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NELDA CUELLAR
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STATE OF NEW MEXICO
COUNTY OF LEA
FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO, DAVID
GALLEGOS, TIMOTHY JENNINGS, DINAH VARGAS,
MANUEL GONZALES, JR., BOBBY AND DEE ANN KIMBRO,
and PEARL GARCIA,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Cause No.
D-506-CV-2022-00041

MAGGIE TOULOUSE OLIVER, in her official capacity as New
Mexico Secretary of State, MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM, in
her official capacity as Governor of New Mexico, HOWIE
MORALES, in his official capacity as New Mexico Lieutenant
Governor and President of the New Mexico Senate, MIMI
STEWART, in her official capacity as President Pro Tempore of
the New Mexico Senate, and JAVIER MARTINEZ, in his official
capacity as Speaker of the New Mexico House of Representatives,

Defendants.

**ADDENDUM NO. 1 TO LEGISLATIVE DEFENDANTS' FINDINGS OF
FACTS AND CONCLUSIONS OF LAW**

EXHIBITS 31 to 35

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on September 15, 2023, I caused the foregoing Addendum along with this Certificate of Service, to be served and filed electronically through the Tyler Technologies Odyssey File & Serve electronic filing system, which caused all parties or counsel of record to be served by electronic means, as more fully reflected on the Notice of Electronic Filing.

HINKLE SHANOR LLP

/s/ Richard E. Olson

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STATE OF NEW MEXICO

COUNTY OF LEA

FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

**REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO,
et al.,**

Plaintiffs,

vs.

Case No. D-506-CV-2022-00041

MAGGIE TOULOUSE OLIVER, *et al.*,

Defendants.


DECLARATION OF DR. JOWEI CHEN

I, Jowei Chen, declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of eighteen years old, am otherwise competent to testify to the matters contained in this Declaration, and have personal knowledge of the same.

2. Attached hereto is a true and correct copy of the Expert Report that I prepared in the above-captioned matter.

I affirm on this 14th day of September, 2023, under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of New Mexico, that the foregoing is true and correct.



By: _____
Dr. Jowei Chen

Declaration of Dr. JOWEI CHEN

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**STATE OF NEW MEXICO
COUNTY OF LEA
FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT**

**REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO,
DAVID GALLEGOS, TIMOTHY JENNINGS,
DINAH VARGAS, MANUEL GONZALES, JR.
BOBBY AND DEE ANN KIMBRO, and
PEARL GARCIA,**

Plaintiffs,

v.

Cause No. D-506-Cv-2022-00041

**MAGGIE TOLOUSE OLIVER, in her official capacity as
New Mexico Secretary of State, MICHELLE LUJAN
GRISHAM, in her official capacity as Governor of New
Mexico, HOWIE MORALES, in his official capacity as
New Mexico Lieutenant Governor and President of the
New Mexico Senate, MIMI STEWART, in her official
capacity as President Pro Tempore of the New Mexico
Senate, and JAVIER MARTINEZ, in his official capacity as
Speaker of the New Mexico House of Representatives,**

Defendants.

EXPERT REPORT OF JOWEI CHEN, Ph.D.

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1. I am an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. I am also a Research Associate Professor at the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and a Research Associate at the Spatial Social Science Laboratory at Stanford University. In 2004, I received a B.A. in Ethics, Politics, and Economics from Yale University. In 2007, I received a M.S. in Statistics from Stanford University, and in 2009, I received a Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University.

2. I have published academic papers on legislative districting and political geography in several academic journals, including *Yale Law Journal*, *Stanford Law Review*, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *The American Political Science Review*, and *Election Law Journal*. My academic areas of expertise include legislative elections, spatial statistics, geographic information systems (GIS) data, redistricting, racial politics, legislatures, and political geography. I have expertise in the use of computer simulations of legislative districting and in analyzing political geography, elections, and redistricting. In 2019, Common Cause honored me as a “Defender of Democracy” for developing the use of random computer-simulated districting maps in partisan gerrymandering court challenges around the country.¹

3. I have authored expert reports in the following redistricting court cases: *The League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* (Fla. 2d Judicial Cir. Leon Cnty. 2012); *Romo v. Detzner* (Fla. 2d Judicial Cir. Leon Cnty. 2013); *Missouri National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Ferguson-Florissant School District & St. Louis County Board of Election Commissioners* (E.D. Mo. 2014); *Raleigh Wake Citizens Association v. Wake County Board of Elections* (E.D.N.C. 2015); *Brown v. Detzner* (N.D. Fla. 2015); *City of Greensboro v. Guilford County Board of Elections* (M.D.N.C. 2015); *Common Cause v. Rucho*

¹ <https://www.commoncause.org/press-release/common-cause-honors-four-defenders-of-democracy/>

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(M.D.N.C. 2016); *The League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (No. 261 M.D. 2017); *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. The State of Georgia* (N.D. Ga. 2017); *The League of Women Voters of Michigan v. Johnson* (E.D. Mich. 2017); *Whitford v. Gill* (W.D. Wis. 2018); *Common Cause v. Lewis* (N.C. Super. 2018); *Harper v. Lewis* (N.C. Super. 2019); *Baroody v. City of Quincy, Florida* (N.D. Fla. 2020); *McConchie v. Illinois State Board of Elections* (N.D. Ill. 2021); *Adams v. DeWine* (Ohio 2021); *Harper v. Hall* (N.C. Super. 2021); *Rivera v. Schwab and Abbott* (Wyandotte County D. Ct. 2022); *Norelli v. David Scanlan* (Hillsborough County Super. Ct. 2022). I have testified at deposition or at trial in the following cases: *Romo v. Detzner* (Fla. 2d Judicial Cir. Leon Cnty. 2013); *Missouri National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Ferguson-Florissant School District & St. Louis County Board of Election Commissioners* (E.D. Mo. 2014); *Raleigh Wake Citizens Association v. Wake County Board of Elections* (E.D.N.C. 2015); *City of Greensboro v. Guilford County Board of Elections* (M.D.N.C. 2015); *Common Cause v. Rucho* (M.D.N.C. 2016); *The League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (No. 261 M.D. 2017); *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. The State of Georgia* (N.D. Ga. 2017); *The League of Women Voters of Michigan v. Johnson* (E.D. Mich. 2017); *Whitford v. Gill* (W.D. Wis. 2018); *Common Cause v. Lewis* (N.C. Super. 2018); *Baroody v. City of Quincy, Florida* (N.D. Fla. 2020); *McConchie v. Illinois State Board of Elections* (N.D. Ill. 2021); *Harper v. Hall* (N.C. Super. 2021); *Rivera v. Schwab and Abbott* (Wyandotte County D. Ct. 2022).

4. **Research Question:** Defendants’ counsel asked me to evaluate the partisanship of New Mexico’s Congressional districting plan, as enacted in December 2021 by the State Legislature in Senate Bill 1 (hereinafter: “The SB 1 plan”). Specifically, Defendants’ counsel asked me to determine whether the partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan could have plausibly

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emerged from a partisan-neutral map-drawing process adhering to certain non-partisan districting criteria. The non-partisan districting criteria that I was asked to incorporate into my analysis include population equality, district contiguity, precinct preservation, municipal boundary considerations, Indian (Native American) reservation considerations, avoiding county splits, oil industry considerations, and district compactness. These districting criteria are described in detail later in this report in Paragraph 9. Defendants counsel asked me to determine how likely a map-drawing process following these criteria could have produced a map with the partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan.

5. ***Summary of Findings:*** I programmed a partisan-blind computer algorithm to generate a large number of random districting plans while strictly adhering to the aforementioned districting criteria. The partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan are well within the normal range of these computer-generated districting plans drawn with the partisan-blind algorithm. Thus, the SB 1 plan is neither extreme nor a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship. The partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan could reasonably have emerged from a partisan-neutral map-drawing process adhering to all of the aforementioned districting criteria.

6. ***The Use of Computer-Simulated Districting Plans:*** In conducting my academic research on legislative districting, partisan and racial gerrymandering, and electoral bias, I have developed various computer simulation programming techniques that allow me to produce a large number of partisan-blind districting plans that adhere to any set of specified districting criteria using US Census geographies, such as precincts, as building blocks. This simulation process ignores all partisan and racial considerations when drawing districts. Instead, the computer simulations are programmed to draw districting plans following any set of specified districting considerations, such as population equality, avoiding county splits, protecting

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municipal boundaries, and pursuing geographic compactness. By randomly generating a large number of districting plans that adhere to a specified set of districting criteria, I am able to assess an enacted plan drawn by a state legislature and determine whether its partisanship is similar to or different from the sorts of plans that would naturally emerge from the specified set of districting criteria. More specifically, by holding constant the application of these districting criteria through the computer simulations, I am able to determine whether the enacted plan could have naturally emerged from these specified districting criteria, without any intentional partisan manipulation by the map-drawer.

7. Defendants' counsel asked me to use this approach to analyze the partisanship of the SB 1 plan. Defendants' counsel gave me a list of partisan-neutral districting considerations and asked me to determine the partisan distribution of districting maps that naturally emerge from a map-drawing process adhering strictly to these considerations. I programmed a computer algorithm adhering only to these specified districting considerations, and the algorithm produced a set of 1,000 random computer-simulated maps for New Mexico's congressional districts. I analyzed the partisanship of these computer-simulated maps, and I found that the SB 1 plan is well within the normal distribution of the computer-simulated plans in terms of its partisanship. In other words, the partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan are typical of partisan characteristics exhibited by the random computer-simulated plans. Hence, the SB 1 plan does not exhibit extreme partisan characteristics when accounting for the various non-partisan districting criteria that I incorporated into the computer algorithm.

8. These computer simulation methods are widely used by academic scholars to analyze districting maps. For over a decade, political scientists have used such computer-simulated districting techniques to analyze the racial and partisan characteristics of legislative

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and congressional districting maps.² Several courts have also relied upon computer simulations to assess claims of partisan bias in enacted districting plans.³

9. **Redistricting Criteria:** I programmed the computer algorithm to create 1,000 independent simulated plans adhering to the following eight districting criteria:

a) **Population Equality:** Because New Mexico's 2020 Census population was 2,117,522, districts in every three-member congressional plan have an ideal population of 705,840.7. In the SB 1 plan, the most-populated district (CD-2) and the least-populated district (CD-1) have a difference in population of only 14 people. Defendants' counsel instructed me to follow this same degree of population equality by requiring that all computer-simulated districts deviate from perfect equality by no more than seven people. Therefore, every computer-simulated district that my algorithm produced is required to have a population of between 705,834 and 705,847, resulting in a total difference between the highest-populated district and the lowest-populated district of no more than 14 people.

b) **Precinct Boundaries:** New Mexico is divided into 2,163 precincts. These precincts are the lowest geographic unit at which elections are administered in New Mexico. Defendants' counsel informed me that precincts serve as the primary building block for congressional districting plans in New Mexico, and the SB 1 plan was intentionally drawn to avoid splitting any of New Mexico's 2,163 precincts. Therefore,

² *E.g.*, Carmen Cirincione, Thomas A. Darling, Timothy G. O'Rourke, "Assessing South Carolina's 1990s Congressional Districting," *Political Geography* 19 (2000) 189–211; Jowei Chen, "The Impact of Political Geography on Wisconsin Redistricting: An Analysis of Wisconsin's Act 43 Assembly Districting Plan," *Election Law Journal*.

³ *See, e.g.*, *League of Women Voters of Pa. v. Commonwealth*, 178 A. 3d 737, 818-21 (Pa. 2018); *Raleigh Wake Citizens Association v. Wake County Board of Elections*, 827 F.3d 333, 344-45 (4th Cir. 2016); *City of Greensboro v. Guilford County Board of Elections*, No. 1:15-CV-599, 2017 WL 1229736 (M.D.N.C. Apr 3, 2017); *Common Cause v. Rucho*, No. 1:16-CV-1164 (M.D.N.C. Jan 11, 2018); *The League of Women Voters of Michigan v. Johnson* (E.D. Mich. 2017); *Common Cause v. David Lewis* (N.C. Super. 2018); *Harper v. Hall* (N.C. Feb 14, 2022).

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Defendants' counsel instructed me to similarly avoid splitting any precincts in the construction of the computer-simulated plans. Every computer-simulated district is composed entirely of whole precincts, with no precinct split across two or more districts.

c) Contiguity: The simulation algorithm required all congressional districts to be geographically contiguous.

d) Municipality Considerations: Defendants' counsel instructed me to program the computer algorithm to consider municipal boundaries in the following ways: First, Albuquerque, Las Cruces, and the Santa Fe metro area were each primarily assigned to their own respective districts. Las Cruces and the Santa Fe metro area were always kept intact and not split across two or more districts. Due to the large size of the Albuquerque metro area, Albuquerque could be partially split across districts, but at least 60% or more of Albuquerque's population was required to be assigned to a single district. Finally, the South Valley and the Rio Grande River Valley were required to be kept together in the same district. Collectively, these municipality considerations resulted in computer-simulated plans in which one district contains the entire Santa Fe metro area, a second district contains all of Las Cruces, and a third district contains most of Albuquerque.

e) Indian Reservation Considerations: Defendants' counsel instructed me to program the simulation algorithm to treat Indian (Native American) reservations as follows: First, the Mescalero Apache Reservation was always split apart, such that Precinct 11 was always placed in a different district than Precinct 56 in Otero County. Next, the Zuni Indian Reservation (The Pueblo of Zuni) was always split apart, such that Precincts 27, 29, 30, 64 and 66 in McKinley County were always placed in a different

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district than Precinct 28 in McKinley County. Finally, in order to keep the Navajo Nation together, San Juan County and most of McKinley County were always kept together in the same district, with the exception of the aforementioned Zuni Pueblo portion of McKinley County.

f) Oil Industry Considerations: Defendants' counsel informed me that due to the economic importance of the oil production industry in New Mexico, a policy consideration in the state's congressional districting process was to spread out the state's oil wells across multiple districts. Therefore, Defendants' counsel instructed me to require that no single congressional district in any computer-simulated plan contains more than 60% of the state's active oil wells. I was instructed to use geospatial data from New Mexico's Oil Conservation Division to identify the locations of all active oil wells in the state.⁴

g) Minimizing County Splits: Following instructions from Defendants' counsel, I programmed the simulation algorithm to avoid splitting New Mexico's 33 counties, except when doing so was necessary to avoid violating one of the aforementioned criteria. Most commonly, splitting counties was necessary for the purpose of achieving population equality across districts, as well as satisfying the Indian Reservation considerations described earlier.

h) Geographic Compactness: The simulation algorithm favored the drawing of more compact district boundaries whenever doing so does not violate any of the aforementioned criteria.

