IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA DURHAM DIVISION Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-00949 DEPOSITION DAVID HARRIS; CHRISTINE BOWSER; and SAMUEL LOVE, Plaintiffs;) -37-THOMAS B. HOFELLER, PH.D. PATRICK MCCRORY, in his capacity) as Governor of North Carolina;) NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; and JOSHUA HOWARD, in) his capacity as Chairman of the) North Carolina State Board of) Elections, Defendants.) _____) APPEARANCES: For the Plaintiffs: Poyner Spruill Attorneys at Law P.O. Box 1801 Raleigh, North Carolina 27602 John W. O'Hale, Esquire, appearing Caroline P. Mackie, Esquire, appearing Edwin M. Speas, Jr., Esquire, appearing. For the Defendants: Ogletree, Deakins, Nash Attorneys at Law 4208 Six Forks Road, Suite 1100 Raleigh, North Carolina 27609 Thomas A. Farr, Esquire, appearing. N.C. Department of Justice P.O. Box 629 Raleigh, North Carolina 27602 Alexander McC. Peters, appearing.

Dalton Oldham

In Attendance:

At Raleigh, North Carolina.

Tuesday, May 6, 2014.

Case 1:13-cv-00949-WO-JEP Document 68-1 Filed 06/02/14 Page 2 of 82

Thomas B. Hofeller, Ph.D. 5-6-14 E X A M I N A T I O N

			Page 2
8	Hofeller Expert Report	6	
9	Ansolabehere Expert Report	14	
10	Ansolabehere Report in Answer	17	THE WOOD DISTRICT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPE
	Hofeller Report		
11	Statement by Rucho and Lewis re	31	
	the Proposed 2011 Congressional Plan		
12	Joint Statement of Rucho and Lewis	42	A CANADA
	re release of Rucho-Lewis Congress 2		
13	N.C. Congressional Districts	59	
14	Rubio-Lewis District 12 Maps (4)	60	
			The state of the s
15	Report of Voting Age Population	63	
	by Race and Ethnicity (2 pages)		
16	NCGA Congress Zero Deviation	67	
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

The following deposition of THOMAS B. HOFELLER,
PH.D., called as a witness by the Plaintiffs, was taken
before Glenda F. Hightower, Certified Verbatim Reporter and
Notary Public, at the law offices of Ogletree, Deakins,
Nash, Smoak and Stewart, 4208 Six Forks Road, Suite 1100,
Raleigh, North Carolina on Tuesday, May 6, 2014 beginning
at 9:06 a.m.

STIPULATIONS

Prior to the taking of the testimony, counsel for the respective parties stipulate and agree as follows:

- That the deposition shall be taken and used as permitted by the applicable Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.
- 2. That any objections of any party hereto as to the notice of the taking of the deposition or as to time or place thereof, or as to the competency of the person before whom the same shall be taken, are deemed to have been met.
- 3. Objections to questions and motions to strike answers need not be made during the taking of this deposition, but may be made for the first time during the progress of the trial of this case, or at any pretrial hearing held before any judge of competent jurisdiction for the purpose of ruling thereon, or at any other hearing of said case at which said deposition might be used, except that an objection as to the form of a question must be made

at the time such question is asked, or objection is waived as to the form of the question.

- 4. That the witness reserves the right to read and sign the deposition prior to filing.
- 5. That the original transcript of this deposition shall be mailed Priority Mail Postage to the party taking the deposition for preservation and delivery to the Court.

```
Page 5
1
    Whereupon,
           THOMAS B. HOFELLER, PH.D.,
    Having been first duly sworn, was examined and
3
    testified as follows:
    Direct Examination by Mr. Speas:
6
          Would you state your name for the record?
7
          Thomas Brooks Hofeller.
8
          Okay. We've met before, I believe, Dr.
    Q.
    Hofeller, at various times.
10
          Several times.
11
         Yes, we have, and thank you for coming
12
    today. I want to talk with you a little bit
    this morning about your expert report filed in
13
    this matter.
15
                 MR. SPEAS: And if we could, let's
    go ahead and mark it as Exhibit 1. I guess
    this the first exhibit in this case.
17
18
                 MR. FARR: I'm not sure. Michael
    had the exhibits and --
19
20
                 MR. O'HALE: I think it might be up
21
    to eight by now.
                 MR. SPEAS: Oh, okay. So, let's --
22
23
                 MR. FARR: Can we go off the record
    for a second?
24
25
                      (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD.)
```

Page 6 (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 8, Marked for 1 Identification.) (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, Exhibit 8 has 3 been placed in front of you. And I would ask you whether or not you can identify Exhibit 8 as the expert report that you have filed in 6 7 this case, Harris -v- McCrory? 8 Α. I can. 9 And is that your report? Q. 10 It is. 11 Okay. I want to ask you a few questions about your circumstances that brought you here. 13 You have been retained in this case by whom? Α. I've been retained by the law firm. 15 Of Ogletree Deakins? Q. 16 Yes. Α. 17 Okay. And when were you retained? 18 I can't remember the last date, but I --Α. I really can't remember when I was retained. 19 20 Okay. Q. It's been -- I've been with this case 21 through -- this line of cases through the whole 22 23 redistricting cycle. You were retained by the Ogletree firm 24 in the State Court redistricting litigation,

Page 7 1 correct? 2 Α. Yes. And this, of course, is a separate 3 federal lawsuit. Were you separately retained in this suit, or is your work here simply a continuation of your State Court work? No, I -- as far as I understand, at this point I'm through with the State case, and this is a new case. And your expert report is dated January 10 11 17, 2014, is that correct? 12 Α. Yes. Q. So, you were retained some time prior to 13 14 January 17th? 15 Yes. Q. Can you estimate how long before January 17 17? I imagine it would have been in November or December. 19 20 Okay. And for what purpose were you Q. 21 retained? I was retained to give expert testimony; 22 23 and, of course, I expected to give some factual 24 testimony too. 25 Okay. And your retainer is for \$295 an

Page 8 1 hour? That is my fee, yes. 3 Q. Okay. And --Plus expenses. 5 Right. And how much have you been paid so far? 7 I'm not exactly sure, but I think it's been somewhere in the neighborhood of about 16K -- 12 to \$16,000. Okay. And have you been paid for all 10 11 the services you have provided to this point? 12 Except for this deposition, yes. Α. 13 Q. Okay. Now, in preparing Exhibit 8, 14 other than the attorneys at Ogletree, with whom did you confer; or from whom did you receive 15 16 assistance? 17 I wrote this, myself; and made the inquiries, and examinations and analyses, myself. 19 20 Okay. So, you did not confer with 21 anyone other than the attorneys in preparing 22 this report? 23 Not to my recollection, no. Α. 24 0. All right. And no other person assisted 25 you in preparing this report?

Page 9 1 No. 2 Okay. A little bit of background: know a lot about your background, but you have 3 a Ph.D. from Claremont Graduate University, 5 correct? 6 I do. And I believe you received that in 1970 8 or thereabouts? 9 No, that's not correct. 10 Oh, okay. When did you receive that? 11 1980. Okay. And what was your dissertation 12 Q. topic? 13 14 Mississippi redistricting. Okay. Now, since receiving your Ph.D., 15 have you ever been employed at the University 16 17 as a faculty member? 18 Α. No. Okay. Since receiving your Ph.D., have 19 20 you been the sole author of any article in any 21 academic journal? 22 No. 23 Is it correct that you have been a Q. 24 consultant for the RNC or other Republican organizations continuously since the 1900s --

Page 10 1 1990s? MR. FARR: The 1900s might be right. MR. SPEAS: That may be correct. 3 MR. FARR: I'll let Tom answer that. 5 No. (Mr. Speas) Would you describe for me 6 7 the periods during which you have been a consultant for the Republican National 8 Committee? You said during the '90s? 10 11 Yes. 12 I'd have to -- I'd have to go back and Α. 13 look at my resume because I'm not sure. I left 14 the employment of the National Republican 15 Congressional Committee after the '90 redistricting. And then I was not employed by 16 17 any committee, and then in 1999, I believe I was employed by the Republican National 18 19 Committee through 2003. And then I was employed in the Federal 20 Government from 2003 through the beginning of 21 2009; and then, I believe, in May of 2009, I 22 was retained by the Republican National Committee as a consultant. 24 25 Would it be accurate, Dr. Hofeller, that

- you have been a consultant with the Republican
- National Committee for the 1990 redistricting
- cycle, the 2000 redistricting cycle and the
- 2010 redistricting cycle?
- 5 **A.** No.
- 6 **Q.** Okay.
- 7 A. I was -- I was retained for the -- the
- 8 | 1990 redistricting cycle by the National
- 9 Republican Congressional Committee. It's a
- 10 separate entity.
- 11 **Q.** Okay.
- 12 A. And then -- well, I'll finish your
- question -- then the RNC for the subsequent two.
- 14 Q. Okay. Thank you for that clarification.
- Describe for me the fields in which you believe
- 16 you are an expert.
- 17 A. I believe I'm an expert in the field of
- 18 | -- well, all fields really pertaining
- 19 redistricting, to demographics, to political
- 20 data analysis, to redistricting; statistical
- 21 analysis. I don't think there are any others
- 22 that are really relevant to that.
- Q. Okay. You're presently employed at an
- organization called Geographic Strategies,
- 25 correct?

