactness, we're able to conclude two important 21 things: first, I'm able to conclude with well-over 22 99.9 percent statistical certainty that the Act 131 23 plan's creation of a 13-5 Republican advantage in 24 Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation is an outcome 25 that would never have emerged from a districting</p>	205	<p>1 That allows us to conclude that the 2 enacted plan created four or five additional 3 Republican seats on top of the sort of plan that 4 would have emerged under a districting process 5 following nothing but nonpartisan traditional 6 districting criteria.</p> <p>7 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 8 admit Exhibit Number 6 into evidence. 9 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 10 MR. LEVINE: No objection. 11 MR. TABAS: No objection. 12 THE COURT: Petitioners' 13 Exhibit Number 6 is admitted without 14 objection. 15 - - - 16 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 17 6 was admitted into evidence.) 18 - - - 19 BY MR. JACOBSON: 20 Q. Dr. Chen, I'd like to now turn to what 21 you describe in your report in your exhibits as 22 Simulation Set Number 2. 23 What is the difference between 24 Simulation Set 2 and Simulation Set 1? 25 A. In Simulation Set Number 2, I</p>

206	<p>1 programmed the computer to produce another separate, 2 independent set of 500 districting plans, 500 3 Congressional plans for Pennsylvania, once again, 4 using 2010 Census data. And this time, in addition 5 to following the same set of traditional districting 6 principles, I added an additional criterion, 7 specifically on top of following those same five 8 traditional districting principles that we described 9 some time ago -- that I discussed some time ago. 10 I also instructed the computer to 11 guarantee the protection of 17 incumbents. 12 Q. And, Dr. Chen, is avoiding pairing 13 incumbents -- is that something you consider a 14 traditional districting criterion? 15 A. No, sir, it's not. 16 Q. So why -- why do you run the simulation 17 set, then? 18 A. I ran the second set of simulations 19 protecting 17 incumbents because Petitioners' counsel 20 asked me to address the hypothetical question of 21 whether a hypothetical goal by the General Assembly 22 of protecting incumbents in a nonpartisan manner 23 might somehow explain or account for the extreme 24 partisan bias of the enacted Act 131 plan. 25 So Petitioners' counsel asked me to</p>	208	<p>1 plan, which had 19 districts, so, obviously, there 2 had to be an 18th district that contained two 3 incumbents. That was just a circumstance that 4 Pennsylvania happened to be in, having lost a 5 Congressional district. 6 Inevitably, there would be one district 7 with two incumbents, but other than that, there were 8 17 districts drawn by the algorithm, each with one, 9 and only one, incumbent residing within it. 10 Q. Did your algorithm consider the 11 identities or partisanship of those incumbents at all 12 in drawing these simulated plans? 13 A. No, sir, absolutely not. It completely 14 ignored the identities of those incumbents as well as 15 the partisan -- as well as the partisanship of those 16 incumbents. 17 Q. And did your simulations in the 18 Set Number 2 always pair the same two incumbents? 19 A. No, sir, the simulations did not pay 20 any attention to the identities, so -- the identities 21 of the incumbents, so the specific two incumbents 22 paired in any simulated plan would have differed from 23 one plan to the next, and there was no attention paid 24 to the partisan affiliations or to their actual 25 identities.</p>
207	<p>1 evaluate whether this hypothetical goal of protecting 2 incumbents in a nonpartisan manner could have 3 affected the partisan outcomes of the plan. 4 Q. Do you consider Simulation Set 2 more 5 valid in some way than Set 1? 6 A. No, sir. In fact, it's a very narrow, 7 specific question. It's a hypothetical question of 8 the sort that I just laid out to you. 9 Q. Now, the enacted plan, Act 131, how 10 many incumbents did that plan avoid pairing? 11 A. The enacted plan avoided pairing 17 of 12 the 19 incumbents. And when I say "19," I am talking 13 about the 19 incumbents from the 112th Congress. 14 These are the incumbents that were in place just 15 before or as of the -- the November 2012 16 Congressional elections in Pennsylvania. 17 Q. How did you run your algorithm to avoid 18 pairing incumbents? 19 A. I specifically had the algorithm draw 20 each district so that each district, 17 districts, 21 would contain one, and exactly one, incumbent, that 22 there would be one incumbent that geographically 23 resides in each of those 17 districts. 24 Now, of course, there were 19 25 incumbents in Pennsylvania from the previous decade's</p>	209	<p>1 Q. And so just to clarify, what were the 2 total criteria that you -- that you programmed your 3 algorithm to use in drawing the 500 maps in 4 Simulation Set 2? 5 A. Simulation Set 2 followed six criteria. 6 So the first five are the same 7 traditional districting principles that I described 8 in detail some time ago. And those were the 9 principles of equal population, geographic 10 continuity, avoiding county splits, avoiding 11 municipal splits, and geographic compactness. 12 And then in Simulation Set Number 2, I 13 add a sixth criterion of avoiding the pairing of 14 incumbents, or protecting 17 incumbents. 15 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 16 Petitioners' Exhibit 7, which is it 17 Figure 1.A of Dr. Chen's report. 18 BY MR. JACOBSON: 19 Q. Dr. Chen, could you tell us what this 20 is? 21 A. Figure 1.A, Exhibit 7, shows the 22 geographic boundaries of an example of a simulated 23 districting plan from Simulation Set Number 2. So, 24 once again, my computer produced 500 independent, 25 different simulated districting plans, and what we</p>

210	<p>1 see here in Figure 1.A is just one example among 2 those 500 different plans. 3 Q. And before we get to the numbers 4 underneath the map, what do the red stars on the map, 5 itself, represent? 6 A. In this map, I've added 19 red stars, 7 and those red stars denote the residential locations 8 of the 19 incumbents from Pennsylvania's 9 Congressional delegation that were in place as of the 10 112th Congress just before the November 2012 11 elections. 12 So these red stars are the residential 13 locations of the Congressional incumbents. 14 Q. And what does this map illustrate with 15 respect to those red stars, those locations of their 16 home addresses? 17 A. Well, this was an example of a map from 18 Simulation Set Number 2, so the computer algorithm 19 intentionally protected 17 incumbents. And we can 20 verify that going district by district and seeing 21 that in 17 districts, each of those 17 districts 22 contains one, and exactly one, incumbent and there's 23 only one district -- that's District Number 9 -- that 24 contains two incumbents. But 17 districts, fully 25 protects 17 incumbents by not double pairing them.</p>	212	<p>1 the General Assembly's 2011 redistricting. 2 Q. Could you run your simulations to avoid 3 pairing the current incumbents, if you wanted to? 4 A. Oh, sure, if I had been given that 5 data, if I had been given the identities and the 6 residential addresses of the current incumbents, but 7 that wasn't the question that I was asked to address. 8 Q. Now, looking at this particular map in 9 Figure 1.A, which is Petitioners' Exhibit 7, which 10 two incumbents get paired under this particular map? 11 A. The two incumbents that are paired on 12 this map in Figure 1.A are Jim Gerlach and 13 Pat Meehan. 14 Q. Now, let's look at the numbers in the 15 rows underneath the map on -- again, on Petitioners' 16 Exhibit 7, and start with the row that reads Expected 17 Republican Seats. 18 What does that depict here? 19 A. That's the first row beneath the map on 20 Figure 1.A, and that first row tells us -- as before, 21 it tells us the number of Republican districts on 22 this map at the -- the simulated map and compares 23 that to the number of Republican districts on the 24 enacted map. 25 And, once again, as before, I measured</p>
211	<p>1 Q. And you clarified this from what you 2 said before, but these are not the current incumbent 3 representatives in the U.S. House from Pennsylvania, 4 are they? 5 A. Correct, sir, we are not talking on 6 this figure about the 2016 incumbents. We are 7 talking about the incumbents in place as of the 8 General Assembly's drawing of the 2011 enacted map. 9 These are the incumbents that were up for reelection 10 or could have been up for reelection in 11 November 2012. 12 Q. And why did you use the incumbents as 13 of that time, rather than the current incumbents, for 14 purposes of your report? 15 A. I used the incumbents in place as of 16 the General Assembly's 2011 enacted map because, 17 again, this goes back to the question that 18 Petitioners' counsel asked of me. 19 Petitioners' counsel asked me whether or not the 20 General Assembly's -- whether or not the hypothetical 21 goal of protecting 17 incumbents in a nonpartisan 22 manner by the General Assembly might have had an 23 effect on the partisan skew of the map, so I had to 24 ask that question from the standpoint and with 25 reference to the actual 19 incumbents in place as of</p>	213	<p>1 the number of Republican seats here with respect to 2 those 2008 and 2010 statewide elections, counting up 3 the number of votes cast for Democrats and 4 Republicans in those 2008 and 2010 statewide 5 elections, the same measure that I've been talking 6 about today. 7 So -- 8 Q. So -- I'm sorry. Go ahead. 9 A. -- what -- what this row tells us is 10 that the enacted map, as we've already discussed 11 today, creates 13 Republican districts. This 12 particular simulated map here in Figure 1.A creates 13 nine Republican districts. So it creates nine 14 Republican and nine Democratic districts, whereas the 15 enacted map creates 13 Republican and five Democratic 16 districts. 17 Q. And how about the second row? What 18 does that show? 19 A. It tells us the number of counties that 20 were split in both this simulated map as well as the 21 enacted map, and it specifically tells us that this 22 simulated map splits exactly 15 of Pennsylvania's 67 23 counties, whereas the enacted map splits 28 of 24 Pennsylvania's 67 counties. So, clearly, the enacted 25 map splits significantly more counties.</p>

214	<p>1 Q. And how about the next row, Average</p> <p>2 Reock Compactness Score?</p> <p>3 A. It's the same calculation of</p> <p>4 Reock Compactness as before, and all this really</p> <p>5 tells us is that the simulated map in creating a</p> <p>6 Reock Compactness score of .396, clearly, the</p> <p>7 simulated map is very significantly more</p> <p>8 geographically compact than the enacted map, which</p> <p>9 has an average Reock Compactness score of .278.</p> <p>10 Q. And the next row, Average Popper-Polsby</p> <p>11 Score?</p> <p>12 A. It just tells us exactly the same</p> <p>13 thing, except using the Popper-Polsby measure. It</p> <p>14 tells us that simulated maps' Popper-Polsby score of</p> <p>15 .273 clearly indicates that this simulated map is</p> <p>16 very significantly more geographically compact than</p> <p>17 the enacted map, which had a Popper-Polsby score of</p> <p>18 .164.</p> <p>19 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>20 admit Exhibit Number 7 into evidence.</p> <p>21 THE COURT: Any objection?</p> <p>22 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.</p> <p>23 MR. LEVINE: No.</p> <p>24 MR. TABAS: No objection.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 7</p>	216	<p>1 of counties that were split into multiple districts</p> <p>2 in each one of these simulated maps as well as the</p> <p>3 enacted map.</p> <p>4 Q. What does the data -- the data on the</p> <p>5 horizontal axis reveal for this figure?</p> <p>6 A. The horizontal axis reveals that all of</p> <p>7 the simulated maps split somewhere between 12 to as</p> <p>8 many as 19 counties, with the vast majority of these</p> <p>9 simulated plans here in Set Number 2 splitting</p> <p>10 somewhere from 14 to about 17 counties. So that's</p> <p>11 the normal range that we see here along this</p> <p>12 horizontal axis.</p> <p>13 Now, once again, we see that the</p> <p>14 enacted plan split 28 counties. And clearly, that is</p> <p>15 far more than necessary -- than would have been</p> <p>16 necessary under this districting process following</p> <p>17 traditional districting criteria and protecting 17</p> <p>18 incumbents.</p> <p>19 Q. What does the vertical axis going from</p> <p>20 bottom to top represent?</p> <p>21 A. That vertical axis tells us the number</p> <p>22 of municipalities that were split in each simulated</p> <p>23 plan as well as in the enacted plan.</p> <p>24 Q. And what does the data on that axis</p> <p>25 depict on this chart?</p>
215	<p>1 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>2 - - -</p> <p>3 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>4 7 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>5 - - -</p> <p>6 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>7 Q. Again, let's move now from this</p> <p>8 particular map to the 500 maps you simulated in</p> <p>9 Set Number 2.</p> <p>10 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>11 Petitioners' Exhibit 8, which is Figure 6 of</p> <p>12 Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>13 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>14 Q. Again, very briefly, Dr. Chen, what do</p> <p>15 the black circles on the figure represent?</p> <p>16 A. They're 500 black circles, and they</p> <p>17 represent the 500 simulated plans here in Simulation</p> <p>18 Set Number 2.</p> <p>19 Q. And the red star on that top right</p> <p>20 corner of the figure?</p> <p>21 A. The red star at the top right</p> <p>22 represents the Act 131 enacted plan.</p> <p>23 Q. And what about the horizontal axis that</p> <p>24 goes from left to right on this chart?</p> <p>25 A. The horizontal axis tells us the number</p>	217	<p>1 A. The data reveal that the simulated</p> <p>2 plans split from about 50 to as many as 66</p> <p>3 municipalities; however, we see the red star at 68.</p> <p>4 That tells us that the Act 131 plan splits 68</p> <p>5 counties, and that reveals to us that the Act 131</p> <p>6 enacted plan split more municipalities than every</p> <p>7 single one, all 500, of these simulated plans.</p> <p>8 Q. As a whole, what can you conclude from</p> <p>9 this particular chart?</p> <p>10 A. We're able to conclude from this chart</p> <p>11 that the enacted plan subordinated the traditional</p> <p>12 districting criteria of avoiding county splits and</p> <p>13 avoiding municipal splits and the subordination of</p> <p>14 those criteria was not somehow justified or explained</p> <p>15 or warranted by an effort to protect 17 incumbents in</p> <p>16 a nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>17 To put that in layman's terms, an</p> <p>18 effort to protect incumbents would not have justified</p> <p>19 splitting up as many counties and as many</p> <p>20 municipalities as we saw split up in the enacted</p> <p>21 plan.</p> <p>22 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>23 admit Exhibit Number 8 into evidence.</p> <p>24 THE COURT: Any objection?</p> <p>25 MS. HANGLEY: No.</p>