10. On the following three pages of this report, Map 1, Map 2, and Map 3 display three examples of computer-simulated plans produced by the computer algorithm. The upper

⁴ <https://ocd-hub-nm-emord.hub.arcgis.com/>

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portion of each Map also reports the total population and the Republican partisanship of each of the three districts in the computer-simulated plan. Specifically, the partisanship of each district is measured using both the district's Republican Performance Index and the district's Republican two-party share of registered voters ("Republican Registered Voters %"). Both of these two measures of district partisanship are explained in more detail in the following section of this report.

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Map 1 : Example of a Computer-Simulated Congressional Plan

District:	Population:	Republican Performance Index:	Republican Registered Voters %:
1	705,841	46.7%	42.6%
2	705,836	45%	39.3%
3	705,845	45.4%	40.3%

Plan Average: 705,840.7



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Map 2 : Example of a Computer-Simulated Congressional Plan

District:	Population:	Republican Performance Index:	Republican Registered Voters %:
1	705,840	45.7%	40.6%
2	705,842	46%	41.3%
3	705,840	45.7%	40.7%

Plan Average: 705,840.7



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Map 3 : Example of a Computer-Simulated Congressional Plan

District:	Population:	Republican Performance Index:	Republican Registered Voters %:
1	705,844	45.1%	40.6%
2	705,838	46.8%	41.3%
3	705,840	45.7%	40.7%

Plan Average: 705,840.7



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Measuring the Partisanship of Districting Plans

11. In this report, I measure the partisanship of districts in the SB 1 plan and compare them to the partisanship of districts in the computer-simulated congressional plans. By using the same measure of partisanship for both the SB 1 plan and for the computer-simulated plans, I am able to assess whether or not the partisanship of SB 1 plan districts are typical of and within the normal distribution of the computer-simulated plans' districts. As explained below, I use past results from New Mexico's statewide election contests as well as voter registration numbers for each political party to measure and compare the partisanship of districts in the SB 1 plan and the computer-simulated plans.

12. In most states, redistricting map-drawers commonly measure the partisanship of congressional and legislative districting plans by using election results from several recent, statewide election results. It is common practice to aggregate together election results from several recent elections because in general, the most reliable method of comparing the partisanship of different districts within a state is to consider whether these districts have tended to favor Republican or Democratic candidates in recent, competitive statewide elections.

13. ***The Republican Performance Index:*** In New Mexico, the most commonly recognized formula for measuring the partisanship of districts using recent statewide elections is the "Performance Index" developed by Research & Polling, Inc. The Performance Index used during the 2021 redistricting cycle is simply an aggregation of results of all competitive statewide general elections from 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020. Non-competitive elections, defined as those contests in which the victor won by more than 20 percentage points, were

⁶ The 2018 US Senate, the 2018 Secretary of State, and the 2018 Attorney General elections were excluded because the victor won by more than 20 percentage points.

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excluded from the Performance Index.⁶ There were a total of 26 competitive statewide election contests held during these years, and the election results for these contests are available at the level of New Mexico's 2,163 precincts.⁷ For any given geographic area, such as a congressional district, the Republican Performance Index is calculated as the Republican share of two-party votes (Republican and Democratic candidates' votes) cast across all 26 election contests. In other words, one would first sum the total number of votes cast in favor of the Republican candidates in these 26 contests and the total number of votes cast in favor of the Democratic candidates in these same contests. The Republican candidates' total share of the two-party votes across all 26 contests is referred to as the Republican Performance Index.

14. The election data necessary for calculating the Republican Performance Index were reported in the Legislature's 2021 precinct-level geographic files, which the Legislature made publicly available as part of its 2021 congressional redistricting process.⁸ Across the entire state of New Mexico, there were a total of 10,194,444 votes cast in favor of the Republican candidates in these 26 contests and 12,064,492 votes cast in favor of the Democratic candidates. Therefore, the Republican Performance Index for the entire state is 45.8%. For the three individual districts in the SB 1 plan, the Republican Performance Index is as follows:

SB 1 Plan Districts:	Votes for Republican Candidates in the 26 Contests:	Votes for Democratic Candidates in the 26 Contests:	Republican Performance Index:
CD-1	4,038,053	4,643,322	46.5%
CD-2	2,918,452	3,294,911	47.0%
CD-3	3,237,939	4,126,259	44.0%

⁷ These 26 competitive statewide election contests were: The 2012 US Presidential, 2012 US Senate, the 2012 Supreme Court, the 2012 Court of Appeals, the 2014 US Senate, the 2014 Governor, the 2014 Secretary of State, the 2014 Attorney General, the 2014 Auditor, the 2014 Treasurer, the 2014 State Land Commissioner, the 2014 Court of Appeals, the 2016 US Presidential, 2016 Secretary of State, the 2016 Supreme Court, the 2016 Court of Appeals, the 2018 Governor, the 2018 Auditor, the 2018 Treasurer, the 2018 State Land Commissioner, the 2018 Court of Appeals, the 2018 Supreme Court, the 2020 US President, the 2020 US Senate, the 2020 Supreme Court, and the 2020 Court of Appeals elections.

⁸ https://www.nmlegis.gov/sessions/div_redistricting/2021/

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15. *Partisan Affiliation of Registered Voters:* In addition to measuring the partisanship of districts according to their Republican Performance Index, Defendants' counsel also instructed me to measure the partisanship of each district using the Republican Party's two-party share of registered voters. In other words, for each district, I count the number of registered Republican voters residing within the district as a share of all registered Republicans and Democrats in the district. These registered voter counts were calculated and reported in the Legislature's 2021 precinct-level geographic files, which the Legislature made publicly available as part of its 2021 congressional redistricting process.⁹

16. Across the entire state, there were a total of 414,327 registered Republicans and 600,720 registered Democrats as of 2021. Therefore, the Republican two-party share of registered voters for the entire state was 40.8%. This percentage does not count anyone who was neither a Republican nor a Democrat. For the three individual districts in the SB 1 plan, the Republican share of registered voters was as follows:

SB 1 Plan Districts:	Registered Republicans:	Registered Democrats:	Republican Share of Registered Voters:
CD-1	157,461	211,916	42.6%
CD-2	123,390	177,183	41.1%
CD-3	133,476	211,621	38.7%

17. In the following section of this report, I use both the Republican Performance Index as well as the Republican share of registered voters to measure the partisanship of districts. I compare the SB 1 plan districts to the districts in the computer-simulated plans in order to assess whether the SB 1 plan exhibits partisan characteristics which could reasonably have arisen from a map-drawing process based on the districting criteria that were programmed into the simulation algorithm.

⁹ https://www.nmlegis.gov/sessions/div_redistricting/2021/

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District-Level and Plan-Wide Partisan Comparisons of the SB 1 Plan and Simulated Plans:

18. In this section, I present partisan comparisons of the SB 1 plan to the computer-simulated plans at both a district-by-district level as well as a plan-wide level, with partisanship measured using both the Republican Partisan Index as well as the Republican share of registered voters. First, I compare the district-level Republican partisanship of the SB 1 plan's districts to the partisanship of the districts in the computer-simulated plans. Additionally, I compare the partisanship of the SB 1 plan containing Las Cruces (CD-2) to the partisanship of the district in each simulated plan containing Las Cruces. Finally, I compare the total number of districts in the SB 1 Plan and in each of the computer-simulated plans with a Republican Performance Index between 46-54%.

19. Overall, I find that all three of the districts in the SB 1 plan exhibit partisan characteristics that are typical of and could have reasonably emerged from the partisan-neutral computer-simulated districting process adhering to non-partisan districting criteria. In particular, the partisan composition of CD-2, which is the most Republican-favorable district in the SB 1 plan, is well within the normal range of the simulated plans' most-Republican districts. None of the three districts in the SB 1 plan are statistical outliers when compared to the computer-simulated plans' districts. Additionally, CD-2 in the SB 1 plan exhibits a partisan composition that is quite typical among the Las Cruces-based districts in the computer-simulated plans. Finally, the total number of districts with a Republican Performance Index between 46-54% is greater in the SB 1 plan than in most of the computer-simulated plans. I describe each of these findings in detail below:

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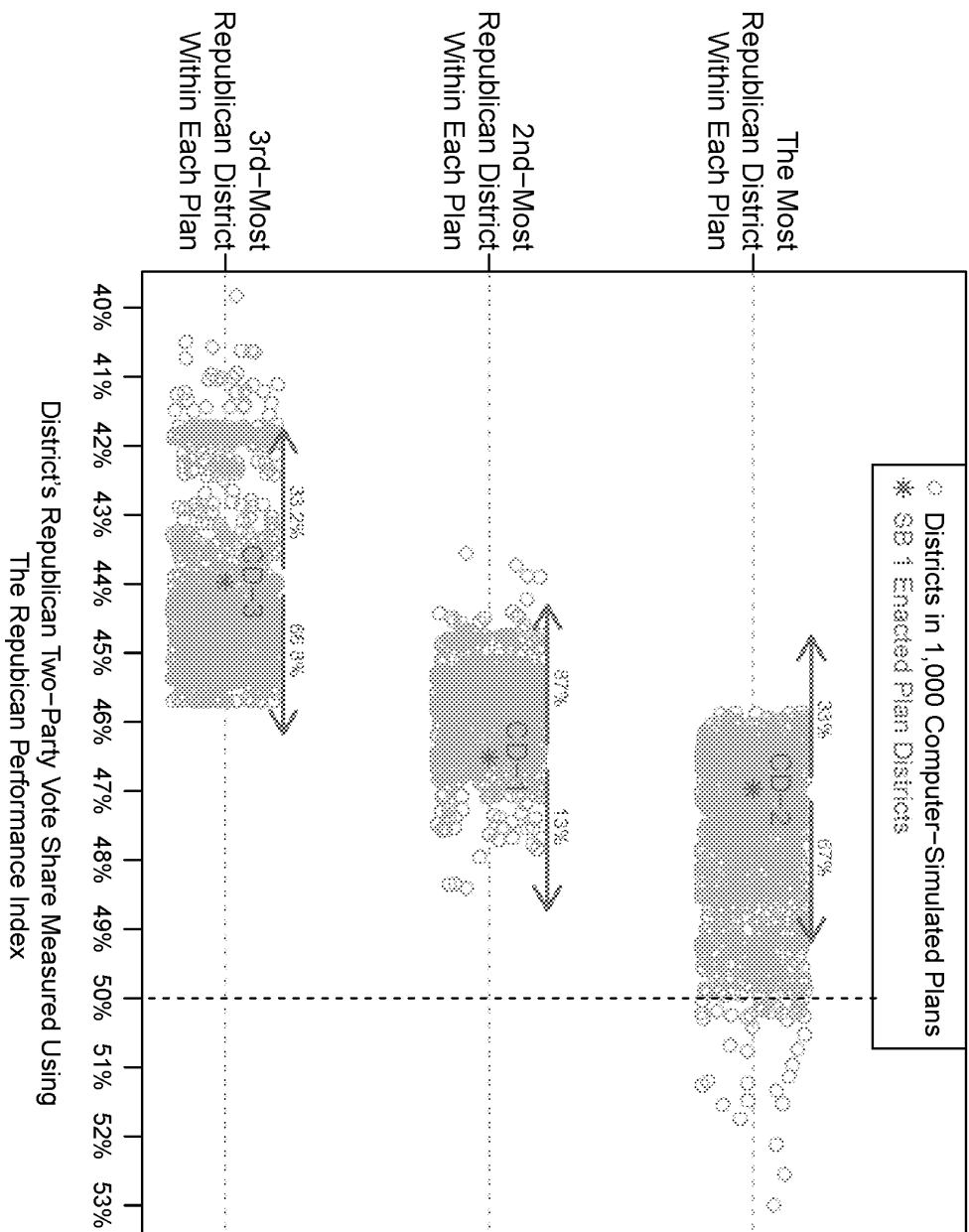
20. *District-By-District Comparisons Using the Partisan Index:* In Figure 1, I directly compare the partisan distribution of districts in the SB 1 plan to the partisan distribution of districts in the 1,000 computer-simulated plans. I first order the SB 1 plan's districts from most-Republican to least-Republican, as measured by Republican vote share using the Performance Index. The most-Republican district appears on the top row, the second-most-Republican district appears on the second row, and the least-Republican district appears on the bottom row. Next, I analyze each of the 1,000 computer-simulated plans and similarly order each simulated plan's districts from the most- to the least-Republican district

21. I then directly compare the most-Republican SB 1 plan district (CD-2) to the most-Republican simulated district from each of the 1,000 computer-simulated plans. In other words, I compare one district from the SB 1 plan to 1,000 computer-simulated districts, and I compare these districts based on their Republican Performance Index. I then directly compare the second-most-Republican district in the Enacted Plan (CD-1) to the second-most Republican district from each of the 1,000 simulated plans. And finally, the third row compares the least-Republican district in the SB 1 plan (CD-3) to the least-Republican district from each of the 1,000 simulated plans. In each row of this Figure, the SB 1 plan's district is depicted with a red star and labeled in red with its district number; meanwhile, the 1,000 computer-simulated districts are depicted with 1,000 gray circles on each row.