- A. I'm a partner.
- 2 Q. Okay. And Mr. Dale Oldham is your
- partner in that enterprise?
- 4 A. Heis.
- 5 Q. Okay. And when was Geographic Strategies
- 6 formed?
- 7 A. My recollection is it was in May of 2011.
- 8 Again, I'd have to look at my resume though.
- 9 Q. Okay. And are there other partners at
- 10 | Geographic Strategies other than you and Mr.
- 11 | Oldham?
- 12 **A.** No.
- 13 Q. And Mr. Oldham is here today?
- 14 **A.** He is.
- Did you confer with Mr. Oldham in
- advance about your expert report in this case?
- 17 A. In his capacity as my attorney, we
- discuss a whole range of redistricting issues
- 19 almost constantly.
- Q. Is Mr. Oldham your attorney in this
- 21 | matter along with Mr. Farr?
- 22 A. I'm retained by Mr. Farr. Dale is my
- 23 attorney.
- Q. All right. Dr. Hofeller, in paragraph 17
- of Exhibit 8, you say you have been asked to

Page 13 evaluate the "Export" -- I think that must be 1 a typo -- Expert Report submitted by Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere on behalf of the Plaintiffs. I'm sorry. Could you give me the page number again? MR. FARR: Page 5. 8 (Mr. Speas) It's paragraph 17, page 5. A. Okay. MR. FARR: And thank you, Eddie, for 10 11 pronouncing that name. I'm sure I'm not going to be able to do that. 12 MR. SPEAS: And I have tried, and I 13 think I've got it down, but there's some 14 15 question about that. 16 The "e" is silent. (Mr. Speas) Okay. You were asked to 17 Q. evaluate this expert report, correct? 19 I was. Okay. And which fields of your expertise did you use in evaluating this report, Exhibit 21 22 8? 23 Demographics, redistricting, political Α. analysis; statistical analysis. 25 Okay. Have you been asked to conduct

Page 14 any other analyses for this case? Not at this time, no. Okay. Do you expect to be asked to conduct other analyses for this case? 5 Possibly. 6 Okay. All right. Q. 7 MR. SPEAS: Now, let me ask the court 8 reporter to mark this as Exhibit 9. (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 9 Marked for Identification.) 10 11 (Mr. Speas) What the court reporter has placed in front of you is Exhibit 9, the Expert 13 Report of Stephen Ansolabehere. Do you recognize that report -- that exhibit? 15 I do. Okay. And that is the report that you 17 analyzed for Mr. Farr? 18 I did. Α. 19 Okay. Now, let me ask you this: this 20 report, Exhibit 9, includes Tables 1 through 21 11, correct? (Witness peruses document.) Yes. 22 23 Okay. Is there anything -- is any of Q. 24 the data in Tables 1 through 11 inaccurate in your judgement?

- A. (Witness peruses document.) Not that I recall, no.
- Q. Okay. And Exhibit 9 also includes Maps

 1 through 8. Have you examined those maps?
- A. (Witness peruses document.) Yes, I did look at them.
- 7 **Q.** Okay.
- 8 A. They're not very clear on this document.
- Q. Okay. But are those -- do those maps
 accurately depict what they purport to depict?
- 11 **A.** Yes.
- Q. Okay. Now, in examining Exhibit 9, did you reach any conclusion with respect to the appropriateness of the methodologies that Dr.
- Ansolabehere used in preparing his report?
- A. Could you re-word that again? I'm sorry.
- Q. Okay. Do you disagree with the
 methodologies that Dr. Ansolabehere used in
 preparing his report, Exhibit 9?
- A. I don't disagree with the method he used.

 I do disagree with their -- their efficacy in

 terms of his conclusions.
- Q. Okay. You do not believe that the
 methodologies he used were not appropriate, do
 you?

- 1 A. I think my answer is as I stated before.
- I think he used -- he used the methodol- -- the
- methods, actually, correctly for what they are.
- Q. Your disagreement is with Dr.
- 5 Ansolabehere's conclusion, correct?
- A. It is.
- 7 **Q.** Okay. All right. Not with his data?
- 8 **A.** No.
- 9 **Q.** And --
- 10 A. Well, yes, in the way -- yes. This one
- 11 | -- there's one thing that I would disagree with
- 12 and --
- 13 Q. All right.
- 14 A. -- that's his dependence upon
- registration data rather than election results,
- 16 but as he used the -- the registration data, he
- came out with the number he should come out
- 18 | with using that method.
- 19 Q. Okay. And the registration data he used
- 20 | was accurate data?
- A. I -- I will take him at face value on his
- 22 data.
- Q. All right. Okay. Now, Dr. Ansolabehere
- prepared a report in response to your report,
- 25 | is that correct?

Page 17 1 Yes, he did. 2 MR. SPEAS: And I'll ask the court 3 reporter to mark this as Exhibit 10. (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 10 Marked for 5 Identification.) 6 (Mr. Speas) Is Exhibit 10 Dr. 7 Ansolabehere's response to your report? 8 (Witness peruses document.) Yes. A. 9 And have you reviewed that report? 10 I have. Q. Okay. And when did you review the 11 12 report? 13 I reviewed it when I received it from the attorneys, and I reviewed it before this 14 deposition. 15 Okay. And have you prepared any 16 17 documents in response to Exhibit 10? 18 I have not. Α. 19 Okay. Did you conduct any analysis of any data as a consequence of reviewing Exhibit 20 21 10? 22 Any analysis of my own, are you asking? A. 23 Q. Yes. 24 A. No. 25 Okay. And let me ask you if you contend Q.

that any of the data used in Exhibit 10 is not accurate?

- A. I accept the data that he has in his report.
- Q. And do you believe that any of the
 methods Dr. Ansolabehere used in preparing
 Exhibit 10 are not appropriate for the purpose
 he used them?
- Again, I would not agree that they are 9 10 appropriate for the purposes of his 11 conclusions. He -- he preformed the analyses. 12 He performed the analyses correctly. I, once 13 again, agree with his conclusions; and I also state that I'm still not agreeing with the fact that he relied heavily on registration figures 15 and not on actual results; although he did use 16 17 some election results this time.
 - Q. Okay. All right. Are you considering conducting any additional analysis in response to Exhibit 10?
 - A. Not unless asked.
- 22 **Q.** All right. Have you been asked?
- 23 **A.** No.

18

19

20

21

3

Q. Okay. Have you recommended to your counsel that any additional analysis be

```
Page 19
    conducted of Exhibit 10?
          No.
          Now, Dr. Hofeller, let's talk a little
3
    bit about North Carolina and your work in North
    Carolina in 2011. In paragraph 29 of Exhibit 8
    on page 9, you state that you were, quote,
    "intensely involved," close quotes, in the
    redistricting process in North Carolina.
          Is that correct?
          I'm sorry? What paragraph, please?
10
11
          Paragraph 29, page 9.
          (Witness peruses page.)
    Α.
13
          And in the last sentence, you say you
    were "intensely involved in the entire process."
15
          I'm sorry? The paragraph number again?
                MR. FARR: 29.
16
17
         (Mr. Speas) 29.
                MR. FARR: It's the last sentence in
18
19
    29, I think.
20
          Oh, yes. I'm sorry. Yes.
          (Mr. Speas) Okay. And is that an
21
    accurate description of your role in the
22
    redistricting process?
24
          Yes.
    Α.
25
          Okay. Now, I want to talk to you a
```

```
little bit about the kinds of involvement you
    had. Did you draw the Congressional plans?
          I was the person who drew most of the
3
    plans, and finalized the plans and kept track
    of the plans. It was the same role that I
6
    explained to you in the last case we were in.
    My primary thing was to advise, to keep track
8
    of the plans, to draft plans; to be the
    gatekeeper to make sure everything got done.
          And in the prior case, you described
10
11
    yourself as the principal architect of the
    Legislative plans. Would you describe yourself
12
    as the principal architect of the Congressional
13
14
    plan as well?
                 MR. FARR: Objection.
15
          I would.
                    I'm sorry.
                 MR. FARR: That's fine.
17
          (Mr. Speas) Okay. Now --
    Q.
          I would amplify that by saying, of
19
20
    course, as was the case in the Legislative map,
21
    the decision -- principal decision-makers in
    the Congressional map as well as the
22
23
    Legislative map were the chairmen of the two
    committees.
24
```

Hightower Reporting Service 800-828-5730

Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis?