218	<p>1 MR. LEVINE: No.</p> <p>2 MR. TABAS: No.</p> <p>3 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 8</p> <p>4 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>5 - - -</p> <p>6 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>7 8 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>8 - - -</p> <p>9 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>10 now Petitioners' Exhibit 9, which is</p> <p>11 Figure 7 from Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>12 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>13 Q. Dr. Chen, again, what do the black</p> <p>14 circles represent on this chart?</p> <p>15 A. These 500 black circles represent the</p> <p>16 500 simulated plans in Simulation Set 2.</p> <p>17 Q. And how about the red star on the</p> <p>18 bottom left of this chart?</p> <p>19 A. Again, the red star represents the</p> <p>20 enacted Act 131 Plan.</p> <p>21 Q. And what about the horizontal axis</p> <p>22 going from left to right?</p> <p>23 A. In describing Simulation Set Number 2,</p> <p>24 this horizontal axis represents the average Reock</p> <p>25 score, the mean Reock score, of all of these</p>	220	<p>1 Act 131 Plan was significantly less geographically</p> <p>2 compact than all 500 of these simulated plans.</p> <p>3 Q. So as a whole, what can you conclude</p> <p>4 from this particular chart?</p> <p>5 A. What this chart -- what this figure</p> <p>6 illustrates to us very clearly is that the</p> <p>7 Act 131 Plan significantly subordinated the</p> <p>8 traditional districting criteria of geographic</p> <p>9 compactness and that subordination of geographic</p> <p>10 compactness of districts was not somehow justified or</p> <p>11 necessitated or explained by a hypothetical effort to</p> <p>12 protect 17 incumbents.</p> <p>13 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>14 admit Exhibit Number 9 into evidence.</p> <p>15 THE COURT: Any objection?</p> <p>16 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.</p> <p>17 MR. LEVINE: No.</p> <p>18 MR. TABAS: No.</p> <p>19 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 9</p> <p>20 will be admitted without objection.</p> <p>21 - - -</p> <p>22 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>23 9 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>24 - - -</p> <p>25 MR. JACOBSON: If we can pull up</p>
219	<p>1 simulated plans as well as the enacted plan.</p> <p>2 Q. And what does the data on the</p> <p>3 horizontal axis reveal?</p> <p>4 A. The data reveal that the enacted</p> <p>5 Act 131 Plan is significantly less compact, has a</p> <p>6 significantly less Reock score than all 500 of the</p> <p>7 simulated plans in Set 2. Those simulated plans have</p> <p>8 a Reock score ranging from about .34 to about .42.</p> <p>9 That's normal range of the vast majority of these</p> <p>10 simulated plans.</p> <p>11 Clearly, the enacted plans' Reock score</p> <p>12 of a little under .28 is significantly and far below</p> <p>13 all 500 of those simulated plans. So that tells us</p> <p>14 that the enacted plan was far less geographically</p> <p>15 compact than what would have emerged from a</p> <p>16 districting process following traditional districting</p> <p>17 criteria and protecting 17 incumbents in a</p> <p>18 nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>19 Q. And, Dr. Chen, how about the vertical</p> <p>20 axis?</p> <p>21 A. It tells us exactly the same thing,</p> <p>22 just using this other measure of Popper-Polsby, but</p> <p>23 substantively, it tells us the exact same thing. It</p> <p>24 shows us that whether you use the Popper-Polsby or</p> <p>25 the Reock measure, it's very clear that the</p>	221	<p>1 Petitioners' Exhibit 10, which is Figure 8</p> <p>2 of Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>3 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>4 Q. Dr. Chen, what does this figure depict?</p> <p>5 A. Figure 8, Exhibit 10, depicts the</p> <p>6 number of Republican districts in each one of the 500</p> <p>7 simulated plans in Simulation Set Number 2. And,</p> <p>8 again, I'm measuring the number of Republican</p> <p>9 districts using the same measure that we've discussed</p> <p>10 at length today, counting up the Republican and</p> <p>11 Democratic votes in the 2008 and 2010 statewide</p> <p>12 elections, and I'm comparing the 500 simulated plans</p> <p>13 against the Act 131 enacted plan.</p> <p>14 Q. And did you use the same sort of</p> <p>15 overlay process that you described before with</p> <p>16 Simulation Set 1?</p> <p>17 A. Yes, sir, exactly the same. I</p> <p>18 calculated the number of Republican and Democratic</p> <p>19 districts in exactly the same way as we described</p> <p>20 before.</p> <p>21 Q. What does the tallest bar on this chart</p> <p>22 show?</p> <p>23 A. The tallest bar on this chart is right</p> <p>24 at the number of 10. What that tells us is that</p> <p>25 41.2 percent of the simulated plans in Set 2 created</p>

222	<p>1 exactly 10 Republican districts.</p> <p>2 So that's a plan with 10 Republican and</p> <p>3 eight Democratic districts. That was the most common</p> <p>4 outcome, occurring 41 percent of the time.</p> <p>5 Q. And how about the other bars on the</p> <p>6 chart?</p> <p>7 A. We see that the vast majority, over</p> <p>8 98 percent, of the simulated plans in this set create</p> <p>9 somewhere from 8 to 11 Republican districts, and then</p> <p>10 we see that there are a small percentage, under</p> <p>11 1 percent, that create seven Republican districts,</p> <p>12 and then 1 percent that creates 12 Republican</p> <p>13 districts. But the vast majority of the simulations</p> <p>14 here are either eight, nine, 10 or 11 Republican</p> <p>15 districts.</p> <p>16 Q. Do Republicans ever win 13 districts,</p> <p>17 under your nonpartisan simulations?</p> <p>18 A. No, sir, not a single one.</p> <p>19 Q. What can you conclude, then, from this</p> <p>20 figure?</p> <p>21 A. Well, this figure shows us that the</p> <p>22 Act 131 Plan's creation of a 13-5 Republican</p> <p>23 advantage is clearly not an outcome that could</p> <p>24 plausibly have emerged from a districting process</p> <p>25 following traditional districting criteria in</p>	224	<p>1 telling us about the specific pair of incumbents that</p> <p>2 was placed together in a single district within each</p> <p>3 one of the 500 simulated plans.</p> <p>4 So, again, I created 500 -- or the</p> <p>5 computer created 500 different simulated plans, and</p> <p>6 within each plan, a different pair of incumbents was</p> <p>7 put together in one district because only 17 of the</p> <p>8 19 incumbents could have been protected.</p> <p>9 So this table is describing the pairs</p> <p>10 of incumbents that arise across those 500 simulated</p> <p>11 plans and how often each pair of incumbents arises</p> <p>12 among those 500 simulated plans.</p> <p>13 Q. Under your simulations in Set 2, what</p> <p>14 made two incumbents more likely to be paired with</p> <p>15 each other?</p> <p>16 A. Well, here's what we generally know</p> <p>17 when you apply traditional districting principles.</p> <p>18 If you apply principles like geographic compactness</p> <p>19 of districts, minimizing county splits, avoiding</p> <p>20 municipal splits, in general, you are more likely to</p> <p>21 pair two incumbents together if they are</p> <p>22 geographically close to each other, if they reside in</p> <p>23 the same county, or you're even more likely to pair</p> <p>24 them together if they reside in the same city.</p> <p>25 Those are the sorts of factors that</p>
223	<p>1 addition to protecting 17 incumbents in a nonpartisan</p> <p>2 manner.</p> <p>3 Clearly, this figure shows us that a</p> <p>4 13-5 outcome is not reflective of such a districting</p> <p>5 process, in -- rather, the Act 131 Plan reflects</p> <p>6 partisan intent as a predominant factor.</p> <p>7 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>8 admit Exhibit 10 into evidence.</p> <p>9 THE COURT: Any objection?</p> <p>10 MR. TABAS: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>11 MS. HANGLEY: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>12 MR. LEVINE: No, Your Honor.</p> <p>13 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 10</p> <p>14 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>15 - - -</p> <p>16 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>17 10 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>18 - - -</p> <p>19 MR. JACOBSON: If we can pull up now</p> <p>20 Petitioners' Exhibit 11, which is Table 3 of</p> <p>21 Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>22 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>23 Q. What does this table depict?</p> <p>24 A. This table is describing the 500 plans</p> <p>25 in Simulation Set Number 2, and specifically, it's</p>	225	<p>1 would cause two incumbents to be paired together when</p> <p>2 you apply traditional districting principles.</p> <p>3 Q. Now, if you could just walk us through,</p> <p>4 what do the top two rows on this exhibit show?</p> <p>5 A. The top two rows show the two pairs of</p> <p>6 incumbents that are most likely to occur under the</p> <p>7 500 simulated plans in Simulation Set Number 2.</p> <p>8 So in the first row, we can see that</p> <p>9 the specific pairing of Jim Gerlach and Pat Meehan is</p> <p>10 a very common outcome. It happens 40.2 percent of</p> <p>11 the time. 40.2 percent of those 500 simulated plans</p> <p>12 have this outcome of pairing Gerlach and Meehan.</p> <p>13 The second row is another pairing that</p> <p>14 also occurs quite frequently. It's Bob Brady and</p> <p>15 Pat Meehan. Those two representatives are paired</p> <p>16 together -- those two incumbents were paired together</p> <p>17 in 34.4 percent of the 500 simulated plans in</p> <p>18 Simulation Set 2.</p> <p>19 Q. Dr. Chen, who are the two incumbents</p> <p>20 who are actually paired together in real life under</p> <p>21 the enacted plan?</p> <p>22 A. In the enacted plan, it was</p> <p>23 Jason Altmire and Mark Critz who were paired</p> <p>24 together.</p> <p>25 Q. Why don't they appear anywhere in this</p>

226	<p>1 chart?</p> <p>2 A. Well, they don't appear on this chart</p> <p>3 because in zero out of the 500 simulations were they</p> <p>4 actually paired together in any of these simulated</p> <p>5 plans, so that pairing just never occurred.</p> <p>6 Q. And do you know the partisan</p> <p>7 affiliations of Mark Critz and Jason Altmire at the</p> <p>8 time of the drawing of these plans -- the enacted</p> <p>9 plan?</p> <p>10 A. I don't know that information.</p> <p>11 Q. Do you know the partisan -- sorry --</p> <p>12 the party of the two representatives on the top row</p> <p>13 there, Jim Gerlach and Mark -- and Pat Meehan?</p> <p>14 I'm sorry.</p> <p>15 A. I don't know that information.</p> <p>16 Q. Now, as a whole, what can you conclude</p> <p>17 based on this table?</p> <p>18 A. Well, what I can conclude from this</p> <p>19 table is that the enacted map's pairing of</p> <p>20 Jason Altmire and Mark Critz is an outcome that is</p> <p>21 statistically unlikely to occur under a districting</p> <p>22 process that, Number 1, follows traditional</p> <p>23 districting criteria and, 2, protects 17 of 19</p> <p>24 incumbents in a nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>25 Now, when I look at the geographic</p>	228	<p>1 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.</p> <p>2 MR. LEVINE: No objection.</p> <p>3 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 11</p> <p>4 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>5 - - -</p> <p>6 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>7 11 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>8 - - -</p> <p>9 MR. JACOBSON: If we can look now at</p> <p>10 Petitioners' Exhibit 12, which is Table 1 of</p> <p>11 Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>12 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>13 Q. Dr. Chen, what does this table depict?</p> <p>14 A. This table describes various</p> <p>15 characteristics of the enacted plan in</p> <p>16 Column Number 1; and in the next column, it describes</p> <p>17 those same characteristics of all the 500 plans in</p> <p>18 Simulation Set Number 1; and in the final column, we</p> <p>19 see those same characteristics with respect to the</p> <p>20 500 plans in Simulation Set Number 2.</p> <p>21 Q. And if you could just walk us through</p> <p>22 the numbers, let's start with the row that says</p> <p>23 Number of Country Splits.</p> <p>24 A. So that's the third row from the top,</p> <p>25 and this third row is telling us that the Act 131</p>
227	<p>1 locations of Jason Altmire and Mark Critz on the</p> <p>2 actual map, which I displayed in Figure 1.A, it's</p> <p>3 pretty clear why that happens, why that was the case.</p> <p>4 Jason Altmire and Mark Critz are not geographically</p> <p>5 close to one another. They don't live in the same</p> <p>6 county, and they don't even live in adjacent</p> <p>7 counties, and they obviously don't live in the same</p> <p>8 municipality.</p> <p>9 So it would have been very unlikely for</p> <p>10 that particular pairing to occur under a simulated</p> <p>11 districting process or under a districting process</p> <p>12 following traditional principles and protecting</p> <p>13 incumbents -- protecting 17 incumbents in a</p> <p>14 nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>15 Broadly, what we're able to conclude</p> <p>16 here from Table 3 is that the specific decision to</p> <p>17 protect -- to pair together Jason Altmire and</p> <p>18 Mark Critz is a plan that is an outcome that is</p> <p>19 statistically implausible under a districting process</p> <p>20 drawn with adherence to nonpartisan traditional</p> <p>21 districting principles and protecting 17 incumbents</p> <p>22 in a nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>23 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p> <p>24 admit Exhibit 11 into evidence.</p> <p>25 THE COURT: Any objection?</p>	229	<p>1 enacted plans splits apart 28 of Pennsylvania's 67</p> <p>2 counties.</p> <p>3 We then go to the next column,</p> <p>4 describing Simulation Set Number 1, and the data here</p> <p>5 tells us that all 500 of the plans in Simulation Set</p> <p>6 Number 1 split apart anywhere from 11 up to as many</p> <p>7 16 counties -- 11 to 16 of Pennsylvania's 67 total</p> <p>8 counties.</p> <p>9 And then we go to the final column, and</p> <p>10 we see that the 500 plans in Simulation Set Number 2</p> <p>11 split apart anywhere from 12 to as many as 19</p> <p>12 counties.</p> <p>13 So, clearly, we can see that the</p> <p>14 enacted plan split -- in splitting apart 28 counties,</p> <p>15 splits apart far more than all 1,000 of these</p> <p>16 simulated plans.</p> <p>17 Q. And how about the next row,</p> <p>18 Municipalities?</p> <p>19 A. This is the fourth row, and in this</p> <p>20 fourth row here in Table 1, we see that the enacted</p> <p>21 plan splits apart 68 of Pennsylvania's</p> <p>22 municipalities. We go to the next column, and we can</p> <p>23 see that Simulation Set Number 1, the 500 plans in</p> <p>24 Simulation Set Number 1, split apart anywhere from 40</p> <p>25 to as many as 58 municipalities. And then we go to</p>

230	<p>1 the final column, and we can see that the 500</p> <p>2 simulated plans in Simulation Set 2 split apart</p> <p>3 anywhere from 50 to as many as 66 municipalities.</p> <p>4 Q. Dr. Chen, it looks like the number of</p> <p>5 counties split and the number of municipalities split</p> <p>6 increases slightly from Set 1 to Set 2.</p> <p>7 Why would that be?</p> <p>8 A. Well, it was because Simulation Set</p> <p>9 Number 2 is intentionally trying to protect 17</p> <p>10 incumbents, and when you intentionally try and</p> <p>11 protect that many incumbents, particularly with the</p> <p>12 unique geographic locations of those incumbents --</p> <p>13 and that could vary, depending on the geographic</p> <p>14 characteristics or the degree of noncompactness from</p> <p>15 the previous decade's plan -- particularly since</p> <p>16 you're trying to protect those 17 incumbents or</p> <p>17 maximize the number of incumbents protected, there is</p> <p>18 necessarily going to be a small degree of sacrifice</p> <p>19 to traditional districting principles.</p> <p>20 And that's what we see here on this</p> <p>21 table, that as you intentionally protect 17</p> <p>22 incumbents in a nonpartisan manner, you slightly</p> <p>23 increase the number of counties that were split,</p> <p>24 slightly increase the number of municipalities that</p> <p>25 were split; and, in later rows, you can see that</p>	232	<p>1 third from the bottom, that the Act 131 Plan has a</p> <p>2 Reock score of .278. And moving over to the next two</p> <p>3 columns, we can see that Simulation Set Number 1 has</p> <p>4 a significantly higher range of Reock scores, from</p> <p>5 .358 to .470, and Simulation Set Number 2 also has a</p> <p>6 significantly higher range of Reock scores, from .328</p> <p>7 up to .426.</p> <p>8 That tells us that the enacted plan is</p> <p>9 significantly less compact on the Reock score than</p> <p>10 both sets -- than every simulated plan in both sets</p> <p>11 of simulations.</p> <p>12 We see the exact same thing on the next</p> <p>13 row for Popper-Polsby. Just using a slightly</p> <p>14 different measure of geographic compactness, we see</p> <p>15 that the enacted plan is significantly less compact</p> <p>16 than all 500 plans in each of the two sets of</p> <p>17 simulations.</p> <p>18 Q. And how about the final row, the row</p> <p>19 that reads Republican Districts? Can you walk us</p> <p>20 through that row?</p> <p>21 A. Those are numbers that we have already</p> <p>22 seen earlier today, but here, it just lays out --</p> <p>23 this final row here in Table 1 just lays out the</p> <p>24 actual number of Republican districts, again using</p> <p>25 the same 2008 to 2010 statewide election measure that</p>
231	<p>1 there's a slight decrease in the geographic</p> <p>2 compactness of these plans in Set Number 2.</p> <p>3 But here's the broader point: Even</p> <p>4 with that slight increase in the number of counties</p> <p>5 split and that slight increase in the number of</p> <p>6 municipalities split, the number of municipalities</p> <p>7 split, even in the very worst of these 1,000</p> <p>8 simulated plans, doesn't come close to matching, for</p> <p>9 example, the enacted plan's splitting of 28 counties.</p> <p>10 In other words, what we're seeing here</p> <p>11 on this table is that the enacted Act 131 Plan is</p> <p>12 still doing worse in terms of county splits, as well</p> <p>13 as municipal splits, than every single one of the</p> <p>14 simulated plans, including the plans that</p> <p>15 intentionally have protected 17 incumbents.</p> <p>16 Q. And you alluded to it a second ago,</p> <p>17 the -- skipping down to the two rows that say Average</p> <p>18 Reock Score and Average Popper-Polsby Score.</p> <p>19 Can you just walk us through those?</p> <p>20 A. Yes. So these are the second and third</p> <p>21 rows from the bottom on Table 2 here in Exhibit 12,</p> <p>22 and those rows tell us the Popper-Polsby as well as</p> <p>23 the Reock scores of the Act 131 Plan as well as the</p> <p>24 1,000 simulated plans.</p> <p>25 So we can see on the Reock row, the</p>	233	<p>1 I described earlier today, and this final row tells</p> <p>2 us that the enacted plan creates 13 Republican</p> <p>3 districts. There are 13 Republican-leaning districts</p> <p>4 in the enacted plan.</p> <p>5 Then we go to the next column, and we</p> <p>6 can see that all of the 500 simulations in Set</p> <p>7 Number 1 create from 7 to 10 Republican districts,</p> <p>8 with the vast majority at either eight or nine</p> <p>9 Republican districts. And then we go to the final</p> <p>10 column, and we can see that the 500 simulations</p> <p>11 create somewhere from 7 to 12 Republican districts,</p> <p>12 with the vast majority creating either eight, nine,</p> <p>13 10 or 11 Republican districts.</p> <p>14 So that just shows us in numerical</p> <p>15 format here what we've already seen earlier today,</p> <p>16 which -- which is that the enacted plan's creation of</p> <p>17 13 Republican districts is an extreme statistical</p> <p>18 outlier and that extreme partisan outcome of a 13-5</p> <p>19 plan is an outcome that is never observed in a single</p> <p>20 one of the 1,000 simulated plans that we have looked</p> <p>21 at today.</p> <p>22 Q. Now, it looks like the number of</p> <p>23 Republican districts increases slightly from Set 1 to</p> <p>24 Set 2.</p> <p>25 Can you explain why that would be?</p>