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Figure 1:

Comparisons of SB 1 Enacted Plan Districts to 1,000 Computer-Simulated Plans' Districts



Note: Percentages in red above arrows indicate the percent of simulated districts in each row with a lower/higher Republican vote share than each Enacted Plan district.

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22. In the top row of Figure 1, I directly compare the most-Republican SB 1 plan district (CD-2) to the most-Republican simulated district from each of the 1,000 computer-simulated plans. In other words, I compare one district from the SB 1 plan to 1,000 computer-simulated districts, and I compare these districts based on their Republican Performance Index. In the second row of Figure 1, I then directly compare the second-most-Republican district in the Enacted Plan (CD-1) to the second-most Republican district from each of the 1,000 simulated plans. And finally, the third row compares the least-Republican district in the SB 1 plan (CD-3) to the least-Republican district from each of the 1,000 simulated plans. In each row of this Figure, the SB 1 plan's district is depicted with a red star and labeled in red with its district number; meanwhile, the 1,000 computer-simulated districts are depicted with 1,000 gray circles on each row

23. The top row of Figure 1 illustrates that the most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan (CD-2) has a Republican Performance Index of 47.0%, which is well within the normal partisan distribution of the most-Republican district in the 1,000 simulated plans. The red percentages above the two arrows in the top row of this Figure report that in 33% of the simulated plans, the most-Republican district has a lower Republican Performance Index than CD-2, while in 67% of the simulated plans, the most-Republican district has a higher Republican Performance Index than CD-2.

24. In other words, CD-2 in the SB 1 plan is less favorable to Republicans than 67% of the simulated plans' most-Republican districts, and CD-2 is more favorable to Republicans than 33% of the simulated plans' most-Republican districts. Hence, CD-2 is squarely within the normal partisan distribution when compared to the most-Republican districts created by the 1,000 computer-simulated plans. It is clearly not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship.

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The partisan composition of CD-2 is quite typical among the most-Republican districts in the computer-simulated plans.

25. The second row of Figure 1 illustrates a similar finding regarding CD-1, the second-most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan. CD-1 has a Republican Performance Index of 46.5%, which is higher than 87% of the simulated districts' second-most-Republican districts. In other words, CD-1 is more favorable to Republicans than most of the simulated plans' second-most-Republican districts, but CD-1 is still within the normal partisan distribution of these simulated districts. Hence, it is clear that CD-1 is not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship.

26. Finally, the bottom row of Figure 1 illustrates a similar finding regarding CD-3, the least-Republican district in the SB 1 plan. CD-3 has a Republican Performance Index of 44.0%, which is higher than 33.2% and lower than 66.8% of the simulated districts' least-Republican districts. In other words, CD-3 is more favorable to Republicans than one-third of the simulated plans' second-most-Republican districts and less favorable to Republicans than two-thirds of the simulated districts. Hence, CD-1 is very much within the normal partisan distribution of the simulated plans' second-most Republican districts. It is therefore clear that CD-1 is not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship.

27. Overall, I conclude that a non-partisan map-drawing process adhering to the non-partisan districting criteria outlined in Paragraph 9 could reasonably have resulted in a congressional plan with the SB 1 plan's district-level partisan characteristics. The partisan characteristics of all three districts are clearly quite typical of districts produced by the partisan-blind computer-simulation process. None of the three districts are partisan outliers, nor are they extreme when compared to the partisanship of the simulated plans' districts.

EXHIBIT 31

28. *District-By-District Comparisons Using Voters' Party Registration:* Figure 2 presents a similar partisan comparison of the SB 1 plan's districts to the districts in the 1,000 computer-simulated plans, but in this Figure, partisanship is measured using each district's Republican share of registered voters. When the partisanship of districts is measured using registered voters, the most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan is CD-1, which has a 42.6% Republican two-party share of registered voters. The second-most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan is CD-2, which has a 41.1% Republican two-party share of registered voters. And finally, the least-Republican district in the SB 1 plan is CD-3, which has a 38.7% Republican two-party share of registered voters.

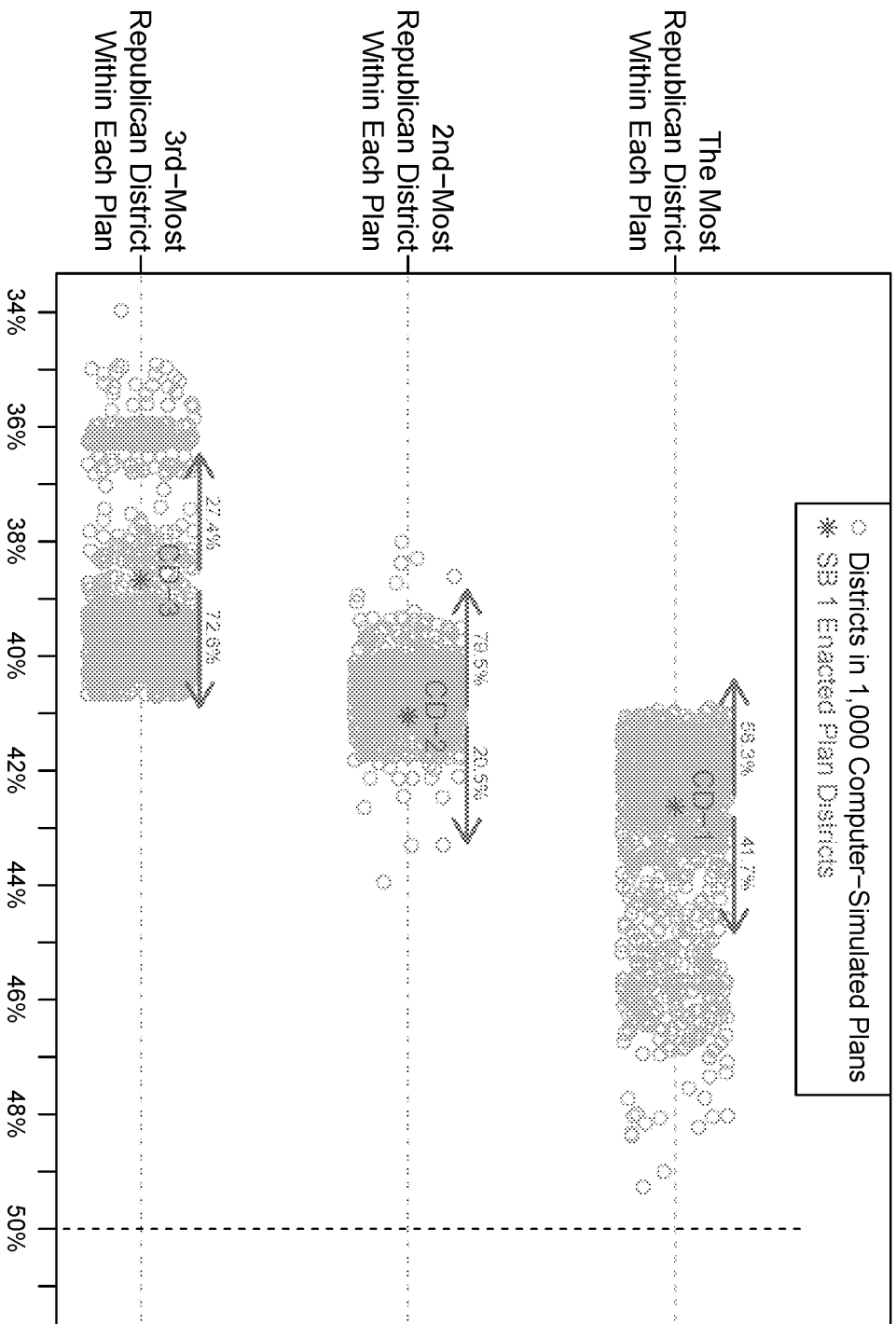
29. The top row of Figure 2 illustrates that the most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan (CD-1) is well within the normal partisan distribution of the most-Republican district in the 1,000 simulated plans. The red percentages above the two arrows in the top row of this Figure report that in 58.3% of the simulated plans, the most-Republican district has a lower Republican share than CD-1, while in 41.7% of the simulated plans, the most-Republican district has a higher Republican Performance Index than CD-1.

30. In other words, CD-1 in the SB 1 plan is less favorable to Republicans than 41.7% of the simulated plans' most-Republican districts, and CD-1 is more favorable to Republicans than 58.3% of the simulated plans' most-Republican districts. Hence, CD-1 is very close to the median of the distribution when compared to the most-Republican districts created by the 1,000 computer-simulated plans. It is clearly not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship. The partisan composition of CD-1 is quite typical among the most-Republican districts in the computer-simulated plans.

EXHIBIT 31

Figure 2:

Comparisons of 2021 Enacted Plan Districts to 1,000 Computer-Simulated Plans' Districts



District's Republican Two-Party Share of Registered Voters

Note: Percentages in red above arrows indicate the percent of simulated districts in each row with a lower/higher Republican share of registered voters than each Enacted Plan district.

EXHIBIT 31

31. The second row of Figure 2 illustrates a similar finding regarding CD-2, the second-most-Republican district in the SB 1 plan. The Republican share of registered voters in CD-2 is higher than 79.5% of the simulated districts' second-most-Republican districts. In other words, CD-2 is more favorable to Republicans than most of the simulated plans' second-most-Republican districts, but CD-2 is still within the normal partisan distribution of these simulated districts. Hence, it is clear that CD-2 is not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship when measured using party registration.

32. Finally, the bottom row of Figure 2 illustrates a similar finding regarding CD-3, the least-Republican district in the SB 1 plan. The Republican share of registered voters in CD-3 is higher than 27.4% and lower than 72.6% of the simulated districts' least-Republican districts. Hence, CD-3 is very much within the normal partisan distribution of the simulated plans' second-most Republican districts, when partisanship is measured using voters' party registration. It is thus clear that CD-3 is not a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship.

33. Overall, Figure 2 illustrates that even when partisanship is measured using voters' party registration, my earlier conclusions do not change: A non-partisan map-drawing process adhering to the non-partisan districting criteria outlined in Paragraph 9 could reasonably have resulted in a congressional plan with the SB 1 plan's district-level partisan characteristics. The Republican share of registered voters within each of the SB 1 plan's districts are typical of districts produced by the partisan-blind computer-simulation process. None of the three districts are partisan outliers, nor are they extreme when compared to the partisanship of the simulated plans' districts.

34. ***Partisanship of the District Containing Las Cruces:*** In the SB 1 Plan, Las Cruces is assigned to CD-2, which has a 47.0% Republican Performance Index and a 41.1%

EXHIBIT 31

Republican two-party share of registered voters. In Figures 3 and 4, I analyze how the partisanship of CD-2 compares to the district in each computer-simulated plan that similarly contains Las Cruces. These comparisons allow me to determine whether or not the partisanship of the Las Cruces-based district in the SB 1 plan is within the distribution of all of the Las Cruces-based districts in the 1,000 computer-simulated plans.

35. Figure 3 compares CD-2 from the SB 1 plan to the simulated plans' Las Cruces-based districts along each district's Republican Performance Index. The upper half of this Figure is a plot depicting each district's precise Republican Performance Index, while the lower half of the Figure is a histogram showing the statistical distribution of the Performance Index across all computer-simulated plans. In the upper half, the red star depicts CD-2 from the SB 1 plan, while in the lower half, the red dotted line indicates the Performance Index of CD-2.

36. Figure 3 illustrates that CD-2 from the SB 1 plan is almost perfectly at the median of the distribution of the computer-simulated districts in terms of their Republican Performance Index. 48% of the simulated plans produce a Las Cruces-based district that is more favorable to Republicans than CD-2, while 52% of the simulated plans produce a Las Cruces-based district that is less Republican favorable. In other words, CD-2 is extremely close to the median of the distribution of the simulated districts. I therefore conclude that the partisanship of the SB 1 Plan's Las Cruces-based district could very reasonably have emerged from a non-partisan districting process adhering to the criteria outlined in Paragraph 9.