- 1 A. That's correct.
- 2 Q. And you answered to Senator Rucho and
- Representative Lewis in drawing the
- Congressional plan, correct?
- 5 A. I did.
- 6 Q. Okay. And did you make recommendations
- 7 | to them with regard to the goals that should be
- 8 achieved by the plan?
- Actually, they pretty clearly stated to
- me the goals that they wished to achieve by the
- 11 plan.
- 12 Q. Okay. And did they state those goals to
- 13 | you in writing?
- 14 | A. Not directly, no.
- Okay. Did they state those goals to you
- 16 | in an email?
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Okay. Did they state those goals to you
- 19 by conversation?
- 20 **A.** Yes.
- 21 Q. And was Mr. Oldham present at those
- 22 | conversations?
- A. Not at all times, no.
- Q. Okay. Was Mr. Farr present at those
- 25 conversations?

- A. Not at all times, no.
- Q. Okay. Did you make any recommendation
- 3 | to Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis with
- 4 regard the requirements of the Voting Rights
- 5 Act in drawing the Congressional plan?
- 6 A. Representative Lewis and Senator Rucho
- 7 | stated to me that the maps should be drawn in
- 8 such a way as to pass muster under both Section
- 9 2 and Section 5, and they knew what that
- 10 entailed.
- 11 Q. Okay. And what did that entail? What
- 12 | did you understand that entailed?
- 13 A. With regard to the Congressional plan, it
- 14 -- that -- that District 1 was a Voting Rights
- district, and that District 12 was not a Voting
- Rights district. It was a political district.
- 17 Q. Okay. And with regard to District 1,
- did you recommend to them, Senator Rucho and
- 19 Representative Lewis, that that district had to
- be drawn with more than a 50 percent BVAP?
- 21 A. I was instructed by them that the
- 22 district should be drawn with a
- 23 African-American percentage in excess of 50
- 24 | percent total VAP.

25

Q. Okay. Did you receive a similar

Page 23 instruction from them with regard to District 12? 3 No. Did you receive any instructions from Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis with 6 regard to the partisan advantage that should be provided the Republicans in drawing the districts? 8 9 Yes. And what were those instructions? 10 My instructions were to draw the plan to 11 make it -- have an increased number of 12 13 competitive districts for GOP candidates. And did you make any evaluation of the likely results -- partisan results of the plan 15 enacted by the General Assembly? 17 A. Yes. Q. And what was that estimate? 18 That -- that three of the districts were 19 most certainly going to be strong Democratic 20 21 districts, and that the remaining districts would be more competitive or remain competitive 22 23 for Republican candidates. And those three strong Democratic 24 districts were?

- **A.** One, 4 and 12.
- Q. Okay. And what was the result of the
- ³ 2012 election with regard to partisan advantage?
- 4 **A.** Four Democrats won election to the House
- of Representatives -- U.S. House of
- 6 Representatives, and the remainder were
- 7 Republicans.
- 8 Q. Now, when you -- as you were drawing the
- 9 | plans, did Senator Rucho and Representative
- 10 Lewis give you any instructions as to whether
- partisan advantage or competitiveness was to
- take precedence over compliance with the Voting
- Rights Act as you drew the districts?
- 14 **A.** No.
- Okay. As you were drawing the districts,
- did you weigh partisan advantage more heavily
- than compliance with the Voting Rights Act?
- 18 A. For the plan as a whole?
- 19 **Q.** Yes.
- 20 **A.** For the plan as a whole, I would have to
- 21 say, yes; but the plan was compliant with the
- 22 | Voting Rights Act. There were many, many -- 12
- of the 13 districts were drawn as political
- 24 districts.
 - Q. As you were drawing Congressional

District 1, did you give precedence to

compliance with the Voting Rights Act over

partisan advantage in constructing that district?

- A. I would not say so, no.
- Q. Okay.

6

- A. It was a factor certainly, but it was
- 7 | not the predominant factor.
- 8 Q. Okay. What was the predominant factor?
- 9 **A.** Well, as you -- as probably you don't
- know, when -- when you're drawing a plan, of
- course, the plan is a whole plan -- a whole map
- of the State. And so, every district plays
- into every other district, and the map which
- 14 | the Republicans inherit -- inherited had
- districts which were not equal in population.
- The entire reason you redistrict to begin
- with is to equalize the population. So,
- 18 | certainly equality of population was a
- 19 preeminent factor.
- 20 **Q.** Okay.

25

- 21 A. Another factor was to rema- -- to retain
- 22 | the cores of many of the districts. In fact, I
- 23 think most of them retained their cores; and
- 24 also to, again, shift the populations.
 - With regard to District 1, one -- one of

the problems with District 1 was that it was underpopulated by, I believe, 97,600 people or something like that; and population would have to be added to the district. The new district would have to have 97,000 more people in it.

One of the other factors that concerned the -- the Chairmen was that District 1 was the most underpopulated district in the previous plan, and we were trying to ameliorate that situation in the drafting of the new district so that the difference in population between the -- all the districts in the plan would -- would stay smaller as the decade progressed.

Q. Okay.

- A. The other thing was that the population needs of the surrounding districts had to be taken care of too. Once again, District 1 was not drawn in a vacuum. So, the populations had to be adjusted.
- Q. Okay.
- A. And, of course, the political goals of the General Assembly in the plan had to be taken into account too.
- Q. Okay. Let me talk about District 12 for just a minute. When you were drawing District

12, did partisan advantage take precedence over compliance with the Voting Rights Act?

A. Yes.

1

3

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

24

25

- Q. Now, let me ask you this: when you began drawing the Congressional districts, did you start with the existing plan and modify it; or did you start from scratch?
- A. In drawing almost any redistricting plan,
 particularly in a state for Congressional
 districts where the number of districts has not
 changed because of reapportionment, the -- the
 normal starting point is always from the
 existing districts.

But once again, it's the whole map, and the needs of the whole map. So, we had areas where there was more population than needed, and we had areas where there was less population needed. So, all that had to be adjusted.

And, of course, so all the plans -- all the maps, districts had to be shifted around in order to accommodate the goals of the whole plan.

Q. Okay. But you began with the existing plan?

A. Yes.

10

11

13

15

16

17

18

19

20

22

Q. Okay. Now, did you draw the districts in any particular sequence; that is, did you focus first on District 1?

A. It was my instruction and it would have been the normal practice in any state I drew where we had Section 2 or Section 5 issues to pay particular attention from the beginning of the plan to a district that was covered.

Aside from that, an analysis, of course, had to be made about how the districts had—to be shifted from one spot to another. And as is in the case of any plan drafting, you go through many iterations of the map before it even is made public.

Q. Unh-hunh (yes). Okay. So, it would be accurate that the first district you focused on was Congressional District 1?

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

- A. I really don't agree with your premise or your question there.
- Q. (Mr. Speas) Okay.
- A. It was always in my mind. I was
 focusing first on the -- the nature of the
 whole plan -- the holistic view of the plan,

and where the shifts needed to be and what had to be done in the whole plan.

And when you're doing that, you work your way back and forth across the map many times, tugging and pulling at districts, and looking at them, and other people are looking at them.

And so, I would say your premise in that question is -- is not -- doesn't work for me.

Q. What does work for you is that District 1 was always in your mind?

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

- A. It was in my mind when I was drawing it and the results of what would be there, but so were the other districts.
 - Q. Okay. But it was in the front of your mind, correct?

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

A. It was always important to circle back if necessary, depending on where I was drawing, and see how all the pieces of all the districts pieced together. But once again, my instruction from the Chairmen was to draw a legal map that would qualify in a one person one vote, and that would qualify under the Voting Rights Act.

And then the political goals were going

to be taken into account; and, of course, there are always the needs and desires of incumbents, some of which are good ideas and some of which maybe aren't good ideas.

- Q. (Mr. Speas) And when you circled back to Congressional District 1 as you were working on the rest of the map, did you circle back to make sure that it remained above 50 percent total black voting age population?
- A. Again, my understanding and instructions were because of Strickland, if the district were to be drawn as a Voting Rights Act district, it had to be in excess of 50 percent, I would say, TVAP.

11

12

13

15

17

18

19

20

21

22

24

Q. Okay. I understand. Now, was -- where was Congressional District 12 in your mind as you were drawing the whole plan? Was it just after Congressional District 1 or was it someplace else?