234	<p>1 A. Yeah, it does clearly increase by a 2 very slight amount, and that's because Simulation Set 3 Number 2 intentionally protects as many incumbents 4 from the old -- from the previous decade's map as 5 possible. 6 Now, what do we actually know about the 7 incumbents from the previous map? We know that there 8 were 19 incumbents, and we also know that 12 of them 9 were Republicans. So because there were far more 10 Republicans -- Republican incumbents on the map from 11 the previous decade, that tells us that any effort to 12 draw a map that intentionally protects as many of 13 those incumbents as possible is obviously going to 14 have somewhat of a Republican bias or a Republican 15 skew when it comes to drawing maps that intentionally 16 protect those incumbents. 17 That's just a very fancy way of saying 18 that because of the partisan skew of the previous 19 decade's map, it's just natural to expect that an 20 effort to protect incumbents is going to favor 21 Republicans. 22 Q. And I want you to assume for the sake 23 of a hypothetical that the prior districting map 24 preceding Act 31 was gerrymandered to favor 25 Republicans.</p>	236	<p>1 A. No, and that's what's striking -- 2 that's what's so striking about the results in 3 Simulation Set Number 2, is that I did not analyze 4 anything beyond the fact that there were clearly 5 12 Republicans, that there was clearly several more 6 Republicans among those 19 incumbents than Democrat 7 incumbents, but the simulations also ignore that 8 partisan data. The simulations -- the simulation 9 algorithm protected incumbents in a nonpartisan 10 manner. 11 What's so striking is that even with a 12 maximal protection of incumbents, protecting 17 13 incumbents, the maximum number of incumbents to be 14 protected, that even then, when you protect the 15 maximum number of incumbents in the simulation 16 algorithm, you still never, not a single time, 17 explain or achieve a 13-5 outcome. 18 So what this is telling us, with 19 extremely high statistical certainty, is that even an 20 effort to protect all of the incumbents possible, 21 that is, 17 out of nine incumbents from the previous 22 decade's plan -- that even conducting that incumbency 23 protection effort in a nonpartisan manner -- even 24 such an extreme incumbency protection effort could 25 not plausibly explain the extreme 13-5 Republican</p>
235	<p>1 How would that affect the number of 2 Republican districts expected under Simulation Set 2? 3 A. Okay. 4 Under the hypothetical that you've set 5 up, where I'm supposing that the previous decade's 6 map was gerrymandering in favor of Republicans, then, 7 obviously, any effort to protect the incumbents 8 arising from that previous partisan gerrymandered map 9 would, in effect, be an effort towards -- would be a 10 measure towards locking in, to some degree, the 11 partisan bias of that previous -- that previously 12 gerrymandered map. 13 In other words, if you already start 14 with the previously gerrymandered map and then you 15 take the incumbents that arise from that 16 gerrymandered map and you try to protect those same 17 incumbents in drawing a new map, obviously, there's 18 going to be some degree of bias towards whatever the 19 partisan tilt or the partisan gerrymandered direction 20 of that previous map was. 21 Q. Now, you said there could be some 22 baked-in bias based on the prior map. 23 Assuming that did exist, does that 24 explain the 13-5 outcome that Pennsylvania has seen 25 under the current districting plan since 2012?</p>	237	<p>1 advantage on the enacted map. 2 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 3 admit Exhibit 12 into evidence. 4 THE COURT: Any objection? 5 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 6 MR. TABAS: No objection. 7 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 12 8 is admitted without objection. 9 - - - 10 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 11 12 was admitted into evidence.) 12 - - - 13 BY MR. JACOBSON: 14 Q. Dr. Chen, did you run any analysis of 15 the racial characteristics of your thousand simulated 16 plans? 17 A. Well, after I had finished conducting 18 the 500 simulated plans in Set Number 1 and the 500 19 simulated plans in Set Number 2 -- after my computer 20 had completely finished simulating those plans, after 21 those maps had already been produced, I then went 22 back and I analyzed a subset of those plans, of those 23 1,000 plans. 24 Q. And we'll get to that subset in a 25 moment.</p>

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1 MR. JACOBSON: But if we could pull
 2 up Petitioners' Exhibit 13, which is from
 3 Appendix A of Dr. Chen's report.
 4 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 5 **Q. Dr. Chen, what does this table depict?**
 6 A. This table in Appendix A in Exhibit 13
 7 tells us about the racial and ethnic composition --
 8 using U.S. Census data, the racial and ethnic
 9 composition of the Congressional districts in the
 10 current enacted Act 131 Plan.
 11 **Q. And what does the column that says**
 12 **Total Voting-Age Population, the second column --**
 13 **what does that mean?**
 14 A. That column tells us the total
 15 voting-age population of each of the 18 districts in
 16 the current enacted plan. And what I mean by
 17 "voting-age population" is what districting scholars
 18 routinely mean by that term, which is just a total
 19 population, age 18 or over. That's what we call
 20 "voting-age population."
 21 **Q. And moving over two columns to the**
 22 **fourth column, the column that says, Any Part**
 23 **African-American Proportion of VAP.**
 24 **What does that column show?**
 25 A. That column tells us the percentage of

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1 the voting-age population within each district that
 2 is any part African-American.
 3 What I mean by "any part
 4 African-American" includes both individuals who
 5 identify as African-American of one race only as well
 6 as multiracial African-Americans. It also includes
 7 African-Americans who have identified as Hispanic.
 8 **Q. And looking at the data in that column,**
 9 **the Any Part African-American Proportion column, what**
 10 **do you see?**
 11 A. Well, when we look at this column, that
 12 Any Part African-American Proportion of VAP column,
 13 what we can see here is that there is one district
 14 that has a majority African-American proportion of
 15 the VAP.
 16 **Q. And what district is that?**
 17 A. That is District Number 2. It contains
 18 an African-American proportion of 56.8 percent.
 19 **Q. And how about District Number 1? What**
 20 **is it the African-American proportion in that**
 21 **district?**
 22 A. District Number 1 has an
 23 African-American proportion of 32.88 percent.
 24 **Q. And still in District Number 1, the**
 25 **far-right column, Non-Hispanic White Proportion, what**

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1 **is the white percentage of the population in**
 2 **District 1?**
 3 A. District Number 1 has a white
 4 proportion of 46.9 percent.
 5 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to
 6 admit Exhibit 13 into evidence.
 7 THE COURT: Any objection?
 8 MS. HANGLEY: No.
 9 MR. LEVINE: No.
 10 MR. TABAS: No.
 11 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up
 12 Petitioners' Exhibit 14.
 13 THE COURT: Exhibit 13 is admitted
 14 without objection.
 15 MR. JACOBSON: Apologies,
 16 Your Honor.
 17 - - -
 18 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number
 19 13 was admitted into evidence.)
 20 - - -
 21 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up
 22 Petitioners' Exhibit 14. That's Exhibit --
 23 from Appendix B of Dr. Chen's report.
 24 BY MR. JACOBSON:
 25 **Q. Dr. Chen, what does this table depict?**

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1 A. This table depicts the racial and
 2 ethnic composition of Congressional districts in the
 3 previous decade's plan.
 4 **Q. And when you say "the previous decade's**
 5 **plan," you're referring -- I believe it says there to**
 6 **the 2002 Congressional Plan; is that right?**
 7 A. Yes, sir, for the 108th Congress.
 8 **Q. Now, if we look at District Number 1,**
 9 **what was the African-American proportion of the**
 10 **population in District 1 under the 2002 Congressional**
 11 **Plan?**
 12 A. District 1 has an African-American
 13 proportion of 43.9 percent.
 14 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you.
 15 Petitioners move to admit Exhibit 14
 16 into evidence.
 17 THE COURT: Any objection?
 18 MS. HANGLEY: No objection.
 19 MR. LEVINE: No objection.
 20 MR. TABAS: No objection.
 21 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 14
 22 is admitted without objection.
 23 - - -
 24 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number
 25

242	<p>1 14 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>2 - - -</p> <p>3 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>4 Q. Turning back now to Petitioners' 13,</p> <p>5 which we were looking at a moment ago. And this is</p> <p>6 the exhibit we were just looking at that depicts the</p> <p>7 proportion of -- the demographics under the current</p> <p>8 plan.</p> <p>9 Dr. Chen, you noted that the</p> <p>10 African-American proportion of the VAP in District 2</p> <p>11 is 56.8 percent under the current plan.</p> <p>12 How did you incorporate that into your</p> <p>13 analysis?</p> <p>14 A. Well, as I said, I finished conducting</p> <p>15 the two sets of simulations on my computer, and so my</p> <p>16 computer had already produced 1,000 different plans.</p> <p>17 I then went back, and I didn't change anything about</p> <p>18 the algorithm, and I didn't rerun any plans. I</p> <p>19 simply identified a subset of those 1,000 simulated</p> <p>20 plans.</p> <p>21 In Simulation Sets 1 and 2, I simply</p> <p>22 identified a subset of those plans that contained at</p> <p>23 least one district with any part African-American</p> <p>24 proportion of the voting-age population of</p> <p>25 56.8 percent or higher. I identified that subset of</p>	244	<p>1 Q. And what does the data on this figure</p> <p>2 on the left -- on the left of this exhibit show?</p> <p>3 A. The figure on the left shows us that</p> <p>4 among the subset of plans -- of those 205 plans that</p> <p>5 contain such a district with an African-American VAP</p> <p>6 over 56.8 percent, that the vast majority of those</p> <p>7 plans cap either eight or nine Republican districts.</p> <p>8 In fact, the majority of them are at</p> <p>9 nine Republican districts. About one-third of them</p> <p>10 are at eight Republican districts. So that comprises</p> <p>11 about 95 -- a little over 95 percent of the total,</p> <p>12 and the remaining 4 percent of the plans contain</p> <p>13 either seven or up to 10 Republican districts. But</p> <p>14 the vast majority are either eight or nine Republican</p> <p>15 district plans.</p> <p>16 Q. And turning now to the figure on the</p> <p>17 right side of this exhibit, what is that figure</p> <p>18 depicting?</p> <p>19 A. The figure on the right tells us the</p> <p>20 same subset, except with respect to Simulation Set</p> <p>21 Number 2. So these are the 54 plans in</p> <p>22 Simulation Set 2 that also contain one district with</p> <p>23 an African-American voting-age population of over</p> <p>24 56.8 percent. And this figure shows us that the vast</p> <p>25 majority of those plans contain anywhere from</p>
243	<p>1 plans.</p> <p>2 Q. And, Dr. Chen, are you taking a</p> <p>3 position that 56.8 percent African-American</p> <p>4 population is a minimum threshold that a district</p> <p>5 needs to create a majority-minority district under</p> <p>6 the Voting Rights Act?</p> <p>7 A. No, sir, not at all. That would be a</p> <p>8 legal question beyond my expertise as a political</p> <p>9 scientist.</p> <p>10 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up</p> <p>11 Petitioners' Exhibit 15, which is Figure 10</p> <p>12 from Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>13 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>14 Q. Dr. Chen, what does the left side of</p> <p>15 this figure depict?</p> <p>16 A. The left side of this figure -- you're</p> <p>17 in Figure 10 in Exhibit 15 -- depicts the number of</p> <p>18 Republican districts among only the subset of those</p> <p>19 simulated plans in Set Number 1 that contain a</p> <p>20 district with an African-American voting-age</p> <p>21 population of over 56.8 percent.</p> <p>22 So that subset includes only 205 of the</p> <p>23 total 500 simulated plans in Set Number 1, and this</p> <p>24 figure tells us about the number of Republican</p> <p>25 districts in each one of those 205 simulated plans.</p>	245	<p>1 seven -- anywhere from eight, nine, 10, to 11</p> <p>2 Republican districts, with under 2 percent of them</p> <p>3 having 12 Republican districts.</p> <p>4 Q. Dr. Chen, as a whole, what can you</p> <p>5 conclude from these combined figures on</p> <p>6 Petitioners' 15?</p> <p>7 A. Well, as a whole, what we're looking at</p> <p>8 here in front of us is a description of the 259</p> <p>9 simulated plans among the entire set of simulated</p> <p>10 plans that contain a district with an</p> <p>11 African-American VAP of over 56.8 percent, and what</p> <p>12 we're able to conclude from these two figures is that</p> <p>13 even the hypothetical effort to produce a certain</p> <p>14 racial threshold of having one district of over a</p> <p>15 56.8 percent African-American voting-age</p> <p>16 population -- even that hypothetical racial goal</p> <p>17 would not have justified or explained or necessitated</p> <p>18 the creation of an extreme 13-5 Republican outcome, a</p> <p>19 Republican advantage in the enacted map.</p> <p>20 In other words, the 13-5 Republican</p> <p>21 advantage of the enacted map is an outcome that is</p> <p>22 not plausible, even if one is only interested in</p> <p>23 plans that create one district with over 56.8 percent</p> <p>24 African-American voting-age population.</p> <p>25 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p>