EXHIBIT 31

Figure 3:

Republican Performance Index of the District Containing Las Cruces In the SB 1 Plan and 1,000 Computer-Simulated Plans

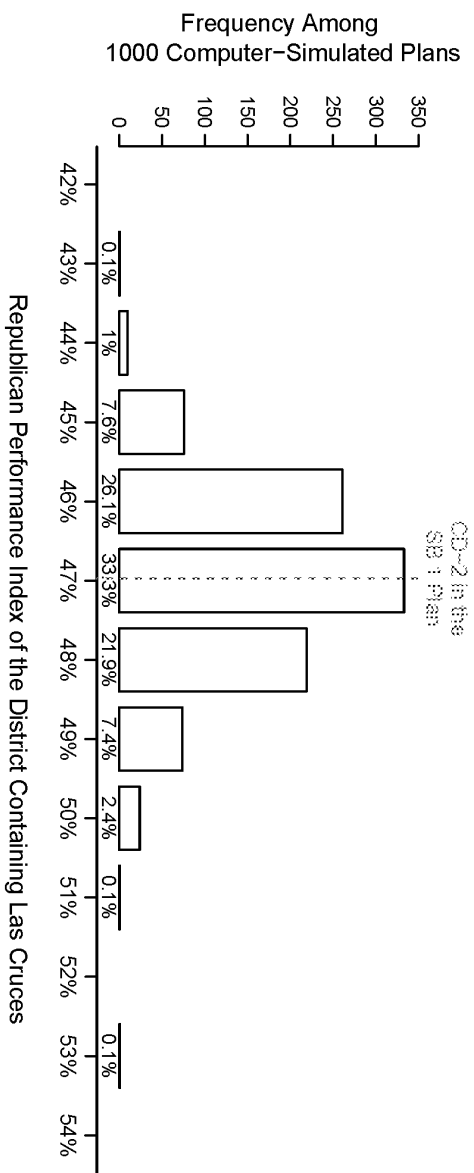
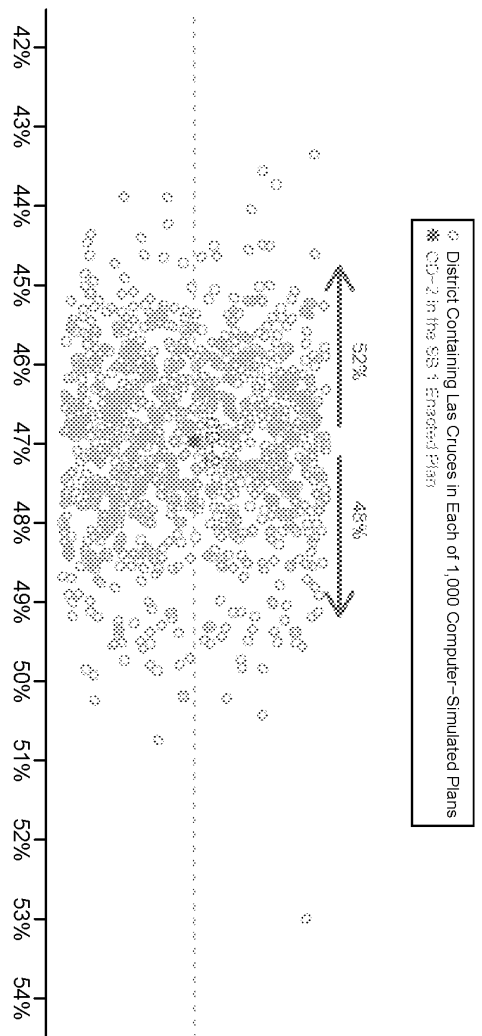


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37. Figure 4 illustrates the same comparisons as Figure 3, except that in Figure 4, the partisanship of each district is measured using the district's Republican two-party share of registered voters. Figure 4 illustrates that my conclusions do not change when using voter registration to measure district partisanship. In the upper half of Figure 4, 63.1% of the simulated plans produce a Las Cruces-based district that is more favorable to Republicans than CD-2, while 36.9% of the simulated plans produce a Las Cruces-based district that is less Republican favorable. In other words, CD-2 is very much within the normal distribution of the simulated plans' Las Cruces-based districts when using voter registration to measure partisanship. Therefore, using either measure of partisanship, I conclude that the partisanship of CD-2 in the SB 1 Plan is neither extreme nor a statistical outlier when compared to Las Cruces-based districts created by the non-partisan computer simulation algorithm.

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Figure 4:

Republican Share of Registered Voters in the District Containing Las Cruces In the SB 1 Plan and 1,000 Computer-Simulated Plans

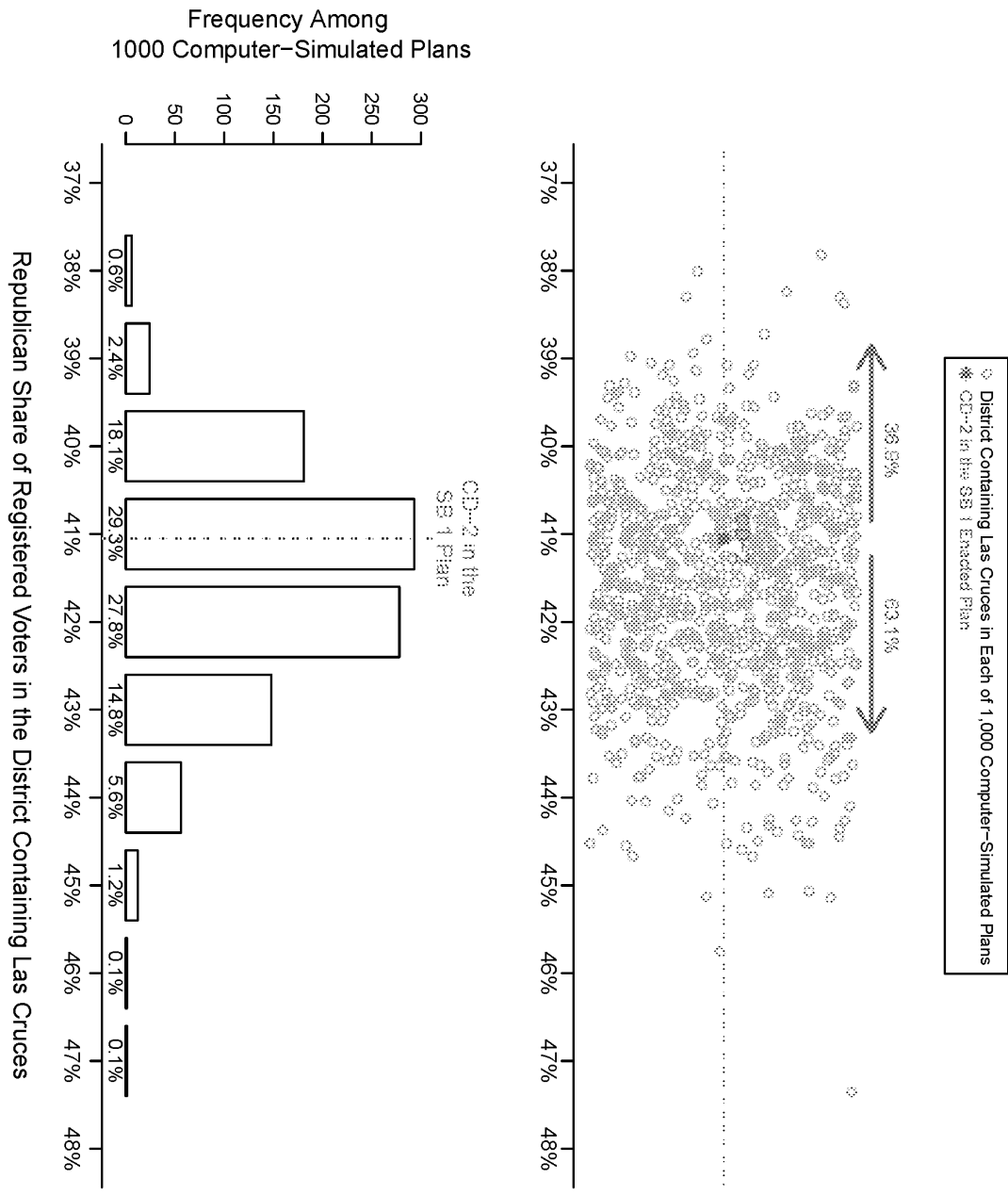


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38. *Statewide Comparisons:* The histogram in Figure 5 reports the number of districts in each computer-simulated plan exhibiting a Republican Performance Index of 46–54%. Within this range of partisanship, a district has relatively close to the same number of Democrat and Republican voters. The vast majority of the computer-simulated plans contain either zero or one such district, while only 31.3% of the simulated plans contain two districts with a Republican Performance Index of 46–54%. No simulated plan contains more than two such districts. Meanwhile, the SB 1 plan, which is depicted in this Figure with a dashed red line, contains two districts with a Republican Performance Index of 46–54%, thus equaling the highest number of such districts ever achieved in the computer-simulated plans. The SB 1 plan contains more such districts than over two-thirds of the computer-simulated plans. Compared to the SB 1 plan, over two-thirds of the computer-simulated plans produced fewer districts with relatively close to the same number of Democrat and Republican voters.

EXHIBIT 31

Figure 5:

Comparisons of SB 1 Plan to 1,000 Computer-Simulated Plans

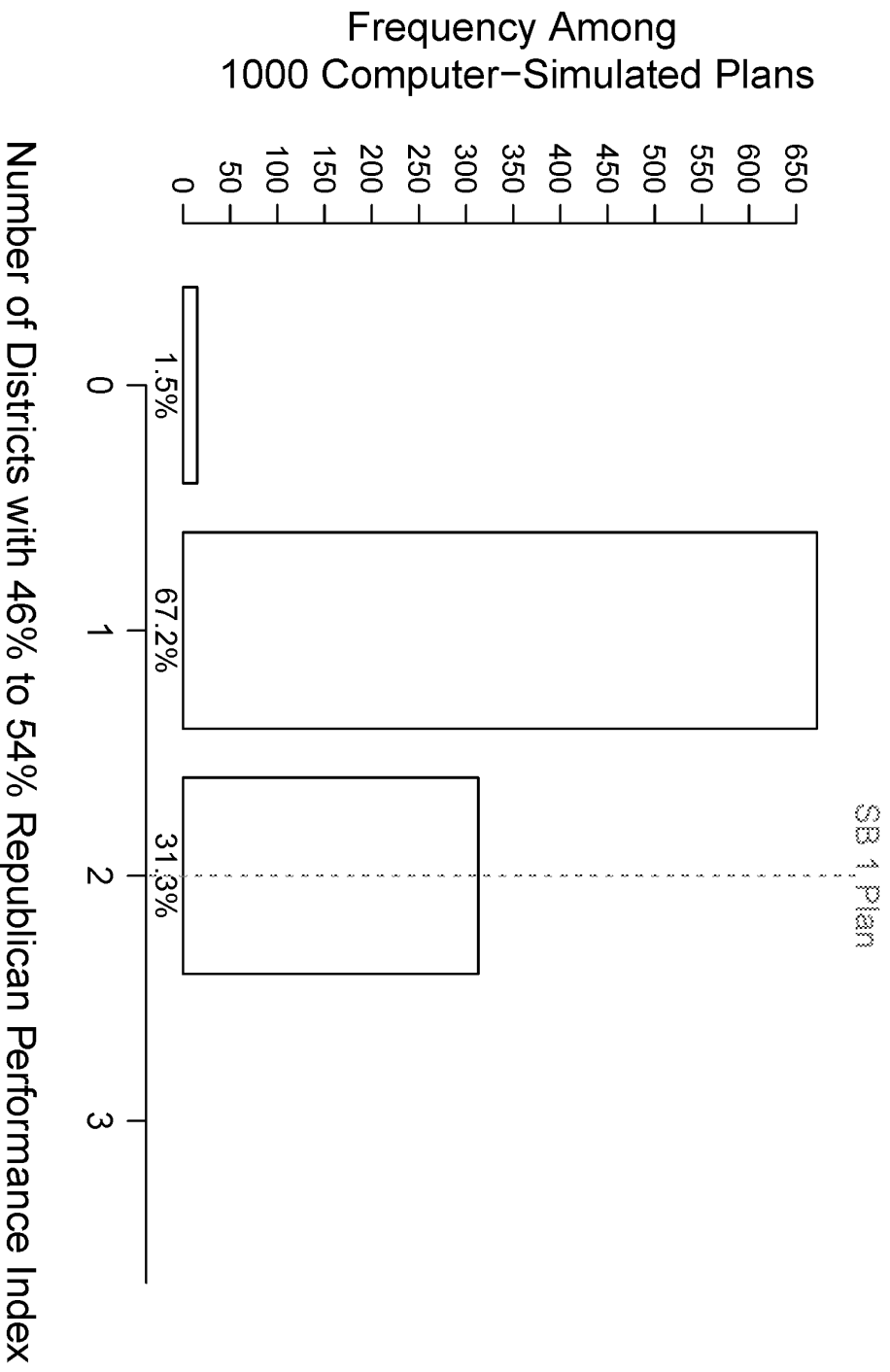


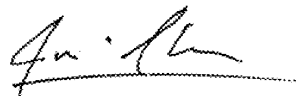
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Conclusion:

39. In summary, I programmed a partisan-blind computer algorithm to produce random maps for New Mexico's congressional plan by adhering only to non-partisan districting criteria. I then analyzed the partisan characteristics of these computer-simulated maps as well as the SB 1 plan. I concluded that the partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan are well within the normal range of these computer-generated districting plans drawn with the partisan-blind algorithm. The SB 1 plan is neither extreme nor a statistical outlier in terms of its partisanship. The partisan characteristics of the SB 1 plan could plausibly have emerged from a partisan-neutral map-drawing process adhering to non-partisan districting criteria.