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

A. Again, I -- if you've ever drawn a plan, you would know that I was focusing from district to district to district and back and forth and forth and back. So, it wasn't a situation where I was saying, "Well, what does

Page 31 this do to 12, or what does this do to 1?" Because, you may be working in an entirely different area of the State. The -- the 3 mission here was to create a legal plan first off, and to make sure that it would pass muster 6 under the Voting Rights Act, both Section 5 and Section 2. 8 (Mr. Speas) Okay. So, if you've ever drawn a map, you 10 would know that you're just -- you're thinking 11 of the task at hand, which is the district that 12 you're drawing on. 13 Q. Okay. 14 MR. SPEAS: I'm going to ask the 15 court reporter to mark this document as Exhibit 16 11. (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 11 Marked for 17 18 Identification.) (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, I would ask 19 20 you to review Exhibit 11, and then ask you 21 whether or not it is the public statement issued by Senator Rucho and Representative 22 23 Lewis on July 1, 2011 regarding the 2011 24 Congressional Plan? It's a true copy. It certainly is. 25

Page 32 Okay. Did you assist in preparing that 1 document? I did not. 3 Okay. Did you review the document Q. before it was released? 6 I don't recollect whether I saw it before 7 or after it was released. Did -- to your memory, did Senator Rucho 8 Q. 9 or Representative Lewis seek your advice in 10 preparing this document? They did not. 11 Have you reviewed this document before? 12 Q. Α. Yes. 14 Q. Okay. Before this --15 A. 16 Q. Before this deposition. 17 A. -- deposition, yes. You have? 18 Q. 19 Α. Yes. Okay. And does Exhibit 11 reflect the 20 directions you received from Representative 21 22 Lewis and Senator Rucho in drawing the Congressional plan. 24 MR. FARR: I think you should make 25 sure you read the whole thing.

- A. Yes, I would -- I would actually have to sit down and read it in really great detail to see if it correlates exactly. In general it does, yes.

 Q. (Mr. Speas) All right. Well, let me
- call your attention to some specific parts of

 Exhibit 11. If you would look on page 2 at

 paragraph 1, was one of the instructions you

 received to use the current Congressional plan

 as a frame of reference?

11

13

25

- A. I think by the time that this statement was written, it was clear that that had already been done.
- Q. Okay. So, the plan you drew met this
 instruction; or, rather, let me put it this
 way: in drawing the plan, you used the current
 plan as the frame of reference?

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

- A. I don't understand what you mean by
 "frame of reference."
- Q. (Mr. Speas) I'm using the term that
 Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis used.

MR. FARR: I think it says, "a
frame of reference."

Q. (Mr. Speas) Did you understand what --

do you understand what they meant when they

2 | said, "Use of current congressional plan as a

frame of reference"?

- A. I would understand that it's the way we
- would start any plan. So, yes, it's -- it's a
- 6 frame of reference.
 - **Q.** Okay.

3

- 8 A. It's always a frame of reference in the
- ⁹ districting.
- 10 Q. All right. And in drawing the plan, you
- used the 2001 plan as a frame of reference in
- 12 | accordance with --
- 13 A. Yes, as a frame.
- 14 **Q.** Okay.
- 15 **A.** Okay.
- 16 Q. Now, would you turn with me to page 3?
- 17 And there is a sentence -- paragraph midway
- 18 | that begins, "The State's First Congressional
- District was originally drawn in 1992 as a
- 20 majority black district. It was established by
- the State to comply with Section 2 of the
- 22 | Voting Rights Act. Under the decision by the
- United States Supreme Court in Strickland v.
- 24 | Bartlett, the State is now obligated to draw
- 25 | majority black districts with true majority

Page 35 black voting age population." 1 Was that an instruction you received from Representative Lewis and Senator Rucho, that 3 the State is obligated to draw majority black districts with true majority black voting age 6 population? Did you say districts? 8 Q. That's -- I'm reading --Could you just restate your question, 10 please? 11 Q. Okay. Thank you. Α. 13 In Exhibit 11, Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis state, quote, "The State 15 is now obligated to draw majority black 16 districts with true majority black voting age 17 population." 18 Did you receive an instruction from 19 Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis to draw 20 majority black districts with a true majority 21 black voting age population? MR. FARR: Object to the form 22 because you're quoting half the sentence. 24 Q. (Mr. Speas) Can you answer the question? It was my understanding -- and, again,

this has been three years. So, it was my

understanding that if you were going to draw a

Section 2 or Section 5 district, that because

of Strickland, you had to draw it over 50

percent.

6

8

14

24

25

Q. Okay.

A. I understood that, yes.

Q. Okay. And that was an instruction you

received from Rucho and Lewis?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 Q. Okay. Let's turn to page 5 of Exhibit

12 | 11 where the first of the page talks about the

13 Twelfth District.

A. Yes.

15 Q. And I would call your attention,

specifically, to the paragraph midway of that

page which says, quote, "Because of the

presence of Guilford County in the Twelfth

District, we have drawn our proposed Twelfth

District at a black voting age level that is

above the percentage of black voting age

22 | population found in the current Twelfth

23 District. We believe that this measure will

ensure pre-clearance of the plan."

Did I read that accurately?

A. You did.

1

- 2 **Q.** Okay. Did you receive an instruction from
- Representative Lewis and Senator Rucho to draw
- 4 | the Twelfth District at a black voting age
- 5 level that is above the level -- black voting
- age level in the current Twelfth District?
- 7 A. Actually, my understanding of the issue
- 8 | was because Guilford was a Section 5 county and
- 9 because there was a substantial
- African-American population in Guilford County,
- that if the portion of the African-American
- 12 community was in the former District 13 -- was
- 13 a strong -- which was a strong Democratic
- 14 district was not attached to another strong
- Democratic district, that it could endanger the
- plan and make a challenge to the plan.
- And that's where that concern generated
- 18 from.
- 19 Q. Okay. And did that concern come from
- 20 | Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis or
- 21 elsewhere?
- 22 A. It came from them.
- Q. Okay. Now, let me call your attention
- now, Dr. Hofeller, to page 7 and in particular,
- 25 | paragraph 7 on page 7. Did you -- in that

paragraph, Senator Rucho and Representative

Lewis state, quote, "We have attempted to

respect county lines and whole precincts when

it was logical to do so and consistent with

other relevant factors."

Did you receive an instruction from

Representative Lewis and Senator Rucho to

respect county lines when logical to do so?

6

8

11

13

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

- A. Yes, and consistent with other relevant factors.
- Q. Okay. And what were those other relevant factors as you understood them?
- A. Well, my relative factors were to, again, draw a plan that was legal which fulfilled the Federal criteria of one person one vote, and which would pass muster under Section 2 and Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act; particularly, to get pre-cleared.
 - Q. Okay. So, if the Voting -- compliance with the Voting Rights Act required the division of a county, you divided a county, correct?

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

A. Once again, I have to state that the -the one Section 2 county -- Section 2 district,

Page 39 District 1, was not drawn in a vacuum. And so, in order to accomplish all of the goals in the drawing of Section (sic) 1 and all of the surrounding districts and the whole plan, it became necessary to split some precincts, and they were split. I'm not talking about split precincts Q. right now. I'm talking about county splits. 8 Α. Well, and counties also. 10 Okay. Q. 11 Α. ·Yes. So, when was it logical to split a 12 county as you were -- when did you conclude it was logical to split a county when you were 14 15 drawing the plan? Well, certainly, if you could not make a 16 -- a legal district out of whole counties, you 17 18 would have to split counties. Okay. And a legal district would be one 19 that was required by Section 2? 21 Yes. Q. And the Voting Rights Act? I believe that's part of --23 Α. 24 Well, I guess it may be about all of it Q.

Hightower Reporting Service 800-828-5730

25

now.

Page 40 No, I don't think so, but I won't get 1 into a legal discussion with you. Okay, okay. Q. I'll leave that to your fellow attorneys. 5 Okay. When else was it logical to split 6 a county? Well, again, you might split a county --7 Α. you have to, certainly, split counties in order 8 to meet one person one vote. You might have to 10 split counties to transition. 11 Q. Transition? 12 The plan. Α. Q. Transition --13 From one place to another. 14 15 Q. Okay. You might have to split precincts because 16 17 of incumbencies. What about partisan advantage? Q. There might be a case of that, yes. 19 20 Okay. Now, I'm focused on whole 21 counties. Let me now talk about split precincts just a moment. You were instructed 22 23 to attempt to respect precinct lines as you were drawing this plan? 24

Hightower Reporting Service 800-828-5730

25

Yes.

- Q. Okay. And there are occasions when you did split precincts, correct?
 - A. That's correct.
- Q. And when was it logical in your estimate to split a precinct?
- A. Well, again, it might be the same person

 -- the same purpose for which we would split a

 county. It could be a transit. It could be

 an incumbency. It could be to equalize the

 populations. It could be in the case of the

 First to, again, comply with the Voting Rights
- Act and to comply with some of the input that
 we had from the public and from members on the
 plan.
- Q. Okay. And, in fact, in Exhibit 11 on

 page 7 in paragraph 7, Senator Rucho and

 Representative Lewis state; and I quote, "Most

 of our precinct divisions were prompted by the

 creation of Congressman Butterfield's majority

 black First Congressional District or when

 precincts needed to be divided for compliance

 with the one person one vote, "correct?
 - A. On what page?