246	<p>1 admit Exhibit 15 into evidence. 2 THE COURT: Any objection? 3 MS. HANGLEY: No. 4 MR. LEVINE: No. 5 MR. TABAS: No. 6 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 15 7 is admitted without objection. 8 - - - 9 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 10 15 was admitted into evidence.) 11 - - - 12 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 13 now Petitioners' Exhibit 21. 14 BY MR. JACOBSON: 15 Q. Dr. Chen, what does this exhibit show? 16 A. This Exhibit Number 21 tells us about 17 the subset within Simulation Set Number 1, the 231 18 plans within Simulation Set Number 1 that contain one 19 district with over a 50 percent African-American 20 voting-age population. 21 And what we can see here from this 22 figure is that the vast majority of these plans -- of 23 this subset of plans containing a district with over 24 50 percent African-American voting-age population -- 25 the vast majority of these plans, once again, create</p>	248	<p>1 Legislative Respondents' experts' reports. 2 MR. LEWIS: Your Honor, our experts 3 had no chance to opine on these charts in 4 their responsive reports. That's why we 5 require these exhibits and charts to be 6 turned over with the reports. 7 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, if I may. 8 If their experts wanted to respond to these 9 reports, they have all of the data needed 10 to. It was turned over last Friday -- 11 this -- I mean this exhibit was turned over 12 last Friday. The data itself was turned 13 over on the 27th of November. 14 THE COURT: Was the exhibit 15 identified in your pretrial memorandum? 16 MR. JACOBSON: Yes, it was. 17 THE COURT: Did you lodge an 18 objection -- a motion in limine to preclude 19 it from not being stated in the pretrial 20 memorandum -- or it was disclosed in the 21 pretrial memorandum. 22 Did you file -- or one of your 23 objections address this particular exhibit 24 because it wasn't previously identified? 25 THE WITNESS: No, I don't believe we</p>
247	<p>1 either eight or nine Republican districts with a very 2 small percentage at 7 and a very small percentage at 3 10. But the vast majority are either eight or nine 4 Republican districts. 5 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 6 admit Exhibit 21 into evidence. 7 THE COURT: Any objection? 8 MS. HANGLEY: No. 9 MR. TABAS: No. 10 MR. LEWIS: Legislative Respondents 11 object on the grounds that this was not 12 included within Dr. Chen's report, nor was 13 it produced during the discovery period. 14 THE COURT: Response? 15 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, this 16 exhibit was turned over to the 17 Legislative Respondents on Friday as part of 18 the exhibit exchange. It was calculated 19 using data that was turned over with 20 Dr. Chen's report on November 27th, I 21 believe was the date. It's an exhibit that 22 could be easily replicated using that data 23 that we turned over, and it's directly 24 responsive to a criticism of Dr. Chen's 25 report that was levied in some of</p>	249	<p>1 did. 2 THE COURT: Okay. I'm going to 3 overrule the objection, and I'm going to 4 admit the exhibit. 5 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you, 6 Your Honor. 7 - - - 8 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 9 21 was admitted into evidence.) 10 - - - 11 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 12 now Petitioners' Exhibit 23. 13 BY MR. JACOBSON: 14 Q. Dr. Chen, what does this exhibit 15 depict? 16 A. Okay. 17 The Exhibit Number 23 describes the 300 18 simulated plans within Simulation Set Number 2 that 19 contain one district -- at least one district with an 20 African-American voting-age population of over 21 50 percent. 22 And so this figure is telling us the 23 number of Republican districts within each one of 24 this subset of the simulated plans in Simulation Set 25 Number 2. And we can see from this figure that the</p>

250	<p>1 vast majority of this subset of simulations that 2 contain a majority African-American VAP district also 3 creates anywhere from eight, nine, 10 to 11 4 Republican districts. They're -- under 1 percent of 5 them create 12 Republican districts. 6 So what this is generally telling us is 7 that the entire range of such simulated plans is 8 eight to 12 with a vast majority of them from eight 9 to 11. And these are all simulated plans that, in 10 Simulation Set Number 2, create one district with an 11 African-American voting-age population of over 12 50 percent. 13 Q. And I believe you said this number a 14 moment ago, but how many of your 500 simulations in 15 Set Number 2 produce one district with an 16 African-American VAP over 50 percent? 17 A. There are 300 such plans. So 300 out 18 of the 500 simulations create such a district. 19 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 20 admit Exhibit 23 into evidence. 21 THE COURT: Any objection? 22 MR. LEWIS: Your Honor, we raise the 23 same objection as to the prior exhibit. It 24 was not turned over -- 25 THE COURT: And, again, Counsel,</p>	252	<p>1 Democrats or Republicans are spaced out across 2 geography and what implications that has for 3 legislative redistricting, what implications that has 4 on the Republican and Democratic control of state 5 legislatures as well as Congressional delegations. 6 Q. And can political geography create a 7 natural advantage for one party over the other in 8 terms of winning Congressional seats? 9 A. Yes, sir. That's certainly very 10 hypothetically possible. 11 Q. And can you give me an example of a 12 common type of natural advantage that you have found 13 in your research -- academic research? 14 A. Well, in my academic research, I've 15 written at length about this phenomenon in Florida. 16 I've described, for example, how Democratic voters 17 are far more geographically clustered in urban areas 18 of Florida -- Miami, Tampa, St. Petersburg and 19 Jacksonville -- than Republican voters are. 20 Republicans are much more geographically spaced out 21 in rural parts of Florida. 22 And I specifically have analyzed in my 23 academic research what implications this has for 24 legislative districting in Florida, and I have found 25 that in Florida, this certainly causes a little bit</p>
251	<p>1 the -- the data and opinion were disclosed 2 in the expert report? 3 MR. JACOBSON: The data was 4 disclosed the day we turned over the expert 5 reports. The -- this particular exhibit was 6 disclosed when we exchanged pretrial 7 exhibits in the pretrial memorandum, yes. 8 THE COURT: Objection overruled. 9 We'll admit Petitioners' Exhibit 10 Number 23. 11 - - - 12 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 13 23 was admitted into evidence.) 14 - - - 15 BY MR. JACOBSON: 16 Q. Dr. Chen, I'd like to return now to a 17 concept you mentioned at the beginning of your 18 testimony called "political geography." 19 Can you refresh us what that term 20 means, as you use it? 21 A. Yes, sir. As applied in my research, 22 political geography means that I study the geographic 23 patterns of the residential locations of Democrats 24 and Republicans, as well as the geographic patterns 25 of their political behavior. So I study how</p>	253	<p>1 of a Republican bump or a Republican advantage in 2 control over districts or control over legislative 3 seats in the state legislature. 4 Q. And would your simulations capture or 5 reflect any natural advantage that one party has 6 based on political geography? 7 A. Yes, sir, absolutely. That is the very 8 point that goes to the very core of why I conduct 9 simulations. I conduct simulated plans using the 10 very same Census geography, the very same demographic 11 data, as well as the very same election data that 12 legislators might use in constructing enacted plans. 13 So I start with these very same 14 geographic patterns, these same voter patterns, these 15 very same political geography when my computer 16 conducts simulated plans in order to account for or 17 bake in any sort of natural geographic advantage that 18 one party might have in districting because of voter 19 geography. 20 So that goes to the very heart of why I 21 conduct these simulations. 22 MR. JACOBSON: Now, if we could pull 23 up, again, Petitioners' Exhibit 3 -- 24 BY MR. JACOBSON: 25 Q. -- which was Figure 1 from your report.</p>

254	<p>1 Dr. Chen, could you tell us -- walk us</p> <p>2 through how would political geography -- how would</p> <p>3 that play a role -- or how does that play a role in</p> <p>4 the partisan breakdown of this particular simulation</p> <p>5 plan?</p> <p>6 A. Sure.</p> <p>7 So let's go back to the first row in</p> <p>8 this figure. This is Figure 1, Exhibit 3.</p> <p>9 And as you and I described some time --</p> <p>10 you and I discussed some time before, this is a</p> <p>11 simulation plan that contains exactly nine Republican</p> <p>12 districts.</p> <p>13 Now, what number does that represent in</p> <p>14 broader geographic context? What we know about --</p> <p>15 about Pennsylvania's voters is that in 2008 and 2010</p> <p>16 statewide elections -- in those elections, Democrats</p> <p>17 won a slight majority of the votes. So in spite of</p> <p>18 winning a majority of the votes -- in other words,</p> <p>19 Republicans won a minority of the statewide votes --</p> <p>20 Republicans on this particular map, this particular</p> <p>21 simulated map in front of us, were still able to win</p> <p>22 exactly 50 percent of the districts.</p> <p>23 So how is this possible? How were</p> <p>24 Republicans able to win 50 percent of the districts</p> <p>25 on this simulated map, which I conducted with no</p>	256	<p>1 there is a small geographic advantage for the</p> <p>2 Republicans, but it does not come close to explaining</p> <p>3 the extreme 13-5 Republican advantage in the enacted</p> <p>4 map.</p> <p>5 Never, after accounting for</p> <p>6 Pennsylvania's political geography, as well as its</p> <p>7 demographic geography through the use of the</p> <p>8 simulated plans and its reliance on Pennsylvania's</p> <p>9 underlying Census geographies, and looking at the</p> <p>10 various political geographic patterns in</p> <p>11 Pennsylvania -- after accounting for those in the</p> <p>12 simulations, it's very clear that voter geography in</p> <p>13 Pennsylvania does not explain the extreme partisan</p> <p>14 advantage afforded to the Republicans in the 13-5</p> <p>15 enacted map.</p> <p>16 That is an outcome that goes far and</p> <p>17 beyond -- that goes far beyond the natural geographic</p> <p>18 advantage that Republicans enjoy because of their</p> <p>19 voter geography. So those are two completely</p> <p>20 separate things.</p> <p>21 And what the simulation results show us</p> <p>22 is that the enacted 13-5 -- the enacted plan's 13-5</p> <p>23 Republican advantage cannot be explained by voter</p> <p>24 geography.</p> <p>25 Q. And on this -- on the same question on</p>
255	<p>1 partisan intent or no partisan data fed to the</p> <p>2 computer, in spite of winning only a minority of</p> <p>3 the -- of the votes in Pennsylvania statewide in</p> <p>4 those elections? And the answer is because of</p> <p>5 political geography.</p> <p>6 Republicans clearly enjoy a small</p> <p>7 natural geographic advantage in Pennsylvania because</p> <p>8 of the way that Democratic voters are clustered and</p> <p>9 Republican voters are a bit more spread out across</p> <p>10 different geographies of Pennsylvania. And that is</p> <p>11 reflected in these simulation results.</p> <p>12 We see in this map a good illustration</p> <p>13 of that, where Republicans are able to win 50 percent</p> <p>14 of the districts despite not having 50 percent of the</p> <p>15 statewide vote.</p> <p>16 Q. And just from the results we've seen so</p> <p>17 far from across your 1,000 simulations, what can you</p> <p>18 say about the role of that slight natural advantage,</p> <p>19 the role of political geography in general in</p> <p>20 producing the 13-5 Republican advantage that we've</p> <p>21 seen under the enacted plan?</p> <p>22 A. Well, we have seen many different</p> <p>23 charts here today analyzing those 1,000 simulated</p> <p>24 plans. And what I'm able to statistically conclude</p> <p>25 with extremely high certainty is that, certainly,</p>	257	<p>1 the role of political geography, I'd like to talk</p> <p>2 about something called the "mean/median gap."</p> <p>3 What is that?</p> <p>4 A. The mean/median gap is a commonly used</p> <p>5 metric -- or measurement commonly used by political</p> <p>6 scientists to look at the partisan bias of a</p> <p>7 districting plan. And it's commonly used by</p> <p>8 political scientists to measure the partisan skew of</p> <p>9 voters within a districting plan.</p> <p>10 Q. And how do you calculate the mean for</p> <p>11 the purpose of this calculation?</p> <p>12 A. So what the mean refers to is the mean</p> <p>13 or the average vote share for a party. And for the</p> <p>14 sake of explanation, we'll just talk about the</p> <p>15 Republican vote share.</p> <p>16 So what the mean refers to is the</p> <p>17 average Republican district level vote share in any</p> <p>18 particular districting map. It could be the enacted</p> <p>19 map or it could be any one of the simulated maps.</p> <p>20 The mean refers to the average Republican district</p> <p>21 level vote share in that map.</p> <p>22 Q. And how about the median? What does</p> <p>23 the median refer to?</p> <p>24 A. The median, to put it very simply, is</p> <p>25 basically telling us what is the Republican's</p>

258	<p>1 performance in their middle best district. So the</p> <p>2 way you actually calculate a median is you take the</p> <p>3 18 districts in Pennsylvania's enacted map and you</p> <p>4 line them up from least to most Republican -- from</p> <p>5 lowest to highest Republican vote share, and then you</p> <p>6 take the middle best district.</p> <p>7 That is essentially what the median is.</p> <p>8 It's telling you how the Republicans do in their</p> <p>9 middle best district.</p> <p>10 Q. And, conceptually, what does the median</p> <p>11 district represent?</p> <p>12 A. So, conceptually, what the median</p> <p>13 district represents is this is the district that</p> <p>14 either party has to win if it wants to win a majority</p> <p>15 of Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation. The</p> <p>16 median is the middle best for both parties.</p> <p>17 So if you want to win a majority,</p> <p>18 you've got to win that middle best or that median</p> <p>19 district.</p> <p>20 Q. So how do you calculate the mean/median</p> <p>21 gap?</p> <p>22 A. Well, we've talked about how to</p> <p>23 calculate the mean Republican district level vote</p> <p>24 share, and we've talked about how to calculate the</p> <p>25 median district level Republican vote share.</p>	260	<p>1 signify?</p> <p>2 A. If the -- if that's the case, then what</p> <p>3 that tells us is that Democratic voters are packed</p> <p>4 into a minority of the districts. It tells us that</p> <p>5 Democratic voters are skewed across the districts in</p> <p>6 a way that they are very packed into a minority of</p> <p>7 the districts, which they win by probably more</p> <p>8 comfortable margins.</p> <p>9 But then it is much harder for</p> <p>10 Democrats under that scenario to be able to win the</p> <p>11 median district. So, in effect, what that means is</p> <p>12 it's much harder for the Democrats to be able to win</p> <p>13 a majority of the Congressional delegation.</p> <p>14 MR. JACOBSON: And if we pull up</p> <p>15 Petitioners' Exhibit 16, which is Figure 5</p> <p>16 of Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>17 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>18 Q. Dr. Chen, did you calculate the</p> <p>19 mean/median gap for Pennsylvania under the enacted</p> <p>20 plan?</p> <p>21 A. Yes, sir, I did.</p> <p>22 Q. And is it that right star we see -- the</p> <p>23 red star we see on the bottom right of this figure?</p> <p>24 A. Yes, sir, that is what that is.</p> <p>25 So I calculated the mean/median</p>
259	<p>1 What the mean/median is is pretty</p> <p>2 simple. You just take the difference between the</p> <p>3 mean and the median. You subtract one from the</p> <p>4 other, and that difference or that gap is what we</p> <p>5 refer to as the mean/median difference or the</p> <p>6 mean/median gap.</p> <p>7 Q. So if the Republican mean vote share is</p> <p>8 lower than their median vote share, what does that</p> <p>9 signify for Republicans?</p> <p>10 A. If the Republican mean vote share is</p> <p>11 lower than the median Republican district level vote</p> <p>12 share, then that tells us that Republican votes on</p> <p>13 this particular map are spread out in a very</p> <p>14 advantageous manner so as to allow -- in a way that</p> <p>15 would allow the Republicans to more easily win that</p> <p>16 median district.</p> <p>17 That's just another way of saying that</p> <p>18 it is a very advantageous skew of the districts -- of</p> <p>19 voters across those districts. It allows the</p> <p>20 Republicans to win that middle best district more</p> <p>21 easily than if the mean were equal to the median.</p> <p>22 Q. And on the other side of that coin, the</p> <p>23 flip side of the coin, if the Democratic mean vote</p> <p>24 share across the state is higher than the Democratic</p> <p>25 vote share in their median district, what does that</p>	261	<p>1 difference by taking the median Republican vote share</p> <p>2 in the enacted plans' districts and subtracting the</p> <p>3 mean Republican vote share across those 18 districts.</p> <p>4 And I found the enacted plan has a mean/median gap of</p> <p>5 a little bit under 6 percent. In other words, the</p> <p>6 median Republican vote share, district level vote</p> <p>7 share, is very significantly higher than the mean</p> <p>8 district level Republican vote share.</p> <p>9 Q. And can political geography account for</p> <p>10 a mean/median gap that favors Republicans?</p> <p>11 A. Oh, yes, in theory, for the same</p> <p>12 reasons that you and I just described -- just</p> <p>13 discussed some time ago, that, certainly, political</p> <p>14 geography can cause one party's voters to be skewed</p> <p>15 in geographic space in ways that lead to a bit of a</p> <p>16 skew when it comes to district level vote shares for</p> <p>17 a particular party.</p> <p>18 Q. Did you study whether the mean/median</p> <p>19 gap that you found for Pennsylvania is caused by</p> <p>20 natural political geography?</p> <p>21 A. Yes, sir, I did. I studied that by</p> <p>22 looking at the mean/median gaps that would have</p> <p>23 emerged from districting plans arising in Simulation</p> <p>24 Sets 1 and 2, in other words, simulations that arise</p> <p>25 where the districting process simply consists of</p>