EXHIBIT 31

This 25th day of August, 2023.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Joweï Chen", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Joweï Chen

EXHIBIT 31

Jowei Chen Curriculum Vitae

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Research Associate Professor (2016-present), Faculty Associate (2009-2015), Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2013.

Principal Investigator and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Governance and Public Policy Research, Willamette University, 2013 – Present.

Education:

Ph.D., Political Science, Stanford University (June 2009)

M.S., Statistics, Stanford University (January 2007)

B.A., Ethics, Politics, and Economics, Yale University (May 2004)

Publications:

Chen, Jowei and Neil Malhotra. 2007. "The Law of k/n: The Effect of Chamber Size on Government Spending in Bicameral Legislatures."

American Political Science Review, 101(4): 657-676.

Chen, Jowei, 2010. "The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Barreling in Bicameral Legislatures."

American Journal of Political Science, 54(2): 301-322.

Chen, Jowei, 2013. "Voter Partisanship and the Effect of Distributive Spending on Political Participation."

American Journal of Political Science, 57(1): 200-217.

Chen, Jowei and Jonathan Rodden, 2013. "Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures"

Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 8(3): 239-269.

EXHIBIT 31

Bradley, Katharine and Jowei Chen, 2014. "Participation Without Representation? Senior Opinion, Legislative Behavior, and Federal Health Reform."

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law, 39(2), 263-293.

Chen, Jowei and Tim Johnson, 2015. "Federal Employee Unionization and Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy: Estimating and Explaining Ideological Change in Executive Agencies."

Journal of Theoretical Politics, Volume 27, No. 1: 151-174.

Bonica, Adam, Jowei Chen, and Tim Johnson, 2015. "Senate Gate-Keeping, Presidential Staffing of 'Inferior Offices' and the Ideological Composition of Appointments to the Public Bureaucracy."

Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Volume 10, No. 1: 5-40.

Chen, Jowei and Jonathan Rodden, 2015. "Cutting Through the Thicket: Redistricting Simulations and the Detection of Partisan Gerrymanders."

Election Law Journal, Volume 14, Number 4: 331-345.

Chen, Jowei and David Cottrell, 2016. "Evaluating Partisan Gains from Congressional Gerrymandering: Using Computer Simulations to Estimate the Effect of Gerrymandering in the U.S. House."

Electoral Studies, Volume 44 (December 2016): 329-340.

Chen, Jowei, 2017. "Analysis of Computer-Simulated Districting Maps for the Wisconsin State Assembly."

Election Law Journal, Volume 16, Number 4 (December 2017): 417-442.

Chen, Jowei and Nicholas Stephanopoulos, 2021. "The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights."

Yale Law Journal, Forthcoming, Volume 130, Number 4: 778-1049.

Kim, Yunsieg and Jowei Chen, 2021. "Gerrymandered by Definition: The Distortion of 'Traditional' Districting Principles and a Proposal for an Empirical Redefinition."

Wisconsin Law Review, Forthcoming, Volume 2021, Number 1.

Chen, Jowei and Nicholas Stephanopoulos, 2021. "Democracy's Denominator."

California Law Review, Accepted for Publication, Volume 109.

Non-Peer-Reviewed Publication:

Chen, Jowei and Tim Johnson, 2017. "Political Ideology in the Bureaucracy."

Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance.

EXHIBIT 31

Research Grants:

"How Citizenship-Based Redistricting Systemically Disadvantages Voters of Color". 2020 (\$18,225). Combating and Confronting Racism Grant. University of Michigan Center for Social Solutions and Poverty Solutions.

Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation Grant SES-1459459, September 2015 – August 2018 (\$165,008). "The Political Control of U.S. Federal Agencies and Bureaucratic Political Behavior."

"Economic Disparity and Federal Investments in Detroit," (with Brian Min) 2011. Graham Institute, University of Michigan (\$30,000).

"The Partisan Effect of OSHA Enforcement on Workplace Injuries," (with Connor Raso) 2009. John M. Olin Law and Economics Research Grant (\$4,410).

Invited Talks:

September, 2011. University of Virginia, American Politics Workshop.

October 2011. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, American Politics Conference.

January 2012. University of Chicago, Political Economy/American Politics Seminar.

February 2012. Harvard University, Positive Political Economy Seminar.

September 2012. Emory University, Political Institutions and Methodology Colloquium.

November 2012. University of Wisconsin, Madison, American Politics Workshop.

September 2013. Stanford University, Graduate School of Business, Political Economy Workshop.

February 2014. Princeton University, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Workshop.

November 2014. Yale University, American Politics and Public Policy Workshop.

December 2014. American Constitution Society for Law & Policy Conference: Building the Evidence to Win Voting Rights Cases.

February 2015. University of Rochester, American Politics Working Group.

March 2015. Harvard University, Voting Rights Act Workshop.

May 2015. Harvard University, Conference on Political Geography.

October 2015. George Washington University School of Law, Conference on Redistricting Reform.

September 2016. Harvard University Center for Governmental and International Studies, Voting Rights Institute Conference.

March 2017. Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy, Redistricting Reform Conference.

October 2017. Willamette University, Center for Governance and Public Policy Research

October 2017, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Geometry of Redistricting Conference.

February 2018: University of Georgia Law School

September 2018. Willamette University.

November 2018. Yale University, Redistricting Workshop.

EXHIBIT 31

November 2018. University of Washington, Severyns Ravenholt Seminar in Comparative Politics.
January 2019. Duke University, Reason, Reform & Redistricting Conference.
February 2019. Ohio State University, Department of Political Science. Departmental speaker series.
March 2019. Wayne State University Law School, Gerrymandering Symposium.
November 2019. Big Data Ignite Conference.
November 2019. Calvin College, Department of Mathematics and Statistics.
September 2020 (Virtual). Yale University, Yale Law Journal Scholarship Workshop
September 2021, Duke University, Redistricting and American Democracy Conference
July 2022, ICPSR Blalock Lecture, University of Michigan

Conference Service:

Section Chair, 2017 APSA (San Francisco, CA), Political Methodology Section
Discussant, 2014 Political Methodology Conference (University of Georgia)
Section Chair, 2012 MPSA (Chicago, IL), Political Geography Section.
Discussant, 2011 MPSA (Chicago, IL) “Presidential-Congressional Interaction.”
Discussant, 2008 APSA (Boston, MA) “Congressional Appropriations.”
Chair and Discussant, 2008 MPSA (Chicago, IL) “Distributive Politics: Parties and Pork.”

Conference Presentations and Working Papers:

“Ideological Representation of Geographic Constituencies in the U.S. Bureaucracy,” (with Tim Johnson). 2017 APSA.

“Incentives for Political versus Technical Expertise in the Public Bureaucracy,” (with Tim Johnson). 2016 APSA.

“Black Electoral Geography and Congressional Districting: The Effect of Racial Redistricting on Partisan Gerrymandering”. 2016 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (Rice University)

“Racial Gerrymandering and Electoral Geography.” Working Paper, 2016.

“Does Deserved Spending Win More Votes? Evidence from Individual-Level Disaster Assistance,” (with Andrew Healy). 2014 APSA.

“The Geographic Link Between Votes and Seats: How the Geographic Distribution of Partisans Determines the Electoral Responsiveness and Bias of Legislative Elections,” (with David Cottrell). 2014 APSA.

“Gerrymandering for Money: Drawing districts with respect to donors rather than voters.” 2014 MPSA.

EXHIBIT 31

“Constituent Age and Legislator Responsiveness: The Effect of Constituent Opinion on the Vote for Federal Health Reform.” (with Katharine Bradley) 2012 MPSA.

“Voter Partisanship and the Mobilizing Effect of Presidential Advertising.” (with Kyle Dropp) 2012 MPSA.

“Recency Bias in Retrospective Voting: The Effect of Distributive Benefits on Voting Behavior.” (with Andrew Feher) 2012 MPSA.

“Estimating the Political Ideologies of Appointed Public Bureaucrats,” (with Adam Bonica and Tim Johnson) 2012 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of North Carolina)

“Tobler’s Law, Urbanization, and Electoral Bias in Florida.” (with Jonathan Rodden) 2010 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of Iowa)

“Unionization and Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy” (with Tim Johnson) 2011 MPSA.

“Estimating Bureaucratic Ideal Points with Federal Campaign Contributions” 2010 APSA. (Washington, DC).

“The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Spending in Bicameral Legislatures,” Vanderbilt University Conference on Bicameralism, 2009.

“When Do Government Benefits Influence Voters’ Behavior? The Effect of FEMA Disaster Awards on US Presidential Votes,” 2009 APSA (Toronto, Canada).

“Are Poor Voters Easier to Buy Off?” 2009 APSA (Toronto, Canada).

“Credit Sharing Among Legislators: Electoral Geography’s Effect on Pork Barreling in Legislatures,” 2008 APSA (Boston, MA).

“Buying Votes with Public Funds in the US Presidential Election,” Poster Presentation at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (University of Michigan).

“The Effect of Electoral Geography on Pork Spending in Bicameral Legislatures,” 2008 MPSA.

“Legislative Free-Riding and Spending on Pure Public Goods,” 2007 MPSA (Chicago, IL).

“Free Riding in Multi-Member Legislatures,” (with Neil Malhotra) 2007 MPSA (Chicago, IL).

“The Effect of Legislature Size, Bicameralism, and Geography on Government Spending: Evidence from the American States,” (with Neil Malhotra) 2006 APSA (Philadelphia, PA).

EXHIBIT 32

1

3

FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT COURT
COUNTY OF LEA
STATE OF NEW MEXICO

NO. D-506-CV-2022-00041

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO,
DAVID GALLEGOS, TIMOTHY
JENNINGS, DINAH VARGAS, MANUEL
GONZALES, JR., BOBBY AND DEE ANN
KIMBRO, and PEARL GARCIA,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

MAGGIE TOULOUSE OLIVER, in her
official capacity as New Mexico
Secretary of state, MICHELLE LUJAN
GRISHAM, in her official capacity as
Governor of New Mexico, HOWIE
MORALES, in his official capacity as
New Mexico Lieutenant Governor and
President of the New Mexico Senate,
MIMI STEWART, in her official capacity
as President Pro Tempore of the New
Mexico Senate, and JAVIER MARTINEZ,
in his official capacity as Speaker of the
New Mexico House of Representative,

Defendants.

DEPOSITION OF SEAN P. TRENDE
September 6, 2023
9:00 a.m.

VIA REMOTE VIDEOCONFERENCING

PURSUANT TO THE NEW MEXICO RULES OF CIVIL
PROCEDURE this deposition was:

TAKEN BY: LUCAS M. WILLIAMS
ATTORNEY FOR THE DEFENDANTS

REPORTED BY: KAREN RODRIGUEZ, CCR #55
MMR Court Reporting, LLC
Post Office Box 11505
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87192

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Also Present:

JOWEI CHEN

I N D E X

EXAMINATION OF SEAN P. TRENDE PAGE

By LUCAS M. WILLIAMS.....4

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SEAN P. TRENDE

after having been first duly sworn,

testified as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. WILLIAMS:

Q. Good morning, Mr. Trende. My name is Lucas
Williams. I'm an attorney with the Hinkle Law Firm. I
represent the legislative defendants in this case. You
and I have never met; is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. All right. You've probably been deposed a few
times. I've read a bunch of your depositions. How many
times would you say you've been deposed, Mr. Trende?

A. Twenty.

Q. Twenty? So you know the ground rules. I'm going
to ask you questions. I hope to get answers. I'm going
to do my best to ask my question and then be quiet while
you answer. I hope you will do me the same courtesy of
not answering while I'm trying to ask you a question.

I ask remarkably poor questions. So when I do,
feel free to stop me and let me know you don't
understand, and I'll try to articulate something that is
more clear.

If you answer my question, I'm going to assume
you understood the question. If you need a break,

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1 Q. Okay. I want to point you to your expert report.
2 I want to walk through portions of this. All right. On
3 page 9 of your report, Exhibit 1.13, you discuss -- I
4 believe this is section 5.1 where you're talking about
5 Justice Kagan's opinion. Do you see that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. All right. I'm going to highlight the first full
8 paragraph on page 9, Exhibit 1.13, that begins, "As
9 discussed in more detail below..." Do you see that?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. All right. You represent that in Rucho, there is
12 a total of 24,518 total maps, while your report offers
13 several million maps for analysis using more
14 sophisticated techniques. Do you see that?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Is there something deficient in using the 24,518
17 maps as opposed to the several million maps for analysis
18 that you reference here?

19 A. A bigger sample size is always useful for you,
20 but I don't think there's necessarily anything wrong
21 with 24,518.

22 Q. I'm looking at page 48 of your report, Exhibit
23 1.52. Do you see that?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. You have a sentence that says "In short, you

1 this simulation?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. All right. Okay. Let's look at section 6.4.1,
4 titled "Baseline Simulations." I'm going to go to your
5 report page number 44, exhibit page 1.48. Is that
6 correct? Do you see that?

7 A. Huh-huh.

8 Q. All right. I'm going to highlight the sentence
9 that begins on the prior page, "After unifying the data
10 at the precinct level, I instructed the simulation to
11 create 1,000,000 sets of three reasonably compacted
12 districts, which respect county subdivisions." Does
13 that reflect the code that you produced to us?

14 A. It should, unless I changed the n_sims after I
15 wrote the report, to check something, and never changed
16 it back. But yeah, if you look at the histogram on
17 page 46, that has the counts of maps. I mean, that is
18 going to hit a million pretty quick when you're going
19 over 40,000 in those bars every time. So yeah, it was a
20 million maps.