23

25

- Q. Page 7, paragraph 7.
 - A. Oh, okay. I'm sorry.

Page 42 I was --Q. A. Page 7, 7? Yes, 7, 7, the last sentence. Q. That's true. A. Okay. And is that an accurate statement, 6 that the -- most of the precincts that were divided in the Congressional plan were divided 8 in the creation of Congressman Butterfield's Congressional District 1 or one --10 Yes. 11 -- person one vote? Q. 12 A. Yes, yes. 13 Q. Okay. 14 Well, and once again, several other 15 reasons. 16 Okay. Q. 17 MR. SPEAS: Now, let me ask the court 18 reporter to mark Exhibit 12. (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 12 Marked for 19 Identification.) 21 (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, I have placed in front of you a document bearing the 22 letterhead of the North Carolina General 23 Assembly and the title "Joint Statement of 24 25 Senator Bob Rucho and Representative David

Page 43 Lewis regarding the release of Rucho-Lewis Congress 2." I would ask you if you have ever seen 3 Exhibit 12 before? 5 I have. Okay. And did you assist Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis in preparing this document? I did not. Did you review this document before it was 10 11 released? I did not. 12 Α. 13 Did you have discussions -- have you reviewed Exhibit 12 since it was published? 15 I have. Okay. And it does not bear a date, but let me just say for the record that the 17 Legislative website reports that this document 18 was published on July 19, 2011. 19 20 Let me ask you, Dr. Hofeller, to turn to 21 page 4 of Exhibit 12. And I would call your attention specifically to the last paragraph, 22 and I would -- that paragraph says, "In 23 adopting the Twelfth District, we intended to 24 accommodate the wishes expressed to us by

Congressman Watt, as we understood them, to continue to include populations located in Mecklenburg, Guilford and Forsyth Counties.

"Our revised version of this district
makes it more compact and continues the
district as a very strong Democratic district.
Our version of the Twelfth District is based
upon whole precincts that voted heavily for
President Obama in the 2008 General Election."

Did I read that correctly?

A. You did.

1

3

8

10

11

16

24

25

- Q. Okay. Let me first ask you about their

 statement that District 12 in the enacted plan

 is more compact than District 12 in the former

 plan?
 - A. I haven't reviewed that.
- 17 Q. You have not?
- 18 A. I can't answer that.
- Q. Okay. What instructions did you receive from Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis about compactness in the Congressional plan -- in drawing the Congressional plan?
 - A. I was -- I don't remember actually receiving any specific instructions, except the generalized fact to make plans as compact as

- possible with the goals and policies of the
- ² entire plan.
- Okay. And as you were drawing the
- 4 | plans, did you occasionally apply the
- 5 mathematical measures of compactness to see how
- 6 | the districts were holding up?
- 7 **A.** No.
- 8 Q. Okay. And at the end of the process,
- 9 did Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis ask
- 10 you if the districts were compact in your
- judgement?
- \mathbf{A} . Not that I recall.
- Q. Okay. And at the end of the process,
- did you on your own form any opinion as to
- whether the districts were compact?
- 16 A. Some were; some weren't.
- 17 Q. Did you form an opinion as to whether
- 18 District 12 was compact?
- 19 A. My opinion on District 12 was that
- 20 District 12's compactness was in line with
- 21 | former versions of District 12 and in line with
- 22 compactness as one would understand it in the
- 23 context of North Carolina redistricting; and,
- indeed, in the context of redistricting across
- 25 the country.

And on one occasion, you described a former version of Congressional District 12 as the least compact district you'd ever seen, didn't you?

6

8

10

11

15

16

17

18

19

MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

- I -- if I made that statement, you have some -- I might have said it. It depends on when I made that statement. There's been a lot of districts, maybe, after that happened -there's been a lot of 'em this round that have been pretty extreme.
- 12 (Mr. Speas) Do you recall making that 13 statement with regard to the 1991 version of 14 Congressional 12?
 - I don't recall making it, but I would not be at all surprised if I had made it. It's been a feature of PowerPoints by many, many, many different people.
- Okay. Now, as you completed the plan, did you form an opinion as to whether or not 21 Congressional District 1 was compact?
- 22 Within the context, again, of North 23 Carolina plans, I did not believe that the --24 that the new District 12 (sic) had a 25 compactness issue.

Page 47 Okay. Now, let me call your attention --Q. MR. FARR: Were you asking about 12 3 or 1? 4 MR. SPEAS: About 1. MR. FARR: Well, he --5 6 I'm sorry. I gave you a 12 answer, didn't I? 8 (Mr. Speas) I'm sorry. You did. MR. SPEAS: Thank you, Tom. 9 10 (Mr. Speas) I was asking about District 11 12 Again, within the context of the history Α. of Congressional District 1, I certainly did 13 not believe that there was an issue with the 15 compactness of that district, again, in the 16 North Carolina compactness. 17 Did you form an opinion as to whether the 2011 version of Congressional 1 was more compact than earlier versions of Congressional 19 20 1? 21 I'm not really sure that that's a relevant 22 comparison. I mean, the former plans were all 23 drawn in a different context. In many cases, there were different numbers of districts, the 24 25 distribution of the demographics, both

Page 48 1 demographics racially and ethnically; and population levels were different in all the plans. So, it's -- it's very hard to compare one 5 year to another because all the other factors weigh very heavily on how those districts are formed. So, would it be accurate then that you made no judgement with respect to whether the 2011 version of Congressional 1 was more 10 11 compact than the 2001 version of Congressional 12 1? 13 Again, please restate that. You made no judgement at the end of the 15 2011 process regarding whether Congressional 1 in 2011 was more or less compact than the 2001 17 version of Congressional 1? 18 Again, I don't understand what you mean Α. by "the end." 19 20 Okay. I'm not sure how I can clear up 21 my unclear question. I mean, it's still going on, is it not? 22 What's still going on? Q. 24 The process. We're in court. A. 25 Oh, we're in court? Q.

Page 49 1 Okay. Did you make a decision in 2011 when Congressional District 1 was enacted as to whether it was more compact than the 2001 Congressional 1? Again, as I stated previously, I didn't think that it was a relevant thing to do. Okay. All right, thank you. Q. Okay. 10 Now, let me ask you about the next sentence on page 4 of Exhibit 12, which is, and 11 I quote, "Our revision of the Twelfth District 12 is based upon whole precincts that voted 13 heavily for President Obama in the 2008 General 14 15 Election." Did I read that correctly? 16 Again, I'm trying to find it. 17 It's at the bo- -- fourth line up from 18 the bottom of page 4. "Our revision of the Twelfth District is based upon whole precincts 20 21 that voted heavily for President Obama in the 22 2008 General Election." 23 Did I read it correctly? 24 You did. Α. 25 Okay. Did you receive an instruction

Page 50 from Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis to 1 draw District 12 based on the 2008 Obama vote? I think that was my decision. 3 Okay. And did you --Q. And --Α. Q. Go ahead. And there were many, many factors that A. played into the creation of District 12, and all of them were political. So, once again, I 10 have to state that District 12 was not drawn in a vacuum. It was drawn in the context of the 11 districts that immediately surrounded it and in 12 the context of the whole State. So --13 Q. Did --14 A. But --15 16 o. Go ahead. 17 No, that's all right. Did you look at the Obama 2008 vote in 18 deciding which districts -- I'm sorry -- which VTDs or census blocks to include in 20 Congressional 12 or not include in 21 22 Congressional 12? You really asked -- there are two parts 23 to that question. 24 25 Okay. Can you answer them?

- 1 A. Okay. First of all, you don't have
- Obama vote by block.
- **Q.** Okay.
- 4 A. So, it couldn't have been a factor in
- 5 where the blocks were -- where there were
- 6 | splits.
- 7 **Q.** Okay.
- 8 A. Secondly, it was certainly an important
- 9 factor in the placement of the boundaries of
- 10 the Twelfth District, but there were other
- political and demographic factors; and by that,
- 12 | I mean population factors that played into
- which precincts were put in the district as I
- 14 | have explained in previous reports.
- Okay. Did you use the Obama 2008 vote
- in deciding whether to put a VTD in District 12
- or to put it outside District 12?
- 18 A. In many cases, yes.
- 19 **Q.** Okay.

25

- 20 A. Not exclusively.
- Q. We'll get to that. And when you were
- 22 deciding whether to put a district -- a VTD in
- District 12 or not, did you look at the level
- of the Obama vote?
 - A. The percentage, yes.

- Okay. And if the percentage were less than 50 percent for Obama, did you have a rule
- as to what you would do with the district --
- the VTD? I'm sorry.
- 5 I'm sorry. I'm trying to follow your question, but --
- Okay. As you were looking at the Obama vote, did you look at the percentage of the vote for Obama in deciding whether to put the

VTD in District 12 or not?