262	<p>1 traditional districting criteria in Set 1 and, in 2 Set 2, traditional districting criteria plus the 3 incumbents -- the protection of incumbents in a 4 nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>5 Q. And what did you find in Exhibit 16 -- 6 Petitioners' Exhibit 16?</p> <p>7 A. In Exhibit 16, which is Figure 5 from 8 my report -- what I show on this figure is the 9 mean/median gap of not only the enacted plan but, 10 also, the mean/median gap of all 500 of the simulated 11 plans in Simulation Set Number 1. And what we're 12 able to see here along the horizontal axis is that 13 mean/median calculation.</p> <p>14 So in the red star on the lower right, 15 you can see the mean/median gap of the enacted plan. 16 It's about 6 percent of the mean/median gap, meaning 17 that the Republicans' median district is 18 significantly higher in Republican vote share than 19 its mean district-level vote share.</p> <p>20 So that's what I see for the enacted 21 plan. And, once again, the 500 black circles on this 22 figure represent the 500 simulated plans in 23 Simulation Set Number 1. And we can see here that 24 those 500 simulations produce a mean/median gap 25 ranging from a little over 0 percent to the vast</p>	264	<p>1 Q. So, Dr. Chen, as a whole, what can you 2 conclude from this chart?</p> <p>3 A. We're able to conclude that the 4 partisan skew created by the enacted plan's 6 percent 5 mean/median gap is not an outcome that could 6 plausibly have emerged from Pennsylvania's natural 7 political geography. It is not an outcome that would 8 have emerged from the combination of Pennsylvania's 9 political geography and with the application of 10 traditional districting principles.</p> <p>11 This chart clearly shows us that the 12 Act 131 enacted plan's partisan skew, it's 6 percent 13 mean/median gap, is a very statistically extreme 14 outcome that cannot be explained by voter geography 15 or by traditional districting principles alone.</p> <p>16 So that's what I'm able to conclude 17 from this figure.</p> <p>18 MR. JACOBSON: The Petitioners move 19 to admit Exhibit 16 into the evidence.</p> <p>20 THE COURT: Any objection? 21 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 22 MR. TABAS: No objection. 23 MR. LEVINE: No objection. 24 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 16 25 is admitted without objection.</p>
263	<p>1 majority of them being under 3 percent.</p> <p>2 So that's a normal range, and there are 3 a few that go all the way up to 4 percent. But the 4 point is that the vast majority of them are from 5 about zero to 3 percent, with no higher -- with none 6 of them higher than 4 percent.</p> <p>7 Q. And, Dr. Chen, you mentioned that the 8 black dots, which are your 500 simulated plans in 9 Set Number 1 -- it looks from this chart like they're 10 mostly in the 1 to 2 percent range. 11 What does that tell you?</p> <p>12 A. That tells us that there is some 13 natural geographic bias in favor of the 14 Republicans -- a small amount of natural geographic 15 bias in favor of the Republicans in terms of the 16 mean/median skew in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>17 When you have a districting process 18 that simply follows traditional districting criteria, 19 you're going to naturally end up with simulated 20 plan -- you're just going to naturally end up with 21 plans that have a small mean/median gap in the range 22 of about 1 to 2 percent, sometimes up to 3 and very 23 occasionally up to 4 percent.</p> <p>24 But, certainly, we never see a single 25 plan all the way up to 6 percent.</p>	265	<p>1 - - - 2 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 3 16 was admitted into evidence.) 4 - - -</p> <p>5 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 6 Petitioners' Exhibit 17, which is Figure 9 7 of Dr. Chen's report. 8 BY MR. JACOBSON: 9 Q. Dr. Chen, what does this figure depict? 10 A. This figure shows us the mean/median 11 calculations, except this time, we're going to look 12 at Simulation Set Number 2 here in Figure 9, 13 Exhibit 17.</p> <p>14 So this is the same calculation as 15 before on simulation -- but on Simulation Set 16 Number 2. So, once again, we see a red star at the 17 lower right, and that represents the Act 131 -- 131 18 plan's mean/median gap of about 6 percent. And then 19 we see, once again, 500 dark circles -- black circles 20 here representing the 500 simulated plans in 21 Simulation Set Number 2.</p> <p>22 Q. And as a whole, what can you then 23 conclude from this chart? 24 A. We're able to conclude from this figure 25 that the Act 131 enacted plan's extreme efficient --</p>

266	<p>1 extreme mean/median gap here of 6 percent is an 2 extreme outcome that is never achieved in a single 3 one of the 500 simulated plans, and that it is a 4 partisan skew -- it is a level of partisan skew that 5 goes far beyond all 500 of these simulated plans. 6 So what that broadly allows us to 7 conclude is that in the context of Simulation Set 8 Number 2, what we're able to conclude with extremely 9 high statistical certainty is that the enacted plan's 10 extreme partisan skew of voters is not an outcome 11 that naturally emerges from Pennsylvania's voter 12 geography combined with traditional districting 13 principles and an effort to protect 17 incumbents in 14 a nonpartisan manner. It's not a plausible outcome 15 given those conditions. 16 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 17 admit Exhibit 17 into evidence. 18 THE COURT: Any objection? 19 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 20 MR. TABAS: No objection. 21 MR. LEVINE: No objection. 22 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 17 23 is admitted without objection. 24 - - - 25 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p>	268	<p>1 4:06 p.m. to 4:20 p.m.) 2 - - - 3 THE CLERK: Ladies and gentlemen, 4 please take your seat. 5 THE COURT: Please be seated, 6 everyone, please. 7 Counsel, you may continue. 8 Please. 9 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, before 10 I -- I should say that I was informed by my 11 colleagues during the break that I did not 12 get the joke that you were referring to of 13 your own election in 2009. So I -- I 14 apologize to the Court for my 15 deer-in-the-headlights moment I had there. 16 THE COURT: I thought it was pretty 17 funny. 18 MR. JACOBSON: Now that I get it, it 19 was a great joke, yeah. 20 BY MR. JACOBSON: 21 Q. Dr. Chen, you said you analyzed -- one 22 of the three questions you analyzed was the effects 23 of the 2011 plan on individual Petitioners in this 24 case. 25 Can you briefly describe how you did</p>
267	<p>1 17 was admitted into evidence.) 2 - - - 3 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, I have 4 probably about 45 minutes left in Dr. Chen's 5 direct testimony. If Your Honor is 6 amenable, we'd like to request maybe a 7 five-minute break for Dr. Chen. 8 If Your Honor would prefer, though, 9 we can keep going. 10 THE COURT: Dr. Chen, would you 11 like a break? 12 THE WITNESS: I would be very 13 grateful for that, Your Honor. 14 THE COURT: Okay. We will -- I see 15 it's about 4:05 or so. We'll promptly 16 reconvene at 4:15, because I said we're 17 going to be going until 5:00. And that's -- 18 that's where we're cutting it off today. 19 Okay? 20 MR. JACOBSON: Okay. Thank you, 21 Your Honor. 22 THE CLERK: The Court is now in 23 recess. 24 - - - 25 (Whereupon, a recess was taken from</p>	269	<p>1 that? 2 A. I went back after conducting the two 3 sets of simulations, and I analyzed what the 4 individual simulated plans did in terms of placing 5 each of the individual Petitioners into specific 6 districts. 7 So what I actually did was I, first of 8 all, analyzed the residential locations of the 9 individual Petitioners -- there were 18 10 Petitioners -- and then I analyzed which districts 11 each Petitioner lies within with respect to both the 12 enacted plan, as well as all 1,000 of my 13 computer-simulated plans. 14 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 15 Petitioners' Exhibit 18, which is Table 4 of 16 Dr. Chen's report. 17 BY MR. JACOBSON: 18 Q. Dr. Chen, what is the first column on 19 this table that starts with the words "Partisan tilt 20 of Petitioners' district"? What does that column 21 represent? 22 A. As I just said, the first thing I did 23 was I analyzed which district in the enacted plan 24 each Petitioner resides within. So I identified the 25 actual districting plan from the enacted</p>

270	<p>1 Congressional Plan that each Petitioner resides 2 within. And what that label is in the first column 3 is not just a district number but, also, whether or 4 not the district is a Republican-leaning or a 5 Democratic-leaning district. 6 And when I say Republican or Democratic 7 district, I am, once again, talking about the measure 8 of partisanship using the 2008 and 2010 six statewide 9 elections in Pennsylvania. 10 So just to be clear, I'm not talking 11 about whether that district -- I didn't calculate 12 that based on whether the district has 13 actually elected a Republican or actually elected 14 Democrat. That label in this first column is simply 15 my calculations using the actual statewide election 16 results from 2008 to 2010 that I've described 17 repeatedly today. 18 Q. And, Dr. Chen, I think, as you said as 19 well, your predictions for those 18 districts align 20 with the actual election results in terms of U.S. 21 House seats? 22 A. As it turns out, yes, sir, they do. 23 Those 13 Republican districts, as identified in 24 the -- in the first column here, are, in fact, the 25 same 13 districts that have consistently elected</p>	272	<p>1 Simulation Plan 2 and so on. And I did that for all 2 500 plans in Simulation Set Number 1. 3 Now, this percentage that we see in 4 this column, that tells us the percent of those 5 simulated plans in which this Petitioner is placed 6 into a Democratic-leaning district. 7 So what we can see in the first row of 8 this column is that Petitioner Carmen Miguel was 9 placed into a Democratic-leaning district 100 percent 10 of the time. I did that sort of analysis with 11 respect to the 500 simulated plans in Set 1, and I 12 did that for each one of the 18 Petitioners in this 13 case. 14 Q. Now, if we go down in that same column 15 to District 7, Petitioner Beth Lawn, who we heard 16 testimony from earlier today, what do you find with 17 respect to Petitioner Lawn in Simulation Set 1? 18 A. Simulation results, as described here 19 in this column, tell us that Petitioner Beth Lawn was 20 placed into a Democratic-leaning district in 21 99.8 percent of the simulated plans in Set Number 1, 22 those simulated plans that were created following 23 nothing but traditional districting criteria. 24 Q. And how about the column next to the 25 right, the column that says 100 percent for</p>
271	<p>1 Republicans to the U.S. House over the last three 2 election cycles. And the five Democratic districts 3 labeled here -- Districts 1, 2, 13, 14 and 17 -- are, 4 in fact, the same five districts that have 5 consistently elected Democrats in all three 6 election -- Congressional elections this decade. 7 Q. And what is the third column, the one 8 that says, Simulation Set 1? What's in that column? 9 A. What this column labeled 10 Simulation Set 1 tells us is the following: I 11 analyzed where each Petitioner -- each of the 18 12 Petitioners, residentially, is located with respect 13 to each one of the 500 simulated plans in 14 Set Number 1. 15 So just to put it more concretely, I 16 looked at the first simulation plan in Set Number 1, 17 and I said, Where does Petitioner Carmen Miguel 18 reside. And I identified that, and I calculated 19 whether or not that simulated district was a 20 Republican-leaning district or a Democratic-leaning 21 district, once again, the Republican or Democratic 22 district as measured by the 2008 and 2010 statewide 23 elections. 24 So I identified which district 25 Petitioner Miguel lives within in Simulation Plan 1,</p>	273	<p>1 Beth Lawn? 2 A. That column to the right, the next 3 column over, that's just looking at only those 4 simulations -- only those simulated plans in Set 1 5 that also contain a district with an African-American 6 voting-age population of over 56.8 percent. 7 So if we only look at those simulated 8 plans, then we see that Petitioner Beth Lawn was 9 placed into a Democratic-leaning district 100 percent 10 of the time. That's specifically 205 out of 205 11 simulated plans. 12 THE COURT: Counsel, may I 13 interrupt for a second? I just want to make 14 sure I understand what these columns are, 15 because you probably want me to. 16 MR. JACOBSON: Yes, Your Honor. 17 THE COURT: So the first header 18 column, not -- names are all in a column -- 19 the first headed column, that's the district 20 that they -- the Petitioners are located in, 21 correct? 22 THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor, in 23 the enacted plan. 24 THE COURT: And based -- and then 25 the parenthetical party affiliation is your</p>

274	<p>1 expert opinion as to whether that district 2 has a plus-one Republican or Democratic 3 advantage? 4 THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor, my 5 calculation based on those 2008 and 2010 6 statewide votes. 7 THE COURT: Is it a plus 1 percent 8 or is it just a plus-one vote? I mean, 9 everything -- what is it? 10 THE WITNESS: Well, I literally -- 11 you know, as I was explaining a while back, 12 I literally just count up the number of 13 Republican votes and the number of 14 Democratic votes in those state -- six 15 statewide elections. And what this column 16 is reporting is whether the enacted district 17 was one that had more Democratic votes or -- 18 THE COURT: Just a pure more? So 19 one more or more than one? 20 THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor. It 21 was simply a comparison of more Democratic 22 or more Republican votes. 23 THE COURT: Explain to me what the 24 next four columns represent. 25 That would be the percentage that</p>	276	<p>1 the time? 2 THE WITNESS: That's exactly right, 3 Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: Okay. I think I 5 understand now. Thank you. 6 THE WITNESS: So it's purely my 7 characterization of those simulated 8 districts as Democratic districts. 9 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 10 MR. JACOBSON: If it helps, 11 Your Honor, I can try to walk through it 12 with the simulated map that we used earlier. 13 THE COURT: No; he helped -- 14 MR. JACOBSON: Okay -- 15 THE COURT: -- thank you. 16 MR. JACOBSON: -- I'm sure he did a 17 much better job than I could've. 18 BY MR. JACOBSON: 19 Q. Now, stepping back to the chart, the 20 next column over that says, Simulation Set Number 2, 21 could you explain to us what -- what the numbers 22 depicted in that column reflect? 23 A. Exactly the same thing, except now 24 we're looking at the 500 simulated plans in 25 Simulation Set Number 2. So, once again, when we</p>
275	<p>1 the Petitioner would be put under the 2 simulated plans in the district of their 3 registration affiliation? 4 THE WITNESS: I did not -- 5 Your Honor, I did not analyze the 6 registration affiliation of any of these 7 Petitioners. I had no interest -- I did not 8 have access to that data. 9 THE COURT: Okay. So that's where 10 I was confused. 11 So -- so the percentage, again, 12 represents what? 13 THE WITNESS: Your Honor, I am 14 simply calculating in each of these columns 15 what percentage of the simulated plans would 16 have placed Petitioner Beth Lawn in a 17 Democratic-leaning district. 18 THE COURT: Okay. 19 Okay. So, like, for example, 20 Mr. Miguel, he's currently in a 21 Democratic-leaning district -- 22 THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: -- and your simulations, 24 across the board, put him in a 25 Democratic-leaning district 100 percent of</p>	277	<p>1 look at these percentages in this column, what this 2 table reports -- what this column reports to you is 3 what percentage of the simulated plans were ones that 4 would have placed Petitioner Beth Lawn or 5 Petitioner Carmen Miguel into a Democratic-leaning 6 district. 7 Q. And I think you said before what 8 data -- personal data in terms of the Petitioners are 9 you using to make that calculation? 10 A. The only personal data I had on each of 11 these Petitioners was their respective home 12 addresses. And I geolocated -- or I had information 13 on the geolocation of those home addresses, which I 14 then used to be able to identify which district in 15 the enacted plan does Petitioner Beth Lawn reside 16 within. 17 Q. And within the simulated plans? 18 A. Yes, within the simulated plans. 19 Q. And if we can look down now to 20 Petitioner Lisa Isaacs in District Number 8. 21 What do we see for Ms. Isaacs for 22 Simulation Set 2? 23 A. In that eighth row describing 24 Petitioner Lisa Isaacs, we see that Petitioner Isaacs 25 would have been placed into a Democratic-leaning</p>