21 Q. Let's look at your source code, Doctor. So I am
22 looking at Exhibit 12, which is your part 05, which is
23 the first simulation. Do you see that?

24 A. Huh-huh.

25 Q. Let's look at line 2. I've highlighted that.

42

44

1 cannot plot 3 million dots on a 8.5 by 11 inch page
2 without a significant amount of overplotting." Do you
3 see that?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. Is that 3 million dots that is referenced there
6 -- first, does that reflect maps that were generated by
7 your software?

8 A. So each dot is a district from a map, is a
9 representation of a district from a map.

10 Q. So when you say "3 million dots," that would be
11 1 million maps?

12 A. Correct.

13 Q. Okay. So at page 48, Exhibit 1.52, you're
14 referencing again the 1 million maps that you say that
15 you did in this project?

16 A. That's right.

17 Q. On page 1.82, your report page number 78, there
18 is a sentence that reflects "Across millions of maps,
19 under multiple assumptions and scenarios, the Enacted
20 Map presents as an extreme outlier." Is that sentence
21 part of your report?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. And with this sentence, you're hoping to
24 communicate to the Court that SE-1 is an extreme outlier
25 as compared to the millions of maps you generated in

1 What number do you see there being assigned to n_sims?

2 A. That's 100,000.

3 Q. Is 100,000 a million?

4 A. No.

5 Q. So the code that you sent us, does it generate a
6 million maps?

7 A. If a competent computer programmer changes
8 100,000 to a million, it will, but not run in its raw
9 form, no.

10 Q. Do you think a competent expert would produce
11 monkey code?

12 MS. DIRAGO: Objection.

13 A. I don't know what monkey code is, but it appears
14 that I changed it from a million to 100,000 for some
15 purpose and didn't change it back for you. It's
16 obvious, from the histograms in the report, that it was
17 a million maps.

18 Q. (By Mr. Williams) Well, do you have those maps
19 so that we can verify that?

20 A. No.

21 Q. Could you have saved those maps, Mr. Trends?

22 A. Not the maps themselves. You can save the block
23 assignment files for them.

24 Q. Well, let's walk through your code and discuss
25 the choices you made about this. I am looking at line 4

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1 of Exhibit 12. Do you see that?
2 A. Yes.
3 Q. Can you describe to me what line 4 of your code
4 does?
5 A. It creates the map file that is used to generate
6 the simulation software.
7 Q. All right. What does line 5 of your code do?
8 A. That runs the simulation.
9 Q. So line 5 would output the results of the
10 simulation into a variable called "results." Is that
11 correct?
12 A. Correct.
13 Q. And it would be somewhat trivial, would it not,
14 to convert that object "results" into a matrix or a
15 table? Is that right?
16 A. Right. You can turn it into a matrix, although
17 it would be a, depending which way you put it, 1 million
18 by 2,200 matrix, but yeah.
19 Q. And in fact, you have code that, in part, does
20 that at line 7; is that right?
21 A. That's correct.
22 Q. And you could take the matrix and save that to a
23 CSV file; is that correct?
24 A. That's correct.
25 Q. And do you know how to do that?

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1 A. I guess you would do "save_csv," whatever you
2 want to call it and then "get_plans_matrix(results)."
3 Q. So between line 5, which when executed creates
4 some number of maps, and when you turned off your
5 computer or turned off your R environment, those maps
6 existed; correct?
7 A. A file that contains the assignments for the maps
8 existed, not the maps themselves.
9 Q. Well, the data that would be used to generate the
10 maps; is that correct?
11 A. Correct.
12 Q. The output of your simulations; is that correct?
13 A. Correct.
14 Q. Which you refer to repeatedly in your expert
15 report as "the maps." Is that correct?
16 A. Correct.
17 Q. All right. So that existed after the execution
18 of line 5, and you chose not to save that output; is
19 that correct?
20 A. That's correct. That's typically how this stuff
21 has been produced in cases I've been involved in. And
22 so I didn't save it. I just ran it this last time and
23 reported the output.
24 Q. All right. Let's look at line 177 of that same
25 source code. Do you see that there?

1 A. Yes.
2 Q. All right. That line of code says
3 set.seed(8675309)." Did you choose that seed or did
4 somebody else choose that seed for you?
5 A. I think one of my professors used that seed in
6 code once, and I thought it was funny. So I will use
7 that, or sometimes I'll do the date. It doesn't matter
8 what seed you choose. That's a reference to a Tommy
9 Tutone song.
10 Q. I am old enough to be familiar with it. All
11 right. And the very next line, 178, again, sets up a
12 simulation; is that correct?
13 A. Correct.
14 Q. And then line 179 runs that simulation; correct?
15 A. Correct.
16 Q. And in line 179, it uses the same variable,
17 "n_sims." Do you see that?
18 A. Correct.
19 Q. Which, as we know, is 100,000. Is that right?
20 A. Unless your competent coding expert realizes it's
21 producing 100,000 and changes it to a million, but yes,
22 running the code straight through, it would be 100,000
23 maps.
24 Q. Mr. Trende, I am taken aback somewhat by your
25 notion that someone else should fix the code that you

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1 produced to us. Why should anybody other than you, Sean
2 P. Trende, have to fix the code you produced?
3 MS. DIRAGO: Objection.
4 MR. WILLIAMS: You can answer the question,
5 Mr. Trende.
6 A. Well, because, presumably, your expert will want
7 to see and reproduce the maps that were created and,
8 noticing that n_sims is 100,000, would realize that to
9 replicate that would be set to a million and would do
10 so, perhaps --
11 Q. Do you think it would be reasonable --
12 A. Can I finish my answer?
13 Q. Sure.
14 A. -- perhaps sending a clarification through
15 counsel, "Hey, was this supposed to be a million?"
16 Q. Mr. Trende, you understood that, when you
17 produced this, you were supposed to produce what you
18 used to generate your report; is that right?
19 MS. DIRAGO: Objection.
20 Q. (By Mr. Williams) Is that right?
21 A. When I produced this, I produced the code from my
22 report. There is, obviously, something that was changed
23 at some point after the fact for some purpose that I
24 didn't change back.
25 Q. And definitionally, this is not the code that you

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1 used to generate your report; correct?

2 A. Definitionally, it has an easily correctable
3 mistake in it.

4 Q. Are there any other mistakes in this code that
5 you're aware of, Mr. Trende, that you changed after you
6 generated your report?

7 A. Well, as I said before, I wouldn't have thought
8 of this one until we went over it or the fact that the
9 titles produce in this but not in my report. So I don't
10 know, but I don't think so.

11 Q. So based upon the code that you produced to us or
12 that you produced to your counsel and they produced to
13 us, if I run this code, I will not get the results that
14 you did in your report; is that correct?

15 A. If you run this code, you will get 100,000 maps,
16 not the million from the report.

17 Q. Yeah, but we don't know that there was a million,
18 because you didn't save them; is that correct?

19 A. Well, we know there's a million because you can
20 look at the histograms and see it was a million, unless
21 you're trying to suggest that I made up the histograms.
22 But yeah, we know there's a million just as much as we
23 would know there was 100,000 if we ran this through.

24 Q. I want to talk to you about line 177, Doctor,
25 "set.seed(8675309)." Do you see that?

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1 A. Yes.

2 Q. What is the purpose of setting the seed to
3 8675309 at line 177?

4 A. 8675309 would set it up so that it would make the
5 same random choices every time you ran the code through.

6 Q. Do you know how a pseudorandom number generator
7 works?

8 A. Oh, gosh, I used to before. I think it is set
9 off of the time on your computer's clock and there's
10 some algorithm it goes through for making the
11 transformation necessary. I learned that one, like, six
12 years ago and have since dumped it. I just know that if
13 you put in "set.seed," it will produce the same random
14 choices as you run the code every time.

15 Q. And I believe you testified earlier, Mr. Trende,
16 that you were conversant with R, including its base
17 packages. Is that correct?

18 A. That's correct.

19 Q. And is "set.seed" within the base packages of R?

20 A. I believe so.

21 Q. Okay. Is it your understanding that when you set
22 the seed to any explicit value, you will then get a
23 random distribution of numbers in a reproducible way?
24 Is that fair?

25 A. Right. That's the point, is that now every time

1 you run through your code, every random choice is going
2 to produce the same value.

3 Q. What is your understanding of the scoping of the
4 set.seed operator in R?

5 A. I don't understand your question.

6 Q. Well, I see that you set the seed at line 177.
7 Do you see that?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Immediately before performing a simulation; is
10 that correct?

11 A. That's right.

12 Q. Well, let's look up here at lines 1 through 5 of
13 this same code where you purport to perform another
14 100,000 simulations. Do you see that?

15 A. It was a million simulations, but yes, the number
16 there says "100,000."

17 Q. Do you see those lines?

18 A. I do see those lines.

19 Q. What was the seed for that simulation?

20 A. 8675309.

21 Q. How do you know that, Mr. Trende?

22 A. Because it was in part 2 of the code.

23 Q. Well, let's get back to my question about
24 scoping, Mr. Trende. What is the scoping of the
25 set.seed operator in R?

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1 A. If you run the code through like I suggested, the
2 first time you set the seed, it sets the seed and it
3 will reproduce every time you run it through. So --

4 Q. And I believe you testified -- go ahead.

5 A. So the code is meant to be run in order.

6 Q. I believe you told me earlier in your deposition
7 that you would run files 01 and 02; is that correct?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And then you would not want to run them again,
10 and you would perform iterative simulations; is that
11 correct?

12 A. Every time I was writing code and running it, I
13 wouldn't want to reproduce the data every single time or
14 produce maps. But when you're running it through for
15 the final part, you definitely want to run them in
16 order, in part, because the set.seed at the top of the
17 script.

18 Q. And did you save your work history so that we
19 could verify how you ran these, Mr. Trende?

20 A. Oh, no. You have my sworn testimony.

21 Q. Okay. So we don't know how you ran this. Did
22 you run it using the interactive prompt on your RStudio?

23 A. I would have run it from the script window.

24 Q. All right. So you would have launched the first
25 code and then run the second code and then the third,

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1 all the way through the seventh; is that correct?
2 A. That's right, with the titles hash tagged out,
3 because I produced these titless documents when I put
4 this in to LaTeX.
5 Q. Was there any interaction on your part while that
6 code was running?
7 A. Can you rephrase that question?
8 Q. Were you interacting with the scripting
9 environment in any way while you were running that code?
10 A. I don't believe so.
11 Q. Is there any portion of the code that you
12 produced to us that does nothing?
13 A. No, I don't know if anything is commented out.
14 It wouldn't do anything.
15 Q. Well, let's look at line 7 of this code. Do you
16 see line 7 on the screen there?
17 A. Yes.
18 Q. What does that code do, Mr. Trende?
19 A. It tells you how many of the plans are
20 duplicated.
21 Q. All right. And in what way does it tell you how
22 many of the plans are duplicated?
23 A. It goes through the block assignment files and
24 looks for columns with identical output.
25 Q. Columns or rows?

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1 A. Columns. That's why you have to do the
2 transpose.
3 Q. Okay. And how would it report that information
4 to you, Mr. Trende?
5 A. It would print it out.
6 Q. In the interactive console?
7 A. Yeah, that's where it would be printed.
8 Q. All right. Do you do anything with that
9 information?
10 A. Not really. If it duplicated, like, 999,999
11 maps, you might have a problem. But I think the
12 duplication rate here is way lower than that.
13 Q. How many were duplicated, Mr. Trende?
14 A. Fewer than half, I think.
15 Q. Fewer than half a million?
16 A. Fewer than half of the maps. So half a million.
17 Q. Okay. So when you were talking about millions of
18 simulated maps, it's really more like about half a
19 million?
20 A. No, because whenever you do these -- I mean,
21 Dr. Chen's maps have duplicates, too. Whenever you do
22 these, you're sampling with replacement. So just like
23 if you were to sample heights of US males, you would get
24 a bunch of numbers around 5-11, 6 foot, whatever, and
25 then fewer and fewer out on the tails.