- In many cases, yes.
- Obama were higher, more than 50 percent, was 13

Okay. And if the percentage vote for

- 14 that a factor that led you to put the VTD in
- Congressional 12? 15

10

11

12

Q.

- In some cases; in other cases, it was --
- 17 there were other factors at play.
- 18 Okay. In Exhibit 12, Senator Rucho and Q.
- Representative Lewis state that the revision of 19
- the Twelfth District is based upon whole
- 21 precincts that voted heavily for President
- Obama in the 2008 General Election. 22
- 23 Do you know -- do you have some
- 24 understanding of what they meant when they
- said, "voted heavily for President Obama"? 25

- A. I think you'd really have to ask them
 what they thought they meant by it.
- Q. Okay. Did you place districts in 12 or
 out of 12 based the heaviness of the Obama vote?
 - A. In many cases, yes.
- Q. Okay. The higher the Obama vote, the more likely you would put the VTD in 12,
- 8 | correct?

12, correct?

12

20

- 9 A. Again, in most cases, yes.
- Q. The lower the Obama vote, the more
 likely you would place the VTD outside District
- A. I don't think that that's a fair

 conclusion to make. I mean, there are many

 factors, again, playing into the actual

 construction of District 12. It's a very

 complex district. And some of the precinct

 placements obviously were -- actually, VTDs, I

 might use them interchangeably -- were more
- Q. Okay. It had to be contiguous?
- A. That's now a requirement. It wasn't a requirement in past Congressional plans in the State.

mandated by holding the district together.

Q. Okay. Now, did you inform Senator Rucho

and Representative Lewis that you were drawing

12 -- the Twelfth District based on the whole

precincts that voted heavily for President

1 Obama?

- A. My instructions were I was to create a
- 6 | heavily Democratic district.
 - **Q.** Okay.
- 8 A. And by creating a heavily Democratic
- 9 district, Democratic voting strength would be
- withdrawn from the surrounding districts which
- would make the surrounding districts more
- 12 competitive for Republicans.
- 13 **Q.** Okay.
- 14 A. Some of those districts had requirements
- that were different from other districts. So,
- 16 | it was a balancing act of the Twelfth in
- 17 | relationship to all the other surrounding
- districts, which would be my understanding of
- 19 how it was drawn previously, too.
- 20 Q. And Senator Rucho and Representative
- 21 | Lewis did not disagree with the decision you
- 22 made?
- MR. FARR: Objection to the form.
- Q. (Mr. Speas) They did not inform you
- 25 | that they disagreed with your decision?

- A. I think if you know Senator Rucho, you'd
- 2 know that if he disagreed with something I did,
- 3 | I would know it.
- 4 | \mathbf{Q}_{ullet} Okay. All right. Now, you -- one of
- 5 your areas of expertise is voting behavior,
- 6 | correct?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. Okay. And you used your expertise in
- 9 voting behavior in constructing the 2011 plan?
- 10 A. To some extent. Most of my voting
- behavior experience was -- is with election
- targeting and such; but, again, the -- there
- were certain partisan policy goals which the
- 14 General Assembly wanted to fulfill in the
- construction of this map. And, certainly, my
- 16 | knowledge of political data and how it plays
- into the winning of elections is just
- 18 | internalized in my mind.
- 19 Q. Okay. Based on your past experience and
- your knowledge, did you count a vote for Obama
- as a vote for a black or a Democrat?
- 22 A. A Democrat.
- 23 | Q. Okay. Did you use any other election
- 24 results in putting VTDs in or outside of
- 25 | Congressional 12?

- A. I'm sorry? Did you say political --
- 2 | Q. Did you use any elections other than the
- 3 2008 Obama election in putting districts in or
- 4 | outside --

1

- 5 A. I did not.
 - Q. Okay. You've draw a lot of plans.
- 7 A. Many, many plans.
- 8 Q. Many, many, many plans -- hundreds
- 9 probably, correct?
- 10 A. I don't know if it's hundreds, but a lot.
- 11 Q. In drawing other plans, have you ever
- placed a VTD in or outside a district based on
- the results of a single election?
- 14 **A.** Yes.
- 15 | Q. And can you -- have you ever done that
- 16 | -- did you do that with any other North
- 17 | Carolina district, Congressional or --
- 18 A. I may have. You know, it's been a long
- 19 time since this last process.
- 20 **Q.** Okay.
- 21 A. I think most people over-complicate these
- 22 things.
- Q. Okay. Do you recall any State
- legislative district you drew in 2011 that you
- used only the results of a single election in

putting VTDs in or outside the district?

A. In -- in many cases as part of my general work, I would evaluate states and how they could be redistricted; and in many of those cases, I would use the presidential vote because the presidential vote is the most recent and in many states it might be the only 50/50 or near 50/50 contested election with full turnout and with the kinds of knowledge and communications in them.

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

19

21

22

24

25

And I think it's a -- a very good thing to look at. Also, when you're comparing old districts to new districts, in some of those cases, I would use one election; and in other cases, I might use two or three elections.

- Q. But to answer my question, do you recall any district you drew in either the State House or State Senate in 2011 in which you used the results of a single election in assigning a VTD to a district?
- A. I'd have to think about that.
- Q. Well, let me be more specific. Do you recall any other Congressional district other than 12 in which you used the results of the 2008 Obama election to assign a VTD to the

Page 58 district or not? 1 Other than --Α. 3 Other than CD 12. Yes, of course. A. Okay. Which ones? I'm sorry. I -- I was using the 6 McCain/Obama vote across the State. Okay. In forming --Q. That's the way I understood your question. 10 In forming Congressional 12 -- I mean, the 11 Congressional plan? Yes. Α. Okay. All right. Thank you. 13 I'm sorry. I thought I -- you thought I 14 15 I misunderstood. 16 0. 17 Could I get a break here? Yes, absolutely. 18 Q. 19 (SHORT BREAK 10:20 - 10:25 A. M.) (Mr. Speas) Let me give my last set of 20 21 questions one more try. Here's my question: when you were drawing the Congressional plan, 22 did you use any election results other than the Obama 2000 (sic) election results in assigning 24 VTDs to one district or another? 25

- A. Not that I can recall.
- Q. Okay. In drawing the Legislative plans,
- the State House and the State Senate, do you --
- 4 | did you use election results other than the
- 5 Obama 2008 election results in assigning VTDs
- 6 to districts?

1

- 7 A. I don't really recall. I had a lot of
- 8 | advice from many, many people on that, and as
- 9 you recall, the Legislative map draws itself to
- 10 a very great extent.
- MR. SPEAS: And let's mark as
- 12 Exhibit 13 this next document.
- 13 (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 13 Marked for
- 14 Identification.)
- 15 Q. (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, Exhibit 13, I
- would represent to you, was printed off of the
- 17 | Legislature's redistricting website; and I
- would ask you if you have seen that document
- 19 before?
- 20 A. To be truthful, I don't recall that I
- 21 have seen that document before. I certainly
- 22 computed the same data. It would be probably
- one of the very first steps that you would look
- 24 | at. Even before you start drawing, people in
- 25 states and in Washington, D.C. are looking at

Page 60 the pluses and the minuses of all the districts. Okay. And this document simply reports the amount by which any district was -existing district -- the 2001 district was over or under the ideal population for 2011 6 purposes, correct? Yes. And this document reports that District 8 12 was overpopulated by 2,847 people? 10 Yes. And that District 1 was underpopulated by 11 97,563 people? 13 Yes. Okay. And the same numbers -- the same 15 result is reported for other districts? Α. True. Okay. Now, I want to show you Exhibit 17 18 14. 19 (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 14 Marked for 20 Identification.) (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, I would 21 report to you that Exhibit 14 is a collection 22 of maps of District 12 as it appeared in Rucho-Lewis Congress 1, Rucho-Lewis Congress 2, 24 25 Rucho-Lewis Congress 2A, and Rucho-Lewis

```
Page 61
1
    Congress 3.
          Does this document appear to contain those
    districts -- those versions of Congressional 12?
    Α.
          You know, I can't verify --
          Okay.
          -- with any high degree of certainty.
    It looks right to me.
          Okay. My question is this: looking at
    Exhibit 13 (sic), and based on your memory, is
10
    it correct --
                MR. FARR: It's 14.
11
                MR. SPEAS: Fourteen. I'm sorry.
12
13
    Q. (Mr. Speas) Is it correct that
    Congressional District 12 did not change much,
14
    if at all, through the various iterations
15
    presented to the General Assembly; Rucho-Lewis
16
17
    Congress 1, 2, 2A and 3?
          (Witness peruses Exhibit.) Okay. Now,
18
    that I've looked at all four maps, I need you
19
    to repeat your question.
20
                MR. FARR: Well, I may want you to
21
    look at these first. (Indicating other
22
    documents.)
23
          (Mr. Speas) Well, let me just put my
24
     question on the table so you can think about it
25
```