278	<p>1 district in 99.4 percent of the simulated plans in 2 Simulation Set Number 2.</p> <p>3 Q. And how about the next column over for 4 Ms. Isaacs?</p> <p>5 A. We see in that final column over that 6 if you only want to look at the simulated plans 7 within Simulation Set Number 2 that contain a 8 district with an African-American voting-age 9 population of over 56.8 percent, you only want to 10 look at those plans, then see that 11 Petitioner Lisa Isaacs was placed into a 12 Democratic-leaning district in 98.1 percent of those 13 simulated plans.</p> <p>14 Q. And sticking with Petitioner Isaacs, 15 what do we find for her in Simulation Set 1?</p> <p>16 A. Well, with respect to 17 Petitioner Isaacs, we can see that in Simulation Set 18 Number 1, Petitioner Isaacs -- Petitioner Lisa Isaacs 19 was placed into a Democratic-leaning district in 20 99.8 percent of the simulated plans. And if you just 21 look at those simulated plans within Set Number 1 22 that contain a district with over a 56.8 percent 23 African-American voting-age population, then that 24 number rises to 100 percent. 25 All 100 percent, 205 out of 205 plans,</p>	280	<p>1 a Democratic-leaning district in 99.6 percent of the 2 simulations -- of the simulated plans in 3 Set Number 1.</p> <p>4 Q. And as a whole, what can you conclude 5 based on this chart for these four particular 6 Petitioners that we just identified: Ms. Lawn, 7 Ms. Isaacs, Mr. Smith and Mr. Ulrich?</p> <p>8 A. Well, to analyze this chart, I looked 9 at the simulated results that I just described in the 10 last couple of minutes, and then I compared them to 11 the partisan leaning -- to the partisanship of the 12 enacted districts that each of these four Petitioners 13 has been placed into in the Act 131 enacted plan. 14 And I noted that those four Petitioners 15 that you just asked me about -- those four 16 Petitioners -- Beth Lawn, Lisa Isaacs, Robert Smith 17 and Thomas Ulrich -- all four of them were placed 18 into Republican-leaning districts in the enacted 19 plan. 20 So what we can see here is that the 21 enacted plan places these four Petitioners into 22 Republican-leaning districts. 23 In the majority -- in many cases, in 24 the vast majority of the simulated plans, each one of 25 those four Petitioners would have been placed into</p>
279	<p>1 in Simulation Set Number 1, in that subset, would 2 have placed Petitioner Lisa Isaacs into a 3 Democratic-leaning district.</p> <p>4 Q. And how about -- we'll just do two 5 more -- Petitioner Robert Smith in the 11th District?</p> <p>6 A. We can see that -- whether we look at 7 Simulation Set Number 1 or Simulation Set Number 2, 8 Petitioner Robert Smith would have been placed into a 9 Democratic-leaning district in a majority of the 10 simulations. 11 If you look at Simulation Set Number 2, 12 that number is 94.4 percent, if you look at all the 13 plans in Simulation Set Number 2. If you look at 14 Simulation Set Number 1, that number is 68.4 percent. 15 But either way, it appears that in a 16 majority of the plans, Petitioner Robert Smith would 17 have been placed into a Democratic-leaning district.</p> <p>18 Q. And, finally, Petitioner Thomas Ulrich 19 in District Number 15?</p> <p>20 A. It appears from that 15th row that 21 Petitioner Thomas Ulrich would have been placed into 22 a Democratic-leaning district in the vast majority of 23 the simulated plans, both in Set 1 and in Set 2. 24 Specifically in Set Number 1, 25 Petitioner Thomas Ulrich would have been placed into</p>	281	<p>1 Democratic-leaning districts.</p> <p>2 So what that tells me is that I'm able 3 to conclude with varying degrees of statistical 4 certainty -- with some of these Petitioners, with 5 strong statistical certainty -- that the -- the 6 enacted plan had the effect of treating the four 7 Petitioners differently in terms of the partisanship 8 of the districts that they were placed into -- 9 "differently" meaning that they were placed into a 10 different partisan of district compared to the sort 11 of simulate -- compared to the sort of districting 12 plans that would have emerged under a districting 13 process respecting traditional districting criteria 14 and possibly even protecting 17 incumbents in a 15 nonpartisan manner.</p> <p>16 Q. Thank you, Dr. Chen.</p> <p>17 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 18 admit Exhibit Number 18 into evidence. 19 THE COURT: Any objection? 20 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 21 MR. TABAS: No. 22 MR. LEVINE: No. 23 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 18 24 is admitted without objection. 25</p>

282	<p>1 - - -</p> <p>2 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number</p> <p>3 18 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>4 - - -</p> <p>5 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>6 Q. Did you perform any robustness checks</p> <p>7 on your conclusions regarding the partisanship</p> <p>8 composition of your simulated plans?</p> <p>9 A. Yes, sir, I conducted a robustness</p> <p>10 check using a different set of elections, statewide</p> <p>11 elections in Pennsylvania, to measure the</p> <p>12 partisanship of districts.</p> <p>13 Q. Before we get to the details of that,</p> <p>14 why did you conduct this robustness analysis?</p> <p>15 A. Well, I conducted the robustness check</p> <p>16 in order to check the robustness in order to check my</p> <p>17 conclusions. I wanted to see how statistically</p> <p>18 certain I was in the way that I was measuring</p> <p>19 partisanship.</p> <p>20 So what we do as political scientists</p> <p>21 is, we use different elections to measure the same</p> <p>22 thing, to measure the same districts, and see how</p> <p>23 much the results change or stay the same. That is</p> <p>24 how we conduct robustness checks.</p> <p>25 Q. Now, what election results did you use</p>	284	<p>1 election results. So I guess first I should explain</p> <p>2 by saying that I obtained the precinct-level election</p> <p>3 results, once again, from the Department of State. I</p> <p>4 got these precinct-level election results, and I</p> <p>5 overlaid the precinct-level vote counts from each of</p> <p>6 these 11 statewide elections -- I overlaid them onto</p> <p>7 the boundaries of each districting map that I was</p> <p>8 analyzing, both the enacted Act 131 map as well as</p> <p>9 the 1,000 simulated maps that I've been describing</p> <p>10 today.</p> <p>11 Q. And when you say "the 1,000 simulated</p> <p>12 maps," these are the same 1,000 simulated maps that</p> <p>13 we talked about before that you used, the 2008 to</p> <p>14 2010 election results, to predict partisanship for?</p> <p>15 A. Exactly, sir, the same 1,000 maps. I</p> <p>16 didn't conduct a whole new set of simulations with</p> <p>17 these elections. I just analyzed the same 1,000 maps</p> <p>18 as before, except this time I was using the 2012 to</p> <p>19 '16 statewide elections.</p> <p>20 Q. And before we get to your simulated</p> <p>21 maps, if you performed this overlay, if you overlay</p> <p>22 these 2012 to 2016 statewide elections on the enacted</p> <p>23 map, Act 131, what do you find?</p> <p>24 A. Well, I did that, and I found that the</p> <p>25 enacted map has exactly 13 districts that had more</p>
283	<p>1 for purposes of this robustness analysis?</p> <p>2 A. To conduct this robustness check, I</p> <p>3 looked at every statewide election in 2012, 2014 and</p> <p>4 2016. So just to remind you, previously, I had</p> <p>5 looked at the statewide elections from 2008 to 2010,</p> <p>6 the last two years prior to the 2011 redistricting.</p> <p>7 And now, in this robustness check, I'm looking at all</p> <p>8 the subsequent statewide elections that have been</p> <p>9 held in Pennsylvania since the 2011 redistricting.</p> <p>10 Q. And I believe you list those particular</p> <p>11 elections on Exhibit C -- in Exhibit C.</p> <p>12 Without listing them all, how many</p> <p>13 total statewide elections did you use for purposes of</p> <p>14 this robustness check?</p> <p>15 And I hope we don't miss anything this</p> <p>16 time.</p> <p>17 That was a bad joke on my part.</p> <p>18 A. In these three election cycles, there</p> <p>19 were a total of 11 statewide elections in</p> <p>20 Pennsylvania.</p> <p>21 Q. And very briefly, how did you use those</p> <p>22 statewide election results on your simulated -- your</p> <p>23 1,000 simulated maps?</p> <p>24 A. I used them in exactly the same way as</p> <p>25 I described earlier today. I took precinct-level</p>	285	<p>1 Republican than Democratic votes in these -- in these</p> <p>2 statewide elections. So there were, once again, 13</p> <p>3 Republican districts and, therefore, five Democratic</p> <p>4 districts using these 2012 to 2016 statewide</p> <p>5 elections to measure partisanship.</p> <p>6 Q. And do those 13 Republican districts</p> <p>7 correspond to the districts that Republican</p> <p>8 candidates have won for the U.S. House under the</p> <p>9 enacted plan?</p> <p>10 A. They do, sir. They were the same 13</p> <p>11 districts -- those Republican-leaning districts using</p> <p>12 these 2012 to 2016 statewide elections were the same</p> <p>13 13 districts that have consistently elected</p> <p>14 Republicans in each of the last three Congressional</p> <p>15 election cycles.</p> <p>16 Q. And what does that tell you about the</p> <p>17 accuracy of this alternative partisanship measure,</p> <p>18 the 2012 to 2016 election results?</p> <p>19 A. That tells us that using the 2012 to</p> <p>20 '16 election results has been an extremely accurate</p> <p>21 predictor of the partisan outcomes of Congressional</p> <p>22 elections in Pennsylvania as before. Using these</p> <p>23 statewide elections from 2012 to '16 as a measure of</p> <p>24 partisanship has led to a correct prediction about</p> <p>25 the partisanship outcome of all 54 of Pennsylvania's</p>

286	<p>1 Congressional elections held under the current 2 enacted map.</p> <p>3 Q. And, in fact, if you combine those 4 results, the 2012 to 2016 results, with the 2008 to 5 2010 results that you talked about earlier, what does 6 that tell you about the enacted plan?</p> <p>7 A. Well, that tells us very clearly that 8 whichever way you slice and dice the data, the 9 enacted plan is a 13-5 Republican map, it is a map 10 that has consistently favored Republicans in 13 11 districts and favored Democrats in five districts. 12 With these statewide -- with all these statewide 13 elections that we're looking at, that's the case, 14 just as it was the case for all of the Congressional 15 elections over the last three election cycles under 16 the enacted map. It tells us with very clear 17 certainty that the enacted map is a 13-5 Republican 18 map.</p> <p>19 Q. Now, turning to the robustness analysis 20 you did with the 2012 to 2016 elections.</p> <p>21 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 22 Petitioners' 19, which is Figure C.1 of 23 Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>24 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>25 Q. Dr. Chen, what is depicted on the left</p>	288	<p>1 you very occasionally get seven Republican districts, 2 as well as 11 Republican districts. But, clearly, 3 this figure shows us that the vast majority of the 4 simulated plans are at 8, 9 or 10 Republican 5 districts.</p> <p>6 Q. And if we can move now to the right 7 side -- sorry -- the right side of this exhibit. 8 What does the chart on the right side 9 depict?</p> <p>10 A. It shows us exactly the same thing, 11 except now we're just looking at those plans in 12 Set Number 1 that also contain a district with an 13 African-American voting age population of over 14 56.8 percent.</p> <p>15 So, again, it's just the 205 simulated 16 plans within that larger subset -- within that larger 17 set of 500 simulations that contain such a racial 18 threshold. And if you just want to isolate and look 19 at those plans, we see exactly the same thing: the 20 vast majority of the plans creates either eight, nine 21 or 10 Republican districts, with nine being the most 22 common outcome, occurring about two-thirds of the 23 time.</p> <p>24 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to 25 admit Exhibit 19 into evidence.</p>
287	<p>1 side of this figure?</p> <p>2 A. This left side tells us about the 3 number of Republican districts in the 500 simulated 4 plans in Set Number 1, except that this time we're 5 now going to use the new measure of partisanship, 6 which is the 2012 to 2016 statewide elections, but 7 all the calculations were conducted exactly the same 8 way as before, except this time I am overlaying the 9 2012 to 2016 statewide election results onto the 10 election -- onto the district boundaries.</p> <p>11 Q. And what do you find in this chart on 12 the left side?</p> <p>13 A. What the left side of this figure, 14 Figure C-1, shows us is that when you analyze 15 Simulation Set Number 1, those 500 plans, using the 16 2012 to '16 election measure, the vast majority, over 17 two-thirds of the plans, create exactly nine 18 Republican districts. That's nine Republican 19 districts and nine Democratic districts. That's, by 20 far, the most common outcome.</p> <p>21 We can see that creating eight 22 Republican districts and 10 Republican districts also 23 occasionally happens; although, the vast majority are 24 right at nine Republican districts. And then very, 25 very occasionally, well under 1 percent of the time,</p>	289	<p>1 THE COURT: Any objections?</p> <p>2 MR. TABAS: No.</p> <p>3 MS. HANGLEY: No.</p> <p>4 MR. LEVINE: No.</p> <p>5 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 19 6 is admitted without objection.</p> <p>7 - - -</p> <p>8 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 9 19 was admitted into evidence.)</p> <p>10 - - -</p> <p>11 MR. JACOBSON: If we could pull up 12 Petitioners' Exhibit 20, which is Figure C.2 13 of Dr. Chen's report.</p> <p>14 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>15 Q. Dr. Chen, what does the left side of 16 this figure depict?</p> <p>17 A. The left side of this figure depicts 18 the 500 simulated plans in Simulation Set Number 2 19 and measures the number of Republican districts in 20 each of these 500 simulated plans, except, again, 21 this time we're going to use the 2012, '14 and '16 22 statewide elections as a measure of partisanship.</p> <p>23 So what this figure shows us is that if 24 you look at those simulated plans in Set Number 2, 25 the vast majority of them create either nine or 10</p>

290	<p>1 Republican districts. The entire range goes from 2 eight to 12, but all but over 99 percent of these 3 simulated plans create somewhere from eight to 11 4 Republican districts. 5 So the most common outcome is the 6 10-Republican district plan, and the vast majority of 7 the simulated plans are eight to 11 Republican 8 districts, with just under 1 percent creating 12 9 Republican districts, again, using this 2012 to 2016 10 election measure. 11 Q. And how about the figure on the right 12 side of this chart of Petitioners' Exhibit 20? 13 A. It tells us exactly the same thing as 14 the left side, except that we're only looking at, on 15 the right side, those subsets of plans within 16 Simulation Set 2 that contain a district with an 17 African-American voting age population of over 18 56.8 percent. 19 So what we see here in the results here 20 on the right side is that the vast majority of these 21 plans create either nine or 10 Republican districts, 22 and the entire range goes from eight to 11. Never do 23 we see a single plan that creates 12 or 13 Republican 24 districts here on the right side. 25 MR. JACOBSON: Petitioners move to</p>	292	<p>1 the 2008 and 2010 elections as a measure of 2 partisanship. 3 Those two sets of elections led us to 4 exactly the same conclusions. It led us to the same 5 conclusion about the enacted map and the enacted map 6 as a 13-5 Republican advantage map, and it led us to 7 the same conclusions about the simulated maps, the 8 fact that none of the simulated maps, not a single 9 one of the 1,000 simulated maps, ever created a 13-5 10 Republican advantage outcome. Not a single one of 11 the simulated plans ever created 13 Republican 12 districts, regardless of which set of election 13 results we used to measure partisanship. 14 That tells us that these are reliable 15 measures of partisanship and that using these 16 reliable measures, these statewide elections, to 17 measure partisanship, we arrive at the same 18 conclusion regardless of which set of elections we 19 use. 20 Q. Thank you, Dr. Chen. 21 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, I'm going 22 to move to the portion of my direct -- 23 Dr. Chen's direct testimony that deals with 24 his analysis of the data files produced by 25 Speaker Turzai in the Federal litigation --</p>
291	<p>1 admit Exhibit 20 into evidence. 2 THE COURT: Any objections? 3 MS. HANGLEY: No objection. 4 MR. LEVINE: No. 5 MR. TABAS: No. 6 THE COURT: Petitioners' Exhibit 20 7 is admitted without objection. 8 - - - 9 (Whereupon, Petitioners' Exhibit Number 10 20 was admitted into evidence.) 11 - - - 12 BY MR. JACOBSON: 13 Q. Dr. Chen, as a whole, what can you 14 conclude from your robustness analysis as depicted in 15 Petitioners' Exhibits 19 and 20 that we just walked 16 through? 17 A. We're able to conclude two things from 18 that robustness analysis. 19 First, we can see that it is pretty 20 straightforward to measure the partisanship of 21 Pennsylvania's Congressional districts using 22 statewide elections, and we arrive at the same 23 conclusions regardless of whether we use 24 post-redistricting elections, the statewide elections 25 since 2011, as well as the predistricting elections,</p>	293	<p>1 THE COURT: I'm sorry. You're 2 going a little bit too fast. 3 MR. JACOBSON: Sorry, Your Honor. 4 I'm going to move to the portion of 5 Dr. Chen's testimony where he's going to 6 discuss the data files produced by 7 Speaker Turzai in the Agre, the Federal, 8 litigation. 9 Consistent with your ruling earlier, 10 the files that he analyzed for purposes of 11 his report were discussed extensively in an 12 expert report in Agre that was 13 actually admitted into evidence, the expert 14 report was. And they were also -- those 15 files were discussed by name openly at 16 trial. 17 THE COURT: They, however, were not 18 admitted? 19 MR. JACOBSON: They were not 20 admitted. So what we would propose, 21 consistent with your ruling, is we will not 22 seek to admit the data files themselves, 23 just Dr. Chen's analysis of those files as 24 reflected in his report. 25 THE COURT: That appears to be</p>