1 It's the same thing with these maps. When you
2 add constraints to them, there are certain ways that the
3 simulation enjoys drawing them, and so you'll get
4 duplicates. That is part of the reason you wouldn't do
5 an ensemble of, like, 500, the way you might do a
6 traditional poll.
7 Q. In any of your other expert work using ensemble
8 analysis, Mr. Trende, have you ever experienced
9 duplicates in the amount of half of your dataset?
10 A. Oh, I don't know about that. Duplicates happen
11 all the time.
12 Q. Have you ever experienced a 50 percent duplicate
13 rate?
14 A. Like I said, I don't know. I do know that
15 duplicates are common, both in mine and Dr. Chen's work.
16 So it doesn't bother me, unless it gets extreme to where
17 you end up having, like, 20 maps.
18 Q. What is a confidence interval in a statistical
19 analysis?
20 A. A confidence interval is a measure of, if you
21 repeated the experiment, what percentage of the time the
22 true value would be contained within that interval. Or
23 I guess I'm explaining more of what a p-value is.
24 You have a certain alpha that you set, which is
25 your tolerance for false positives or for errors, and

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1 it's a measurement -- assuming you choose 0.95 as your
2 alpha, which is typically what is chosen, it means that,
3 if you repeated the experiment a hundred times,
4 95 percent of the time your confident interval would
5 contain the true value.
6 Q. What is the confidence interval using the
7 simulation methods you have employed in this case for
8 developing three congressional districts?
9 A. I don't know.
10 Q. Do you think it would require a sample size of
11 less than a million maps?
12 A. Oh, I'm sure you could do it with fewer than a
13 million maps. But you know, when you have a million
14 draws and over a half million unique draws, you get a
15 pretty good sense of what the sample is. I'm not sure
16 of any statistical metric that suggests you need more
17 than that.
18 Q. Are you aware of any statistical metric that
19 suggests you need a million maps?
20 A. Oh, as I've said, I don't know if you need a
21 million maps. But whenever you're increasing your N,
22 it's good. You get a better sense of what the
23 distribution really looks like.
24 Q. If you had selected a half million maps,
25 Mr. Trende, would it have made any difference as opposed

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1 to a million?
 2 A. I doubt it.
 3 Q. What about 1,000, would it have made a
 4 difference?
 5 A. You know, 1,000 is getting pretty small. I know
 6 when Dr. Imai runs his version of simulations, he
 7 typically does 5- to 10,000, sometimes 50,000. But
 8 1,000, when you're getting repeats, you really are kind
 9 of reducing your number of observations pretty low.
 10 Q. So would it be fair to say that when you ran, I
 11 guess, an arbitrary number of 1 million maps with
 12 approximately a half million repeats, that half of those
 13 weren't terribly useful to you?
 14 A. No, because you're not doing a regular poll. You
 15 can analogize it to a poll to help explain it, but all
 16 of these simulation metrics are doing sampling with
 17 replacement, and so all of them produce duplicates.
 18 Dr. Chen's ensemble in this case has duplicates in it.
 19 So they are useful, because they help flesh out the
 20 underlying distribution.
 21 Q. Would you agree or disagree, Mr. Trende, that the
 22 reason -- well, first, did you pick the million number?
 23 A. I did.
 24 Q. All right. So would you agree or disagree,
 25 Mr. Trende, with the notion that when you picked the

1 A. I don't remember.
 2 Q. Was it more or less than 50 percent?
 3 A. I don't remember.
 4 Q. Was it 100 percent?
 5 A. No.
 6 Q. Was it 99 percent?
 7 A. I don't remember.
 8 Q. All right. So somewhere between 100 percent and
 9 99 percent is fair?
 10 A. Would you repeat that question as a complete
 11 sentence?
 12 Q. Never mind. In the 35,000 simulations,
 13 Mr. Trende, how many duplicates did you have there?
 14 A. I don't remember.
 15 Q. Would you expect it to have been as high as half
 16 million?
 17 A. I have no idea.
 18 Q. You've testified today that you've run these
 19 simulations in 6-4 in two ways, that you've run them at
 20 a million and you've run them at 100,000. Is that
 21 correct?
 22 A. Oh, I'm sure I've run them in more ways than
 23 that.
 24 Q. When you ran them at 100,000, how many duplicates
 25 did you have, Mr. Trende?

1 million number, it was done so you could say, "58-1 was
 2 worse than millions of maps"? Is that why you picked a
 3 million?
 4 A. No.
 5 Q. Have you ever done an ensemble analysis with
 6 millions of maps before, Mr. Trende?
 7 A. No. When I was in New York, one of the opposing
 8 expert's criticisms was that 5,000 maps weren't enough.
 9 So I ran 35,000. And he said, "Well, I'm not really
 10 sure 35,000 maps is enough."
 11 So I decided I would run as many maps as the
 12 machine could comfortably handle in a reasonable period
 13 of time, and that was a million here, which I figured no
 14 one could complain about the sample size being too small
 15 with a straight face at that point.
 16 Though I've not done millions, in the Maryland
 17 case that I was involved in, I think we produced
 18 750,000, which I think does the same thing.
 19 Q. Let's talk about the New York case. You said you
 20 initially did 5,000 simulations; is that right?
 21 A. I think that is right.
 22 Q. How much duplicates did you encounter running
 23 5,000 simulations?
 24 A. I don't remember.
 25 Q. Was it 50 percent?

1 A. I don't remember, but I would assume it was
 2 around 50,000.
 3 Q. Did you save that work product somewhere?
 4 A. No, I didn't rely on it.
 5 Q. Why would you have produced this modified code
 6 rather than the code that you say you actually used to
 7 render your expert report?
 8 MS. DIRAGO: Objection.
 9 A. I probably looked at something after I was done
 10 writing the report and forgot to change it back between
 11 the time the report was written and the time I produced
 12 it.
 13 Q. (By Mr. Williams) What do you think that was,
 14 Mr. Trende?
 15 A. I have no idea.
 16 Q. Do you keep some sort of work log of what you do?
 17 A. No. I mean, I've run these with different
 18 numbers. As you can see, the --
 19 Q. I can, I can see --
 20 A. Well, you know, you can see, if you let me finish
 21 my explanation, which we agreed to do out of courtesy at
 22 the beginning of this deposition, the truncated
 23 simulations are labeled "500k," which is probably where
 24 I had it initially, before I realized I could run it at
 25 a million comfortably on my computer. So that "n_sims"

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1 is put there so that it's relatively easy to change the
2 number of simulations, rather than going through and
3 having to do it over and over and over again in the
4 code.

5 Q. Why did you reset the seed at line 177?

6 A. Probably, when I was writing the code, I was
7 running just the truncated portion at some point, and I
8 wanted to make the same result over and over again. So
9 I set a seed there and never took it out.

10 Q. Okay. And we don't have your work history, but
11 if the Court believes what you've said, when we start
12 running the sim here at part 05, it had been set in
13 part 02; is that correct?

14 A. That's right.

15 Q. And your understanding is that the scope would
16 have continued onward for the seed generator; is that
17 correct?

18 A. Right. When you run the scripts in order, the
19 seed will continue.

20 Q. What did you do to verify that you were
21 generating identical results at line 5 run to run?

22 A. Well, I know when you set a seed in R, it
23 produces the random numbers and draws from them again
24 and again and again, until you set a different seed. So
25 by running the script straight through, you should not

1 you don't have the random seed, you'll get, presumably,
2 different samples each time, but the whole point of
3 sampling is that the bottom line/the mean on the shape
4 of the distribution should be the same each time.

5 Q. Let's go back and look at your report.

6 MS. DIRAGO: Hey, Lucas, can we take a
7 break? Is now a good time?

8 MR. WILLIAMS: Sure. We'll come back at
9 11:00.

10 (A recess was taken from 10:45 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.)

11 Q. (By Mr. Williams) Mr. Trends, we have returned
12 from a break. I want to refer you to page 16 of your
13 expert report. That is Exhibit 1.20. That's a section
14 titled "Regions of New Mexico Utilized." Do you see
15 that?

16 A. Yes.

17 THE COURT REPORTER: You're muted,
18 Mr. Trends.

19 Q. (By Mr. Williams) So I was at Exhibit 1.20,
20 page 16 of your report. Do you see that in front of
21 you, Mr. Trends?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. All right. And I am talking about the section
24 titled "5.4 Regions of New Mexico Utilized." Do you see
25 that?

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1 disturb the run of the random numbers that are
2 generated.

3 Q. When you do not set an explicit seed, Mr. Trends,
4 what is the seed that your system will use?

5 A. I don't know.

6 Q. Do you know how your system will choose a random
7 seed when you do not explicitly set one?

8 A. No, I don't think it is -- I mean, no, I don't
9 know. As I said, I think it chooses it off of the clock
10 of the computer, but that was explained to me a long
11 time ago.

12 Q. Absent setting an explicit seed, will you be able
13 to reproduce the results of any algorithm that uses a
14 random number generator?

15 A. You won't produce them explicitly, but you'll get
16 the same distribution, especially given the large number
17 of draws.

18 Q. So you will not get the same results. You
19 anticipate getting something with the same distribution
20 of random numbers. Is that correct?

21 A. Right. If we want to use the poll analogy, a
22 random seed means you call the same people over and
23 over, the same set of 1,000 people over and over and
24 over again, and for whatever reason you want to
25 conjecture they aren't able to change their answer. If

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. All right. How did you come to adopt the regions
3 from the Tourism and Travel Board?

4 A. Well, I thought it would be useful to refer to --
5 instead of trying to just say Southeast New Mexico and
6 have it either be my thoughts about it or some other
7 arbitrary definition, I would try to use someone else's
8 definition.

9 So I looked online, and I found the newmexico.org
10 representation of it, and that seemed like a fair common
11 way of speaking of things. It also seemed similar to
12 other options that people had selected or had suggested.

13 Q. What were the other options that people had
14 selected?

15 A. I don't remember.

16 Q. Who were the people who had made those
17 suggestions?

18 A. I don't remember.

19 Q. At page 27 of your report, Exhibit 1.31, tell me
20 when you get over there.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. The second sentence below the figure reads, "The
23 resulting map showed less respect for New Mexico's
24 regions, dividing the Central and Northeastern regions
25 up three ways." Do you see that?

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1 Q. All right. Let me know when you find something
2 else.

3 A. On page 6, the second full paragraph, I don't
4 know that the entrenchment was as important to Justice
5 Kagan's test as it's made out to be here. It's been a
6 while since I've read that case.

7 I do know that, in other contexts, the Supreme
8 Court suggested that things such as simulation analysis
9 can be useful for determining -- or at least, justices
10 of the Supreme Court have suggested that simulation
11 analysis can be useful for interpreting or finding
12 intent. But it's ultimately a legal thing for lawyers
13 to fight about and judges to decide. That's just not my
14 recollection of how I read the Rucho dissent.

15 Q. I have highlighted the first paragraph following
16 paragraph 1, titled "SB-1 does not entrench the
17 Democratic party in power." Is that the paragraph you
18 were talking about?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. All right. Anything else?

21 A. Let's see. We could quibble about the definition
22 -- I think we've already quibbled about the definition
23 of competitiveness. I don't know what this 54 to
24 46 percent range he sets out really means. There is no
25 citation to anything that suggests that, you know, if

1 you go above 54 percent, it no longer is a competitive
2 district or, if you're one point below, it is something
3 we would consider competitive, especially since the
4 exclusion of Democratic landslide wins is making these
5 districts look more favorable to Republicans than they
6 really are.

7 I think if you take the loosest possible sense of
8 competitiveness, that it's possible, under certain
9 circumstances, for Republicans to win a district. You
10 could probably use that definition.

11 But going back to his definition of entrenchment
12 in the last sentence, it's not that it has to be
13 impossible for Republicans to win, it could be difficult
14 or impossible. And the fact that a Republican incumbent
15 lost in an otherwise favorable Republican environment
16 suggests that it will certainly be difficult for
17 Republicans to win that seat back, especially as the
18 Democratic incumbent becomes increasingly entrenched in
19 it.

20 Q. Anything else in that paragraph?

21 A. No. Would you like me to proceed?

22 Q. Oh, yes. I'm here to learn your opinions.

23 A. The next paragraph about the highly competitive
24 nature of CD 2, I agree that it was extremely close.
25 You know, if it were a marginally more Republican

1 district, Herrell probably would have been reelected.

2 But I disagree strongly that the very close
3 outcome demonstrates that this is a district that can
4 be -- well, I guess the way he worded it is literally
5 true. But the suggestion that this is something that is
6 not going to be difficult for Republicans to win back, I
7 just think is wrong, especially once you get a
8 Democratic incumbent in there and less favorable
9 environments to Republicans.

10 So on the next sentence, which is the first
11 sentence on page 7 -- or the first paragraph on page 7,
12 he says "...CD 2 is by no means a 'safe' Democratic
13 district."

14 And, again, I can imagine scenarios where a
15 Republican might win that district if the Democratic
16 incumbent, you know, has some major scandal and/or we
17 end up in an environment like 2010 where Democrats are
18 just wiped out.

19 But I mean, I don't think, as a general matter,
20 it is a competitive toss-up district that could be won
21 by a candidate of either party, except using the
22 broadest definition of competitive -- well, certainly
23 not toss-up, but the broadest definition of competitive
24 that I can think of. It's not impossible for a
25 Republican to win it, but it's definitely going to be

1 difficult. And the 2022 outcome illustrates that.

2 So on page 8 where he says "However, it is
3 interesting to note...", again, I think this is missing
4 important context, which is that after the 2008
5 elections, once Steve Pearce ran and the seat was open,
6 the Democrat was able to win it. And in 2016, when
7 Steve Pearce ran for Governor, the Democrat was able to
8 win it.

9 And you see his point, that once the powerful
10 incumbent was no longer a factor, a Democrat could win
11 it. Again, this ties in with the previous point, that
12 once someone establishes incumbency, it can be difficult
13 to win the election.

14 It also misses the point or the broader context
15 that 2008 and 2018 were disasters for the Republican
16 party of almost biblical proportions. They are two of
17 the worst years Republicans have had in the past 70,
18 just because, you know, the world was ending for the
19 first time in my lifetime in 2008 on election day, and
20 then in 2018, the world was not ending, but Donald Trump
21 was the president, which engaged Democrats to an extreme
22 extent and gave them a very big win in that year.