Page 62 when you're looking at whatever Tom wants you 1 to look at. My question is simply this: from the 3 time it was first introduced as Rucho-Lewis Congress 1 until the time it was enacted as 5 Rucho-Lewis Congress 3, there was no significant change in the shape or location of the district? It was enacted essentially as it was first introduced? That's the question. Did you want me to look at something? 10 11 (Addressing Mr. Farr) MR. FARR: You might want to look 12 at these color versions just because -- well, 13 go ahead and answer the question. Okay. I'm going to answer your question. 15 (Mr. Speas) Okay. Again, it depends on what you judge as 17 significant. You know, in a redistricting 18 plan, a movement of one VTD could be extremely 19 20 significant, particularly, to an incumbent. So, in order to answer that question with a 21 high degree of precision, I'd have to do a 22 comparison on the system between the plans to 23 24 see what happened. 25 So, I think substantially the same would

Page 63 be a better definition. 2 Q. Okay. And do you recall making any changes in Congressional 12 from the time it 3 was introduced as Rucho-Lewis Congress 1 until it was enacted? Yes, I did. 6 Okay. And do you recall what those 7 Q. 8 changes were? Not specifically, no. I'd have to go Α. back and review, again. 10 11 Okay. Do you recall any of those changes as being significant as you would use 12 13 the term significant? I don't use -- I'm not using the term 14 15 significant; you are. 16 Q. Okay. I would --17 A. Q. Were they significant to you? 18 Well, if they weren't -- if they weren't 19 important to be made, I wouldn't have made them. 20 Q. Okay. 21 22 MR. SPEAS: Let me ask the court reporter to mark the next document as Exhibit 23 24 15. 25 (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 15 Marked for

```
Page 64
    Identification.)
          (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, you have in
2
    front of you Exhibit 15, which I will report to
    you is the "Stat. Pack Report of Voting Age
    Population by Race Ethnicity, Rucho-Lewis
5
    Congress 3 as printed off of the General
6
    Assembly's website.
          Do you recognize that document?
8
9
          No, I'm having trouble seeing the
    document; let alone recognize it.
10
                 MR. OLDHAM: That was what I was
11
12
    going to ask you, is ---
          And the pages are stapled together
13
    incorrectly.
14
                 MR. SPEAS: I'm sorry?
15
                 MR. OLDHAM: I said as soon as I
16
17
    saw this, I knew he was going to have trouble
18
    reading this.
          Can I take it apart?
19
           (Mr. Speas) Yes, you can take it apart.
20
          I don't know if it -- does anyone have a
21
22
    magnifying glass?
23
                 MR. FARR: I do.
24
                      (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD.)
25
           (Mr. Speas) Do you recognize this as a
```

```
Page 65
1
    report generated from the General Assembly's
    website reporting the voting age population by
    race for Rucho-Lewis Congress 3, the first
3
    page, and Rucho-Lewis Congress 1, the second
    page?
    Α.
          Yes.
7
          And looking at Congressional 12 as
    0.
    enacted in Rucho-Lewis Congress 3, is it
8
    correct that that district contains 269,987
10
    black votes?
          I'm sorry? What type of African-American?
11
          Blacks.
    Q.
          What -- there are several different --
13
14
    Q.
         Does this report -- the black voting age
    population for --
15
16
          Okay.
          -- District 12 in Rucho-Lewis Congress 3
17
18
    has 269,987?
19
                 MR. FARR: Which one are you on,
20
    Eddie?
                MR. SPEAS: The first page, the
21
    Rucho-Lewis 3.
22
23
                 MR. FARR: 269,987?
                 MR. SPEAS: Yes.
24
25
                 MR. FARR: Yeah. We'll stipulate
```

Page 66 that's what it says. 1 I can't find it. 2 MR. FARR: That's all right. It's 3 4 there. 269 -- oh, that's total population; not 5 6 VAP. 7 (Mr. Speas) No, it's voting age Q. 8 population. MR. FARR: It's voting age 9 population. It's not total black voting age 10 population. 11 I've got it. Yeah, I agree. 12 And that the total black population is 13 Q. 14 275,812. Say again now. I'm trying to look. 15 275,812 total black population District 16 17 12 in Rucho Congress 3. 18 Α. Yes. 19 Okay. Looking at the second page, was the black population -- voting age population 20 21 in Rucho-Lewis Congress 1 268,871? 22 Yes. Α. And was the total black population in 23 Q. Rucho-Lewis Congress 1 for Congressional 12 24 25 274,671?

Page 67 Yes. Α. 2 Q. Okay. MR. SPEAS: Now, let me ask the court reporter to mark this as Exhibit 16. (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 16 Marked for Identification.) (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, would you Q. look at Exhibit 16, and tell me whether or not 8 this document contains information about Congress Zero Deviation which was the 2001 10 enacted Congressional plan? 11 12 Appears to to me. Okay. And would you look at the third 13 page of that Exhibit 16 and tell me whether 14 15 that page lists the voting age population by race by district for the 2001 plan? 16 MR. FARR: Was this by the 2000 17 1.8 census or the 2010 census? MR. SPEAS: 2000 census. 19 20 (Witness peruses document.) It doesn't 21 say that on there, but --. 22 (Mr. Speas) Okay. Q. Because you ask for it in different ways. 23 24 You can, and I asked for it in 2000. Q. 25 Okay.

Page 68 Let me ask you this -- and pull out your 1 magnifying glass. I can read this. 3 Oh, okay, good. In District 12 in 2001 Q. by voting age population, were there 194,901 5 African-Americans in District 12? 6 7 The report so states, yes. Okay. Now, in 2011, District 12 8 Q. contained 269,987 blacks, voting age population. That's the number Tom agreed to. 10 MR. FARR: Which -- Eddie, I'm lost. 11 Where are --13 That's off the previous report. 14 Q. (Mr. Speas) Exhibit 15. MR. FARR: The enacted plan 15 contained -- the 2011 enacted plan --16 MR. SPEAS: Contained 269,987 black 17 18 voting age population persons. (Mr. Speas) Is that correct? 19 Q. 20 May I ask my attorney a question off the 21 record? 22 Q. You sure may. 23 (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD.) (Mr. Speas) Comparing Exhibit 15 and 24 Q. Exhibit 16, Dr. Hofeller, is it correct that --

```
Page 69
                MR. FARR: Eddie?
1
2
                MR. SPEAS: Yes.
                MR. FARR: Just to clarify, on
3
    Exhibit 15, we're looking at voting age
4
    population; not total population?
5
                MR. SPEAS: Yes.
6
                 MR. FARR: Okay. I just think
7
8
    there was some confusion in your question.
                 MR. SPEAS: Okay. All -- all these
9
10
    numbers are voting age population.
11
                 MR. FARR: Right, right, just to
    clarify for the record.
12
                 MR. OLDHAM: If you asked him what
13
    the total population was --
14
                 MR. SPEAS: I did not mean to ask
15
    about total population. I did -- there is the
16
    category "Total Black" population.
17
                 MR. OLDHAM: But that is not total
18
    population.
19
                MR. SPEAS: That is not total
    population. I understand that.
21
22
                 MR. OLDHAM: Okay.
23
          (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, my question is
24
    this: based on Exhibit 15 and 16, is it correct
    that District 12 as drawn in 2011 contains
25
```

Page 70 approximately 75,000 more blacks than the district contained in 2001? 3 MR. FARR: Under the 2- -- the 2001 district -- you're comparing the 2000 census to the 2010 census? 6 MR. SPEAS: Yes, yes. Yes. I don't know why that's relevant A. 8 though. (Mr. Speas) Okay. My -- my question to you is this: how did you find these 10 approximately 75,000 black citizens in drawing 11 12 District 12? Well, the -- the correct comparison are 13 the 2010 census figures of the old district to 14 the new district. Of course it would be 15 different. The populations were smaller then. 16 But there are 75,000 more black citizens 17 Q. in District 12 in 2011 than 2001, correct? 18 Again, I don't agree with the premise of 19 your question. The benchmark, if you have a 20 benchmark, which is really a Section 5 term, 21 would not be the district as it was in 2001. 22 It would be the district as it is at the end of 23 the decade with the new census. So, the census found most of them. 25

That's where they came from.

- Q. How did you go about fulfilling the direction you received from Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis to increase the black voting age population in District 12?
- A. I believe I've already mentioned that,
 that -- that the issue there was really

 Guilford County and the fact that the black
 community was fractured by the Democrats in

 2001 for the political purpose of making
 District 13 more partisan in their favor.

And as that wasn't the objective of our plan, there were new -- going to be a new bunch of districts surrounding District 12 that we were worried that there would be a challenge because the black community would have been fractured if the district were left in the same place.

So, my instruction was not to increase the population. My instruction was to try and take care of that problem, Guilford, but the primary instructions and overriding instruction in District 12 was to accomplish the political goal of making the district strongly Democratic and pulling strongly Democratic voting areas

out of the surrounding districts to make them more competitive or keep them competitive for the Republicans.