294	<p>1 consistent with my ruling earlier today. So</p> <p>2 you can proceed --</p> <p>3 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you,</p> <p>4 Your Honor.</p> <p>5 THE COURT: -- unless there's an</p> <p>6 objection.</p> <p>7 MR. TUCKER: I guess, Your Honor,</p> <p>8 we'll -- we'll give an opportunity to lay</p> <p>9 the foundation that Dr. Chen has any reason</p> <p>10 to believe what these files are, what they</p> <p>11 include and -- and whatnot?</p> <p>12 THE COURT: Well, that's true.</p> <p>13 So you have to lay the foundation,</p> <p>14 exactly.</p> <p>15 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>16 Q. Dr. Chen, in preparing your report, did</p> <p>17 you analyze any other data -- and I think you'll know</p> <p>18 where I'm going with this now -- did you analyze any</p> <p>19 other data that we have not discussed yet today?</p> <p>20 A. Yes, sir, I did.</p> <p>21 Petitioners' counsel gave to me a</p> <p>22 computer folder containing 13 GIS shapefiles.</p> <p>23 Q. And did Petitioners' counsel inform you</p> <p>24 what that data represented?</p> <p>25 A. Yes, sir.</p>	296	<p>1 helps, we have in -- Petitioners' Exhibit 33</p> <p>2 is the e-mail from counsel from</p> <p>3 Legislative Respondents that transmitted the</p> <p>4 files to the Agre Plaintiffs, which were</p> <p>5 then shared with Petitioners. I mean, we</p> <p>6 can pull it up on the screen, if you'd like.</p> <p>7 THE COURT: Which was discovery in</p> <p>8 documents not actually produced publicly</p> <p>9 during the Agre litigation.</p> <p>10 MR. JACOBSON: Correct; although,</p> <p>11 the files themselves, as I mentioned, were</p> <p>12 discussed by name and analyzed in an expert</p> <p>13 report that was admitted into evidence and</p> <p>14 in that same expert's trial testimony in</p> <p>15 Agre.</p> <p>16 MR. TUCKER: Your Honor --</p> <p>17 MR. LEWIS: Yeah, I mean, it's the</p> <p>18 same problem -- we also have an</p> <p>19 authentication issue, where's the evidence</p> <p>20 that certifies what these documents</p> <p>21 actually are? Where's the chain of custody</p> <p>22 for any of these?</p> <p>23 THE COURT: Are you legitimately</p> <p>24 questioning the authenticity of these</p> <p>25 documents in this expert report that were</p>
295	<p>1 Petitioners' counsel informed me that</p> <p>2 these files were produced by Speaker Michael Turzai</p> <p>3 in the pending Federal challenge to Pennsylvania's</p> <p>4 Congressional district map, in which Speaker Turzai</p> <p>5 represented that these files reflected the facts and</p> <p>6 data considered in creating the 2011 Plan.</p> <p>7 MR. LEWIS: Objection: foundation</p> <p>8 and hearsay.</p> <p>9 MR. TUCKER: And it's hearsay,</p> <p>10 Your Honor.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: I didn't understand any</p> <p>12 of that.</p> <p>13 So -- so if you're going to do an</p> <p>14 objection, stand up and -- and articulate</p> <p>15 your objection clearly for the record,</p> <p>16 please.</p> <p>17 MR. LEWIS: Sure.</p> <p>18 Your Honor, the witness has just</p> <p>19 testified to what counsel told him another</p> <p>20 counsel told him the data were produced for.</p> <p>21 So you have two items. We have hearsay, and</p> <p>22 we have a lack of foundation.</p> <p>23 He doesn't -- the witness doesn't</p> <p>24 know what the documents are.</p> <p>25 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, if it</p>	297	<p>1 admitted in Federal Court, or that were</p> <p>2 talked about in Federal Court case?</p> <p>3 Because if you're challenging the</p> <p>4 authenticity of it, I think -- then your</p> <p>5 objection is well grounded, but if you're</p> <p>6 just challenging it for the sake of</p> <p>7 challenging it, I'm not sure that's going to</p> <p>8 work.</p> <p>9 MR. LEWIS: We simply -- we -- we</p> <p>10 don't know.</p> <p>11 THE COURT: Well, you can</p> <p>12 cross-examine him on it. Why don't you</p> <p>13 cross-examine him on it?</p> <p>14 If you're going to challenge -- if</p> <p>15 you're going to challenge the authenticity</p> <p>16 of a document he relied on in his expert</p> <p>17 report, you're welcome to cross-examine him</p> <p>18 on it.</p> <p>19 Okay?</p> <p>20 MR. LEWIS: Okay.</p> <p>21 THE COURT: Objection overruled.</p> <p>22 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you,</p> <p>23 Your Honor.</p> <p>24 Just one more thing I would note for</p> <p>25 the record is that in their motion in limine</p>

298	<p>1 yesterday, Legislative Respondents, in 2 seeking to exclude these, represented that 3 these were the files produced in the Federal 4 litigation. 5 THE COURT: Counsel, you won. 6 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you, 7 Your Honor. 8 If we can pull up Petitioners' 9 Exhibit 30. And, again, we're not going to 10 be moving this into evidence. This is 11 merely for Dr. Chen to explain his analysis. 12 And Exhibit 30 is a file titled 13 Turzai -- 14 THE COURT: Wait a minute. Wait a 15 minute. Hold on for a second. Put that 16 down. Take that down. 17 MR. JACOBSON: I'm sorry, 18 Your Honor. 19 THE COURT: I thought you were 20 going to have him testify. Now you're 21 putting the exhibit up in the room. 22 Are you going to have him testify 23 about data sets that he looked at and you're 24 going to put it up in the room, but you're 25 not going to admit it?</p>	300	<p>1 I received this file from Petitioners' 2 counsel, and I opened up the DBF portion, which is 3 the file that I just read out to you, and I 4 immediately recognized the first several columns of 5 it. I immediately recognized it because they looked 6 nearly identical to a shapefile that I had already 7 downloaded from the legislative reapportionment 8 Web site, and it was a -- a shapefile on the 9,253 9 voting tabulation districts, or precincts, in 10 Pennsylvania. 11 So what this document is, it's part of 12 a larger shapefile, and this larger shapefile 13 describes the geographic boundaries of all of 14 Pennsylvania's 9,253 VTDs, or precincts. And it also 15 contained differently -- different columns that were 16 not on the shapefile that I downloaded of the VTDs 17 from the reapportionment Web site. 18 So it was clearly created from -- I 19 recognized it as being clearly created from a 20 standard VTD shapefile predicting Pennsylvania's VTD 21 boundaries; however, it also included a very large 22 number of additional columns that I had not yet seen 23 in the reapportionment Web site's version of that VTD 24 shapefile. But the broader point is, I could easily 25 recognize this as a VTD shapefile with a bunch of</p>
299	<p>1 MR. JACOBSON: If Your Honor would 2 prefer that we not put it up in the room, we 3 can have him testify. 4 THE COURT: I would rather you just 5 have him testify about it. 6 MR. JACOBSON: Absolutely, Your 7 Honor, understood. 8 THE COURT: Okay. 9 BY MR. JACOBSON: 10 Q. Dr. Chen, I believe around Page 40 of 11 your report -- I might be getting the exact page 12 number wrong -- you analyzed data files, as you 13 mentioned, produced by Speaker Turzai in the Federal 14 litigation; is that correct? 15 A. Yes, sir, I did. 16 Q. And did you analyze a data file titled 17 Turzai 01674? 18 A. Yes, sir. The full name of the file 19 was Turzai-01674.DBF, yes, sir. 20 Q. And could you tell us, what did you 21 find based on your expertise and experience in 22 analyzing that data? 23 What -- let's start, sort of, what data 24 did it contain purely from a geographic standpoint? 25 A. Sure.</p>	301	<p>1 additional columns and data appended onto it. 2 Q. And, Dr. Chen, I believe in your report 3 you describe 10 particular columns that you just 4 referenced. 5 What did you find in those 10 columns? 6 A. Well, I saw 10 columns at the very end, 7 and I did describe what I saw in my expert report. 8 So I looked at the columns -- all the additional 9 columns in this VTD shapefile, this .DBF portion of 10 the shapefile that I had not recognized previously in 11 the reapportionment Web site's version, and I saw a 12 bunch of election results from various statewide, as 13 well as legislative elections. 14 But then I scrolled to the very end, 15 the very right, of this DBF file, and I saw 10 16 columns that clearly represented partisanship 17 indices. 18 So I analyzed these 10 columns at the 19 very right. I looked at them with respect to other 20 election data that was also on the same document, the 21 same DBF file. I also verified -- I also, just out 22 of curiosity, verified the accuracy and the 23 authenticity of the election file -- of the election 24 results that were depicted on this shapefile, or on 25 this DFP file, and I could see that they, in fact,</p>

302	<p>1 were accurately reporting various election results at 2 the precinct level for Pennsylvania's precincts. 3 Now, going back to these last 10 4 columns. I saw 10 columns at the very right of this 5 file. I scrolled to the very right, and I spent a 6 little bit of time just trying to figure out how 7 these columns were calculated. They were labeled 8 things like INDEX 04. There was another column that 9 was called PREZ 08. 10 But I looked at these columns, and I 11 looked at them in relation to election results that 12 were already on this shapefile in the early columns, 13 and I could see that they were clearly partisan 14 indices, so I could see that they were 10 different 15 partisan indices constructed from various 16 precinct-level vote counts and registration numbers. 17 And I would be happy to describe exactly what I saw 18 in these partisan indices in detail, but I -- I 19 certainly described all of that in my report. 20 Q. If you could just walk us through what 21 you found in each of those 10 partisanship indices, 22 please, Dr. Chen. 23 A. Okay. So there were 10 indices at the 24 very end, and the first one was -- well, I'll just 25 describe two of them. So two of them were called</p>	304	<p>1 constructed using various election results from 2 around 2004. 3 Now, I looked at another index, called 4 INDEX 08, or another partisan column -- another 5 column in the data file, called INDEX 08, and I found 6 something very similar. I saw that these values 7 ranged from negative 1,376 all the way up to positive 8 2,957, and I saw they exhibited very similar 9 properties. 10 I saw that that particular column was a 11 measure that appeared to be very strongly correlated 12 with the precinct-level Republican votes in a wide 13 variety of very recent elections. It seemed to be 14 mostly 2008 and 2000 elections, but, in general, I 15 could see that it very strongly correlated with the 16 partisan result of those elections, once again, with 17 higher, more positive values, indicating precincts 18 that had voted more heavily in favor of Republican 19 candidates, and lower negative values, indicating 20 precincts that had voted in favor of Democratic 21 candidates. 22 So I analyzed those two indices, and 23 that's what I found with respect to -- to those two 24 columns; they were clearly measures of the partisan 25 performance of Pennsylvania's precincts in recent</p>
303	<p>1 INDEX 04 and INDEX 08, and I could see that these 2 particular indices -- so I'll just start with 3 INDEX 04. 4 The INDEX 04 column described -- was a 5 different number, was a different score for every 6 single precinct in Pennsylvania, and it was a score 7 ranging from negative 930, all the way up to positive 8 1,050. Just by looking at these scores and looking 9 at them in relation to actual election results, I 10 could very clearly see -- it was very obvious to me 11 that even though I didn't have in front of me the 12 precise formula used to create this index, it was 13 obviously a score such that precincts that vote more 14 heavily in favor of Republican candidates have higher 15 positive scores and precincts that vote more heavily 16 in favor of Democratic candidates in various 17 statewide elections had negative lower scores. 18 So I looked at the precise values of 19 the INDEX 04 column, and I even found that -- just by 20 doing some very basic statistical analysis on the 21 different columns, I found that that INDEX 04 column 22 had a very close-to -- a near-perfect correlation 23 with the partisan results of the 2004 Presidential 24 and U.S. Senate elections in Pennsylvania. That 25 suggested to me that this was an index that had been</p>	305	<p>1 statewide and possibly legislative elections. 2 I also found eight other partisan 3 indices at the very right in those 10 columns, and 4 I'd be happy to describe those. 5 Q. Yeah, if you could just briefly 6 describe them. And you don't need to go into the 7 same level of detail, but if you could just briefly 8 describe what they contained. 9 A. Sure. So I'll just briefly describe 10 each one. 11 There was another column, called 12 PREZ 08, P-R-E-Z, 08, and that clearly was calculated 13 by taking the number of Republican -- or the number 14 of votes for the Republican candidate in the 2008 15 presidential election and subtracting the number of 16 Democrats -- the number of votes for the Democratic 17 candidate in the 2008 election. In other words, it 18 was clearly taking the number of votes for 19 John McCain and subtracting the number of votes for 20 Barack Obama, and you arrive at either a positive or 21 a negative number, depending on whether the precinct 22 favored Obama or McCain. 23 So that's what I found in the PREZ 08 24 column. 25 I found another column called SEN 10,</p>