23 So yeah, Democrats were able to win that district
24 in kind of a perfect storm, where the Republican
25 president was in catastrophic political shape and the

EXHIBIT 33

NM Congress
CD_187963.2_Egolf_Executive

2010 Census
Redistricting

District	Pop	Deviation	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic Origin				
				White	Native American	Black	Asian	Other Races
1	686,393	0 0.0%	329,665 48.0%	288,234 42.0%	24,773 3.6%	16,016 2.3%	14,313 2.1%	13,392 2.0%
18+	523,776		227,802 43.5%	245,413 46.9%	18,281 3.5%	12,598 2.4%	11,348 2.2%	8,334 1.6%
2	686,393	0 0.0%	355,689 51.8%	275,607 40.2%	30,590 4.5%	10,725 1.6%	4,844 0.7%	8,938 1.3%
18+	508,648		238,436 46.9%	230,511 45.3%	21,756 4.3%	8,306 1.6%	3,962 0.8%	5,577 1.1%
3	686,393	0 0.0%	268,049 39.1%	269,969 39.3%	120,005 17.5%	8,721 1.3%	7,148 1.0%	12,501 1.8%
18+	508,083		185,088 36.4%	221,924 43.7%	81,925 16.1%	6,549 1.3%	5,646 1.1%	6,951 1.4%
Totals	2,059,179	686,393	953,403 46.3%	833,810 40.5%	175,368 8.5%	35,462 1.7%	26,305 1.3%	34,831 1.8%
18+	1,540,507		651,326 42.3%	697,848 45.3%	121,962 7.9%	27,453 1.8%	20,956 1.4%	20,962 1.4%

EXHIBIT 33

NM Congress
CD_187963.2_Egolf_Executive

2010 Census
Redistricting

District Profile

District	Total Population	Deviation		Total Adult Native American	Adult Hispanic	Adult Non-Hispanic			Performance Measure		Registered Voters				
						White	American	Black	Dem	Rep	Total	% Dem	% Rep	% DTS	% Other
1	686,393	0	0.0%	5.2%	43.5%	46.9%	3.5%	2.4%	53.9%	46.1%	412,594	47.3%	32.3%	16.8%	3.6%
2	686,393	0	0.0%	5.8%	46.9%	45.3%	4.3%	1.6%	46.6%	53.4%	350,612	46.0%	35.7%	15.9%	2.4%
3	686,393	0	0.0%	18.1%	36.4%	43.7%	16.1%	1.3%	57.5%	42.5%	396,009	54.3%	28.2%	15.0%	2.5%
NM	2,059,179	Ideal:	686,393	9.6%	42.3%	45.3%	7.9%	1.8%	53.0%	47.0%	1,159,215	49.3%	31.9%	15.9%	2.9%

EXHIBIT 34

New Mexico Voter Registration Statistics by Congressional District

As of November 30, 2022

DISTRICT	DEMOCRATIC		LIBERTARIAN		REPUBLICAN		OTHER		TOTAL
DISTRICT 1	215,074	43 %	6,253	1 %	161,205	32 %	118,803	24 %	501,335 37 %
DISTRICT 2	178,414	43 %	4,493	1 %	129,296	31 %	104,348	25 %	416,551 30 %
DISTRICT 3	211,587	47 %	4,206	1 %	136,611	30 %	98,940	22 %	451,344 33 %
Total	605,075	44 %	14,952	1 %	427,112	31 %	322,091	24 %	1,369,230

EXHIBIT 35

Republican Party of New Mexico, et al. v. Maggie Toulouse Oliver, et al.
Jowei Chen, Ph.D.

September 10, 2023
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STATE OF NEW MEXICO
COUNTY OF LEA
FIFTH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO, DAVID
GALLEGOS, TIMOTHY JENNINGS, DINAH
VARGAS, MANUEL GONZALES, JR., BOBBY AND
DEE AN KIMBRO, and PEARL GARCIA,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

No. D-506-CV-2022-00041

MAGGIE TOLOUSE OLIVER, in her official
capacity as New Mexico Secretary of
State, MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM, in her
official capacity as Governor of New
Mexico, HOWIE MORALES, in his official
capacity as New Mexico Lieutenant
Governor and President of the New Mexico
Senate, MIMI STEWART, in her official
capacity as President Pro Tempore of the
New Mexico Senate, and JAVIER MARTINEZ,
in his official capacity as Speaker of
the New Mexico House of Representatives,
Defendants.

VIDEO-RECORDED ZOOM DEPOSITION OF JOWEI CHEN, Ph.D.
September 10, 2023
12:30 P.M. - 5:55 P.M.

PURSUANT TO THE NEW MEXICO RULES OF CIVIL
PROCEDURE, this deposition was:
TAKEN BY: MOLLY DiRAGO
Attorney for PLAINTIFFS

REPORTED BY: Sarah R. Padilla, RPR, CSR, NM CCR#525
TRATTEL COURT REPORTING & VIDEOGRAPHY
P.O. BOX 36297
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87176

Trattel Court Reporting & Videography
505-830-0600

EXHIBIT 35

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 66</p> <p>1 Q How have you been using it for five years if it 2 hasn't been around that long? 3 A I am just not sure I understand the question. 4 You are asking me how have I been using sequential -- 5 Q Something that wasn't created when you say you 6 were using it. 7 A Okay. So you are asking me how was I using an 8 SMC in 2017? Is that -- that is the question? 9 Q Yes, that is a great question. 10 A Okay. Sure. That makes sense. I certainly 11 did not call the algorithm a Sequential Monte Carlo in 12 2017. I definitely was -- was constructing districts 13 sequentially in the sense that we now refer in the 14 literature to as Sequential Monte Carlo. But I 15 certainly did not -- did not come up with that term 16 myself. 17 Q Do you know what Wilson's algorithm is? 18 A I don't know what you are referring to. 19 Q So you don't know how Wilson's algorithm plays 20 into the MCMC technique you are using? 21 A I understand what Wilson's algorithm is 22 referring to in the context of the spanning tree portion 23 of the SMC, if that is what you are referring to. 24 Q Do you know what Wilson -- now you confused me. 25 Do you know what Wilson's algorithm is?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 68</p> <p>1 <u>A Certainly, when I -- I look for a lot of</u> 2 <u>things. Obviously I am looking to make sure that the</u> 3 <u>algorithm actually saves maps and outputs them. I look</u> 4 <u>at the maps and certainly I look to make sure that they</u> 5 <u>are not duplicates. I look to make sure that the maps are</u> 6 <u>actually producing districts that are equally populated.</u> 7 <u>There are any number of things that I would do to just</u> 8 <u>check the work. But, certainly, at the core of that is just</u> 9 <u>saving the maps and outputting them, saving those map</u> 10 <u>files so that they can be checked.</u> 11 Q So you saved the maps to check them and you 12 said you look for duplicates and you see if the 13 districts are equally populated. Do you do anything 14 else to validate them? 15 A There may be a lot of other steps. I would say 16 those are some of the most important. Certainly, I 17 would look at other characteristics of them. Obviously, I 18 analyze them in terms of their partisanship. But those 19 are some of the most important things. 20 Q Did you do that with the 1,000 maps that are 21 the subject of your expert report here? 22 A Well, sure, I certainly outputted the maps, saved 23 the maps, saved the simulation output, I saved those 24 files. I check to make sure that they were actually 25 equally-populated districts. Those are a part</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 67</p> <p>1 A In the context of the spanning tree of the SMC, 2 sure. 3 Q Why did you answer no when I originally asked 4 you? 5 A I didn't know the context that you were using 6 that term, I am sure. 7 Q Okay. So have you run your core methodology 8 against a sample set to validate it? 9 A What do you mean by sample set? 10 Q Have you done anything to validate it? 11 A Sure. When I review the simulations using my 12 <u>algorithm, I save the maps, I output the maps, and then</u> 13 <u>I look at those maps, and I make sure that those maps</u> 14 <u>are actually random, that they are doing what I</u> 15 <u>programmed the algorithm to do, and I make sure I</u> 16 <u>save that work. So that is how I look at the maps that</u> 17 <u>are being produced by the algorithm.</u> 18 Q That is the only thing you do to validate the 19 maps that you produce from the algorithm? 20 A It is not the only thing that I do that 21 <u>validates the algorithm. But I would say that saving</u> 22 <u>the work, actually looking at the maps, and analyzing</u> 23 <u>those maps are part of what I do.</u> 24 Q And what are you looking for specifically when you 25 do that?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 69</p> <p>1 of the things that I normally check for. I guess, 2 necessary to that, like I said earlier, I checked the 3 simulated maps to make sure it is not producing a large 4 number of duplicates. 5 Q Okay. So if we can look back at page 33 of 6 your expert report, which were the articles that you 7 said were peer reviewed. 8 A Okay. The one -- when we were talking about 9 this page earlier, I pointed you to two articles. 10 Q Yes. 11 A It is the California Law Review article, and 12 then there is in 2021 -- there is a Yale Law Journal 13 article in 2021. 14 Q Those are peer reviewed? I actually went to 15 California -- University of California Law School. And 16 I didn't realize that law review articles are peer 17 reviewed. 18 A It is my understanding that they are. My -- I 19 definitely know for sure Yale Law Journal is peer 20 reviewed. I can't say I specifically remember for sure 21 about the California review. I definitely know for sure 22 Yale -- I'm sorry -- Yale Law Journal is peer reviewed. 23 Q I guess the other article that I referred to 24 earlier was -- or that we were talking about earlier is 25 Election Law Journal?</p>

18 (Pages 66 to 69)

EXHIBIT 35

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1 A So I have not -- and sorry. I am just to going
2 finish my answer and be brief here. So my algorithm
3 produces maps on actual jurisdictions, say, for example,
4 an actual state. And so I am not checking it by
5 running -- I am not validating it against a -- say, a
6 25-precinct map. That is not the entirety of Florida.
7 That is not the purpose or that is not the point of my
8 algorithm. And so I am not doing that.

9 Q Is it because you are not able to do it?

10 A No. You certainly could. I mean, I certainly
11 could look at or produce simulations for a not real
12 state. But that is not the work that I do. I use the
13 algorithm to produce actual maps for an actual state.
14 So that is what I am interested in.

15 Q So you have never been able to validate that
16 your algorithm actually produces a wide -- a reliable
17 set of data and compare maps to; correct?

18 A That is incorrect. I am going to stick with my
19 earlier answer, which is that when I use my simulation
20 algorithm, I am able to because I have programmed the
21 algorithm to output maps to save these maps, to save the
22 files, to save the output files, so that I can actually
23 look at them and I can actually check them. And
24 importantly, I am able to look at the entire map for the
25 entire state, for every map that my algorithm is

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1 producing. I am interested in checking the entire map
2 for the entire state of New Mexico that my algorithm has
3 produced, not, say, a 25-precinct subset that is not
4 describing the entire state. So that is what I am
5 interested in doing. So that is why I do the work that
6 I do with producing a map for the entire state, saving it,
7 looking at it, and checking the entire map, and making
8 sure that those maps are output and saved.

9 Q So you have never validated your maps against a
10 known sample set; right? I mean, you said you validate
11 it. But you are talking about looking at it and making
12 sure there are no duplicates, but I am talking about
13 more of a rigorous scientific validation.

14 A Okay. My answer is that I think this is a rigorous
15 scientific examination that I am doing here. I am looking
16 at the actual maps that are produced for an actual state.
17 So I am sticking with my previous answer to that
18 question.

19 Q How do you know that your algorithm is
20 producing a reliable set of maps?

21 A So when I produce an algorithm, I make sure that
22 the map -- that those maps are outputted and saved. And
23 that is the most important thing. That is the most
24 important step I take is I save these maps and that I or
25 somebody else is able to look at those maps. And so I

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1 check. I, of course, know what went into the algorithm.
2 But I check the actual maps. I can check, for example,
3 to make sure that the algorithm produced a diverse set
4 of maps. I check, for example, to make sure that it
5 is not producing duplicate maps over and over and over
6 again. I check to make sure that those maps are not the
7 same and essentially just producing the same map in
8 every different simulation or every run of the simulation.
9 Those are the things that I check for.

10 I, of course, check to make sure that the
11 populations of the districts are what I have programmed
12 or essentially it is drawing districts that are equally
13 populated. So I check the district populations. And I
14 check to make sure that there are not, say, significant
15 population deviations. And, certainly, I check other
16 features.

17 But in order to do that check, I need to look
18 at the actual map for the entire state of New Mexico that
19 the computer is producing. I have to look at the entire
20 state and the map that is being produced for that entire
21 state. So in order to do that, I need to make sure that,
22 one, the algorithm is actually producing, outputting, and
23 saving those maps; and, two, that I am actually looking
24 at those maps for the entire state. That is the most
25 important thing.

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1 Q So all that that you just mentioned that you
2 look at to validate your maps, did you do that with the
3 algorithm that you used that is referenced in the 2015
4 Election Law Journal?

5 A I don't specifically remember the steps that I
6 took for that 2015 article. I am sure I did -- I
7 produced an algorithm that actually saved or outputted
8 maps. Of course, it was a 2015 article. So that is
9 eight years ago. And I don't specifically remember
10 everything that I did. But, certainly, I would have
11 outputted the maps and looked at those maps in the ways
12 that I have described here.

13 Q Okay. But that wasn't good enough, was it?

14 A I am not understanding the question.

15 Q Well, I think you know that your -- the
16 algorithm that you used to use has been discredited by
17 your peers. So what I am trying to figure out -- and in
18 this article -- and I can -- maybe I will sort of point
19 you to what they say about it. But they really
20 recommend validating algorithms against a known sample
21 so that you understand if your output is reliable or
22 not. And that goes way beyond just eyeballing it.

23 So I guess I am asking, did you -- the same
24 methods that you used to validate your core methodology
25 now, did you use to validate your methodologies that you

24 (Pages 90 to 93)