That's what I believe I said last time you asked me that.

- Q. Is it an accident that the black voting age population increased by several percent from 2001 to 2011 in District 12?
- 9 A. An accident?
- 10 **Q.** Yes.

6

8

20

21

22

23

25

district.

- 11 A. What do you mean by an accident?
- Q. That was an inadvertent result? Was that an intended result, or unintended result?
- A. It was not an intended result. The
 intended result was to increase the Democratic
 voting strength in the Twelfth. It was that
 when -- it was constructed after the Cromartie
 case, and it was that -- it's been that ever
 since. It's a political district; not a racial

And the goal was to accomplish political ends. The problem is that the Republicans' political ends and objectives for that whole area were entirely different than the Republicans' objectives this time around.

And -- and it was influenced by that, and it was influenced by population shifts. So, I can't --

MR. FARR: Excuse me, Dr. Hofeller.

Did you mean the Democrats' interests were

different from the Republicans' interests? You

said Republicans twice.

A. I'm sorry. The primary difference
between the 2001 redistricting cycle and the
2011 redistricting cycle was that in the recent
cycle, the one we're still dealing with, the
Republicans were in control. In the last
cycle, the Democrats were in control, and they
had entirely different political objectives
that they wanted to accomplish in the creation
of this map as a whole.

Q. (Mr. Speas) So, your testimony is that the increase in black total population in District 12 from 2001 to 2011 is an inadvertent?

A. No, that's not my testimony.

Q. Is it your testimony that it is a

consequence of your use of the 2008 Obama

election results to assign VTDs to the district?

A. Partially.

5

6

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

25

Q. And what else?

A. The shape of the district, again, was
influenced by the goals of the Republican
redistricting group -- the General Assembly
majority in constructing the entire plan, and
the goal was to make the Twelfth District
stronger in terms of Democratic vote.

And when that was done, these were the consequences.

Q. In their July 1, 2011 report to the people of North Carolina, Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis said, "Because of the presence of Guilford County in the Twelfth District, we have drawn our proposed Twelfth District as a black voting age -- at a black voting age level that is above the percentage of black voting age population found in the current Twelfth District."

Did you receive an instruction from

Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis to draw

the Twelfth District at a level above the

percentage of black voting age population in

the 2001 version?

- A. No. As I said before in my previous answer -- do you want me to repeat it?
- Q. Yes, please.

8

10

1.1

13

15

16

17

18

19

20

22

23

24

25

A. Okay. The problem in Guilford County was
that Guilford County was a Section 5 county.

When the Democrats redistricted the county in
the previous map, they fractured the
African-American community for political
purposes.

And that political purpose was to strengthen the Thirteenth District. When the district in the northern end of Guilford County was being drawn in the Republican map in 2011, it was clear that that district was not going to be a Democratic district.

So, in order to be cautious and draw a plan that would pass muster under the Voting Rights Act, it was decided to reunite the black community in Guilford County into the Twelfth.

Q. Okay. Dr. Hofeller, would you put your Exhibit 8 back in front of you, which is your report?

(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD.)

A. Okay.

7

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

17

19

21

22

23

25

Q. (Mr. Speas) Dr. Hofeller, turn with me to page 23 of your report, which is the last page of your report. And my questions will be about paragraphs 68, 69, 70 and 71, if you want

to take a minute to review that.

- A. (Witness peruses document.)
- Q. Have you had a chance to look at it?
- A. I have.

2

3

- 5 Q. Dr. Hofeller, my question is this: with
- respect to Congressional District 1, was
- 7 compliance with the Voting Rights Act or the
- 8 | creation of safe and competitive districts more
- 9 important?
- 10 A. The primary factor governing the creation
- of the entire plan, including the First
- 12 District, was to accomplish the political
- policy goals of the General Assembly to
- 14 equalize the populations, to stabilize the
- populations by going into the urban area, to
- account for the population shifts within the
- 17 | State and to ensure that Section 2 -- District
- 18 | 1 is a Section 2 district -- pardon me -- would
- pass muster as a Section 2 district under the
- 20 Voting Rights Act and under Strickland.
- 21 Q. And in drawing Congressional 1, did the
- 22 | law as set forth in the Voting Rights Act, as
- you and Senator Rucho and Representative Lewis
- 24 | predominate over your political goals?
- MR. FARR: Objection to the form.

```
Well, I don't agree with the premise of
1
    your question, but the -- the -- again, the
2
    placement of where the First District was
    located and accomplishing the political goals
    were not necessarily in opposition to one
    another, as were any of the other goals.
          So, it was one factor out of many.
8
    Q.
          (Mr. Speas) Okay.
                 MR. SPEAS: Can I take a few
9
    minutes to look over my stuff?
10
11
                 MR. FARR: Sure.
                 (SHORT BREAK 10:55 - 11:04 A. M.)
12
           (Mr. Speas) I have one more set of
13
    Q.
    questions. Dr. Hofeller, would you put Exhibit
14
    8 back in front of you, which is your report.
15
    And I want to talk to you about paragraph 33 of
16
    your report on page 10.
17
          And I am particularly interested in the
18
    sentence in paragraph 33 that says, quote, "My
19
    experience in drafting and evaluating plans has
    continued to enforce my expert opinion that the
21
    best predictor of future election success is
22
    past voting behavior, not registration."
23
           Did I read that correctly?
24
25
           Yes.
```

Page 78 And that is your opinion? 2 A. Yes. All right. And would it be accurate then, Dr. Hofeller, that the best predictor of the results of elections in Congressional Districts 1 and 12 would have been the past election results in those districts? I'd say I'd have to agree with that, yes. 8 Q. Okay. MR. SPEAS: Thank you very much. 10 Am I done? 11 12 MR. SPEAS: You're done. I'm sorry. 13 MR. FARR: I just have a couple of questions -- very few; actually, maybe just one. 14 15 Cross-Examination by Mr. Farr: Dr. Hofeller, would you pull out Exhibit 16 10, which is the second report of the Professor. 17 18 MR. SPEAS: The second report? MR. FARR: Yeah, of the Plaintiffs' 19 expert witness. 20 21 Okay. 22 (Mr. Farr) Do you remember testifying that you thought that in this second report, 23 the Plaintiffs' expert had relied to some 25 extent on election results? Do you remember

- saying that today?
 - A. I did.
- Q. Would you go through this and tell me if
- 4 | you can point out where the expert relied on
- 5 | election results?
- 6 A. I'd really have to -- it would be better
- if I could be read back the context of what I
- 8 said.
- 9 Q. Well, I think you made a comment that
- 10 you thought in the second report that he had
- relied upon election results to some extent. I
- wanted to clarify what you meant by that. I
- wanted you to -- well, let me be more specific.
- 14 **A.** Okay.
- 15 Q. In this second report, does Plaintiffs'
- 16 expert actually look at any actual election
- 17 results in an election?
- 18 A. I believe in Table 1 on page 18.
- 19 **Q.** Yeah.
- 20 A. He did the correlation between Obama's
- share of the two-party vote and the racial
- 22 | composition of VAP and registered voters in
- 23 | VTDs. That classifies in my term election
- 24 results.
 - Q. Can you explain that a little more?

What is your understanding of what he did?

A. Well, he computed the black and white voting age population for each VTD, or he took out of the data -- one or the other, and he took out the black and white voter registration. Of course, it doesn't speak at

all about the independent, which is a great deal of the vote.

And then ran a correlation of that, and the racial composition of the -- of the VAP and the two-party vote. So, he added the Obama vote and the McCain vote, and found a total of that and created percentages for the two-party Obama vote and the two-party McCain vote.

And he ran the correlation analyses.

- Q. Okay. Did you -- when you were drawing these districts, did you rely on information that would be similar to what is in Exhibit 10, the Plaintiffs' expert's second report?
- A. All of it?
- Q. No, no, just what we just talked about.
- 22 **A.** Oh.

8

10

11

12

13

15

16

17

18

19

20

24

- Q. The election results.
- A. I'm sorry. Table 1? Of course not.
- 5 | There are a lot of things that you would look

```
Page 81
    at about a district after it's drawn, but the
    redistricting system doesn't calculate on the
    fly.
          There's just -- you can't -- after you
4
    move each little unit in the district, you
5
    can't go through a full analysis of it. We'd
6
    still be doing the plan today. So, the answer
7
8
    is no.
                 MR. FARR: All right. That's all I
9
10
    have.
11
                 MR. SPEAS: Thank you.
    A. You're welcome. Nice seeing you again.
12
                 (WITNESS EXCUSED.)
13
     (FURTHER DEPONENT SAITH NOT AT 11:10 A. M.)
14
```

Hightower Reporting Service 800-828-5730

Case 1:13-cv-00949-WO-JEP Document 68-1 Filed 06/02/14 Page 82 of 82