DIRECT EXAMINATION - JOWEI CHEN, PH.D.,

306	<p>1 S-E-N-T -- sorry. It was spelled SEN 10, and it was 2 clearly doing the same thing for the partisan results 3 at the precinct level for the 2010 U.S. Senate 4 elections. 5 I found another column that was labeled 6 as CNG 10, and that clearly depicted a partisan index 7 had been calculated by comparing the number of votes 8 for the Republican and Democratic candidates in the 9 2010 Congressional elections, once again, so that 10 higher values depict Republican-leaning precincts. 11 I found another column, called STHS 10, 12 which appeared to have been calculated by taking the 13 number of Republican votes -- or votes for Republican 14 candidates and Democratic candidates in the 2010 15 State House elections and comparing them or analyzing 16 them in exactly the same way. 17 I found another column, called GOV 10, 18 which appeared to be calculated based on the 19 Republican and Democratic vote counts in the 2010 20 gubernatorial elections -- in the 2010 gubernatorial 21 election. 22 I found another column, called 23 ATGEN 08, which appeared to be similarly calculated 24 from the number of Republican and Democratic votes 25 cast -- or number of votes cast for the Republican</p>	308	<p>1 That was, once again, part of a larger 2 shapefile, except it was apparent, to me, that this 3 was a shapefile depicting not precincts, but instead, 4 the municipalities and the boundaries of 5 Pennsylvania's municipalities. 6 Q. And did that file contain the same 10 7 partisanship indices that you just described? 8 A. It did, yes, sir, it contained those 9 same partisan indices, except these were aggregated 10 at the level of the municipality, rather than at the 11 precinct, of course. But it contained the same 12 election data and the same 10 partisan indices 13 describing the partisan leanings of each municipality 14 in Pennsylvania. 15 Q. Dr. Chen, did you also analyze a file 16 titled S. Turzai--01653? 17 A. Yes, sir, I did. And that was 18 apparent -- it was apparent that that file was part 19 of a larger shapefile depicting the boundaries of 20 Pennsylvania's 67 counties. 21 Q. And did that file contain the same 10 22 partisanship indices that you just described? 23 A. Yes, sir, it contained exactly the same 24 10 partisan indices as well as the same election 25 results as in the other two DBF files that I just</p>
307	<p>1 and Democratic candidates in the 2010 Attorney 2 General election, but, once again, calculated in 3 exactly the same way. 4 I found another column, called 5 P-R-E-Z 04, PREZ 04, which appear to be exactly the 6 same methodology, except that it was calculated using 7 the number of votes cast for the Republican and 8 Democratic candidates, John Kerry and George W. Bush, 9 in the 2004 presidential election, but, again, 10 calculated in a very similar way, with the partisan 11 results at the precinct level. 12 And then I found one last column, 13 called R-E-G 10, REG 10, and that appeared to have 14 been calculated by comparing the number of Republican 15 registrants and Democratic registrants such that 16 higher numbers indicated a precinct with more 17 Republicans and lower negative numbers indicated 18 precincts with more Democrats. 19 So those were all the columns in that 20 set of 10 columns that I -- I looked at, and I looked 21 at each one individually. 22 Q. And thank you, Dr. Chen. 23 Did you analyze another file called 24 Turzai 01644? 25 A. Yes, sir, I did.</p>	309	<p>1 described, but it had exactly the same partisan 2 indices, except these were aggregated to the level of 3 Pennsylvania's 67 counties. And, obviously, it 4 would've -- it described the partisan leaning of each 5 of Pennsylvania's counties. 6 Q. And, finally, did you analyze a file 7 called -- titled Turzai-01-- sorry -- -01641? 8 A. Yes, sir. That was another DBF file, 9 except this one was part of a larger shapefile, a 10 larger GIS shapefile depicting the graphic boundaries 11 of Pennsylvania's Census blocks. This would have 12 been Pennsylvania's, roughly, 420 -- 420,000, or so, 13 Census blocks. And for each Census block, this file 14 clearly contained all of the same election data as I 15 had mentioned before. 16 Q. And just to clarify, when you say "the 17 same election data," do you mean the same indices or 18 something else? 19 A. The same vote counts from 20 Pennsylvania's elections. It had election vote 21 counts in it. 22 Q. But just to clarify the record, not the 23 same indices; is that right? 24 A. That's correct, sir. In that file, 25 that Census block level file, I found only election</p>

310	<p>1 vote counts, not the partisan indices.</p> <p>2 Q. Thank you, Dr. Chen.</p> <p>3 Now, Dr. Chen, separate and apart from</p> <p>4 the data in the files that we just discussed that</p> <p>5 were produced in the Federal litigation, did you</p> <p>6 conduct your own independent analysis of whether</p> <p>7 voters who vote for Democratic candidates for</p> <p>8 Congress -- or -- I'm sorry -- just Democratic</p> <p>9 candidates in Pennsylvania are an identifiable group?</p> <p>10 A. Yes, sir. As I described in my report,</p> <p>11 I looked at statewide elections from Pennsylvania</p> <p>12 over the last 10 years, and I looked at those</p> <p>13 statewide election results from the aspect of their</p> <p>14 correlation from one election to another; in other</p> <p>15 words, are precincts that heavily favor Democratic</p> <p>16 candidates in one election also very likely to be the</p> <p>17 same precincts that heavily favor Democratic</p> <p>18 candidates in the next election, in the next</p> <p>19 statewide election or in the next Congressional</p> <p>20 election.</p> <p>21 I found that the correlation was</p> <p>22 extremely strong amongst statewide elections.</p> <p>23 Clearly, generally, statewide elections correlate</p> <p>24 with one another around the range of about .9 to .95,</p> <p>25 which is just a very fancy statistical way of saying</p>	312	<p>1 to strike the prior answer on that ground as</p> <p>2 well, Your Honor.</p> <p>3 His opinion goes well beyond what</p> <p>4 the witness produced in his report and</p> <p>5 beyond what he's been qualified for as an</p> <p>6 expert.</p> <p>7 THE COURT: Your response?</p> <p>8 MR. JACOBSON: Your Honor, I can</p> <p>9 find -- there's one or two paragraphs in the</p> <p>10 report where he specifically talks about</p> <p>11 this kind of correlation analysis that he</p> <p>12 did in response to my prior question.</p> <p>13 THE COURT: I think he's allowed to</p> <p>14 do a correlation analysis. I'm not sure</p> <p>15 what his expertise is in identifying -- what</p> <p>16 did you call it -- an identifiable --</p> <p>17 "identifiable group"?</p> <p>18 Is that your objection?</p> <p>19 MR. LEWIS: Principally, yes. I'm</p> <p>20 looking to see for the .9. I don't recall</p> <p>21 that, but . . .</p> <p>22 (Whereupon, counsel reviews the</p> <p>23 material.)</p> <p>24 MR. LEWIS: If somebody --</p> <p>25 THE COURT: I know why you're using</p>
311	<p>1 that when you see a precinct that has lots of</p> <p>2 Democratic voters, they're going to vote very heavily</p> <p>3 for Democrats whether in this election or next year's</p> <p>4 election or the next election.</p> <p>5 That's what I found in general. And</p> <p>6 what that allows me to conclude with strong</p> <p>7 statistical certainty is that Democrats are clearly</p> <p>8 an identifiable group, which is just another way of</p> <p>9 saying that when we see lots of Democrats in one</p> <p>10 precinct, or one district, we can be sure that they</p> <p>11 are there, they are Democrats in the next election as</p> <p>12 well.</p> <p>13 Q. And, Dr. Chen, based on that</p> <p>14 independent correlation analysis that you just</p> <p>15 described and taking that in conjunction with your</p> <p>16 analysis of the four Turzai files produced from the</p> <p>17 Federal litigation that we just discussed, do you</p> <p>18 have an opinion on when -- whether voters likely to</p> <p>19 vote for Democratic candidates were, in fact,</p> <p>20 identified as a political group as part of the</p> <p>21 creation of the enacted plan?</p> <p>22 A. Well, I'm just going --</p> <p>23 MR. LEWIS: Your Honor, an</p> <p>24 objection: This goes beyond the scope of</p> <p>25 the witness's expert report. We also move</p>	313	<p>1 that terminology, right.</p> <p>2 What -- what I am not sure about is</p> <p>3 whether that's a legal question or a factual</p> <p>4 question.</p> <p>5 MR. JACOBSON: I'm happy to rephrase</p> <p>6 the question as more of a factual question,</p> <p>7 if you prefer, Your Honor.</p> <p>8 THE COURT: And I do note that,</p> <p>9 Dr. Chen, you went back and forth on whether</p> <p>10 Democrats were an identifiable group or</p> <p>11 people who vote Democratic are an</p> <p>12 identifiable group, and I think you two</p> <p>13 might be talking past each other on that.</p> <p>14 So to the extent he can testify as</p> <p>15 to what an identifiable group is for --</p> <p>16 because I'm not convinced, again, that</p> <p>17 that's a factual question; you should</p> <p>18 probably be clearer in -- in your</p> <p>19 questioning.</p> <p>20 MR. JACOBSON: Sure.</p> <p>21 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>22 Q. And, Dr. Chen --</p> <p>23 THE COURT: So -- so that gives</p> <p>24 counsel an opportunity to look at the expert</p> <p>25 report and verify, but I'm going to overrule</p>

314	<p>1 it for now without prejudice to you, and</p> <p>2 let's see if he can rephrase the question</p> <p>3 and not draw that same objection.</p> <p>4 Okay?</p> <p>5 BY MR. JACOBSON:</p> <p>6 Q. And to clarify before I ask my next</p> <p>7 question, Dr. Chen, when you see "Democratic voters,"</p> <p>8 are you referring to people registered as Democrats</p> <p>9 or people who vote for Democratic candidates?</p> <p>10 A. I'm talking, sir, about people who vote</p> <p>11 for Democratic candidates.</p> <p>12 Q. And in your correlation analysis, were</p> <p>13 you able to determine whether in Pennsylvania there</p> <p>14 is a group of people who consistently vote for</p> <p>15 Democratic candidates for Congress -- not for</p> <p>16 Congress, just vote for Democratic candidates?</p> <p>17 A. Yes, sir, I did analyze that question,</p> <p>18 and if I may, I will just point to Page 12 of my</p> <p>19 expert report, in which I describe generally that</p> <p>20 analysis.</p> <p>21 And so what I said and what I analyzed</p> <p>22 was the correlation, and I'm talking about a</p> <p>23 statistical question here. And this is the only way</p> <p>24 in which I understood your question, sir, about</p> <p>25 identifiable. This is the only way that I, as an</p>	316	<p>1 And I'm going to qualify my answer by</p> <p>2 pointing out that all of this is on the basis of,</p> <p>3 Number 1, the analysis that I did, my own expert</p> <p>4 analysis, but also my -- the answer I'm about to give</p> <p>5 you is also on the basis of assuming the veracity of</p> <p>6 the 13 GIS shapefiles that Petitioners' counsel gave</p> <p>7 to me and represented to me came from Speaker Turzai</p> <p>8 in the creation of the 2011 Plan.</p> <p>9 So on the basis of those two things, my</p> <p>10 own expert analysis of elections generally as a</p> <p>11 political scientist, but then the representation to</p> <p>12 me that Petitioners' counsel gave me about the 13 GIS</p> <p>13 shapefiles, I'm able to conclude the following:</p> <p>14 Number 1, it clearly is very straightforward to see</p> <p>15 that Democrats are a group that correlate very</p> <p>16 strongly at the precinct level, at the district</p> <p>17 level, at the county level, et cetera.</p> <p>18 Q. And, Dr. Chen, if I could stop you</p> <p>19 right there. I believe you said "Democrats."</p> <p>20 When you say "Democrats," who are you</p> <p>21 referring to?</p> <p>22 A. I'm talking about individuals who vote</p> <p>23 for Democrat candidates. I am not talking about,</p> <p>24 say, partisan registrants.</p> <p>25 Q. Thank you.</p>
315	<p>1 empirical social scientist, am able to make sense of</p> <p>2 that -- that term.</p> <p>3 So I am analyzing the statistical</p> <p>4 correlation between elections, as I described a</p> <p>5 few minutes ago.</p> <p>6 So what I -- I reported on in my report</p> <p>7 is that past voting history and Federal and statewide</p> <p>8 election is a strong predictor of future voting</p> <p>9 history. In other words, what I found in my analysis</p> <p>10 and what I reported on here on Page 12 is that I am</p> <p>11 looking at an empirical relationship between one</p> <p>12 election to the next. That's the only way in which I</p> <p>13 understand that -- the -- the -- the -- the term that</p> <p>14 you were asking me about.</p> <p>15 Q. And -- thank you, Dr. Chen.</p> <p>16 And if I could draw your attention to</p> <p>17 the final paragraph of your report, or at least</p> <p>18 before the appendices on Page 41, based on that</p> <p>19 analysis and your analysis of the four</p> <p>20 documents -- the four files produced in the Federal</p> <p>21 litigation, did you reach an opinion on whether</p> <p>22 people who consistently vote for Democratic</p> <p>23 candidates were identified as part of the creation of</p> <p>24 the 2010 Plan [sic]?</p> <p>25 A. Yes, sir, I did.</p>	317	<p>1 A. So I am just talking about Democratic</p> <p>2 voters in the sense that they elect Democratic</p> <p>3 candidates.</p> <p>4 So that group is a group that clearly</p> <p>5 correlates very strongly from one election to the</p> <p>6 next, which is another way of, in empirical terms,</p> <p>7 meaning that it's very easy to measure those</p> <p>8 Democratic voters, to measure the concentrations of</p> <p>9 Democratic voters in one precinct or one county or</p> <p>10 one district versus another, so it's very easy to</p> <p>11 measure and to see where they live geographically and</p> <p>12 where they are concentrated and so on. That's what I</p> <p>13 mean by being able to -- to look at that correlation</p> <p>14 analysis and being able to say something about how</p> <p>15 the measure of Democratic voters are.</p> <p>16 Now, combined with Petitioners'</p> <p>17 counsel's representation to me about -- about the</p> <p>18 source of the 13 GIS shapefiles, it is clear, to me,</p> <p>19 that not only was it possible to accurately measure</p> <p>20 these Democratic voters, where they live, what</p> <p>21 precincts they live in, where they're most</p> <p>22 concentrated, but, in fact, that the shapefiles that</p> <p>23 were given to me by Petitioners' counsel that they</p> <p>24 represented came from Speaker Turzai clearly indicate</p> <p>25 that the General Assembly not only was able to but</p>

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<p style="text-align: right;">318</p> <p>1 clearly successfully did. 2 MR. TUCKER: Objection, Your Honor. 3 THE COURT: Sustained. 4 MR. TUCKER: Thank you. 5 MR. JACOBSON: Thank you, 6 Your Honor. 7 Your Honor, I know you said you had 8 to end at around 5:00. I apologize. I have 9 about 10 or 15 minutes left. I'm happy to 10 keep going or -- 11 THE COURT: No, I can't. In fact, 12 I needed to stop about 12 minutes ago. 13 How much more direct examination do 14 you have? 15 MR. JACOBSON: About 10 to 15 16 minutes, Your Honor. 17 THE COURT: Okay. We're going to 18 pick up at 9:30. 19 Do you have a request, Counsel? 20 MR. TUCKER: Yes, Your Honor. 21 We would like to request to reserve 22 the right to review all the trial 23 transcripts from Agre to potentially move to 24 strike some of Dr. Chen's testimony on the 25 Turzai files.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">320</p> <p>1 I don't know yet. I will probably know 2 tomorrow morning, because after that, I will 3 have spoken to my wife. 4 MR. GERSCH: Very good, Your Honor. 5 THE COURT: Right now, we're going 6 to be in recess until tomorrow morning at 7 9:30. 8 THE CLERK: The Commonwealth Court 9 is now adjourned. 10 11 - - - 12 13 (Whereupon, the trial adjourned at 14 5:14 p.m., to reconvene on Tuesday, December 15 12, 2017, at 9:30 a.m.) 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">319</p> <p>1 As I understand your order, they've 2 either got to be admitted into evidence or 3 the experts in the Agre case had to have 4 relied upon them in the same manner that 5 Dr. Chen is relying on them here, and we 6 don't necessarily believe that to be the 7 case. And I'd like the opportunity to take 8 this evening to review that and potentially 9 move to strike some of the testimony 10 tomorrow morning, if that's okay. 11 THE COURT: I thought you were 12 going to make a different motion. But I'll 13 entertain any motion you want to make 14 tomorrow morning with regard to that. 15 MR. TUCKER: Thank you, Your Honor. 16 MR. LEWIS: Thank you. 17 THE COURT: Does anybody have 18 another motion they want to make, over on 19 the Respondents' side? 20 (Pause.) 21 THE COURT: Okay. Apparently not. 22 Yes, sir. 23 MR. GERSCH: Your Honor, can I 24 inquire about how late we might go tomorrow? 25 THE COURT: It's a good question.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">321</p> <p>COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA: I, Cindy L. Sebo, a court reporter within and for the Jurisdiction aforesaid, do hereby certify that the foregoing proceeding were pursuant to notice, at the time and place indicated; that the testimony of said was correctly recorded in machine shorthand by me and thereafter transcribed under my supervision with computer-aided transcription; that the proceedings are true record of the testimony given; and that I am neither of counsel nor kin to any party in said action, nor interested in the outcome thereof.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Cindy L. Sebo, RMR, CRR, RPR, CSR, CCR, CLR, RSA, LiveDeposition Authorized Reporter, and Notary Public</p>