

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION**

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS; TRIANA  
ARNOLD JAMES; ELLIOTT  
HENNINGTON; ROBERT RICHARDS;  
JENS RUECKERT; and OJUAN GLAZE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official  
capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State;  
WILLIAM S. DUFFEY, JR., in his official  
capacity as chair of the State Election  
Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his  
official capacity as a member of the State  
Election Board; SARA TINDALL  
GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a  
member of the State Election Board;  
EDWARD LINDSEY, in his official  
capacity as a member of the State Election  
Board; and JANICE W. JOHNSTON, in  
her official capacity as a member of the  
State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE  
NO. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

**SECOND DECLARATION OF JONATHAN P. HAWLEY IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT**

I, Jonathan P. Hawley, hereby declare under penalty of perjury under the laws  
of the United States as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18 and competent to make this declaration. I am an associate with the law firm Elias Law Group LLP and am admitted to practice law in the States of Washington, California, and Montana and the District of Columbia and before multiple federal courts of appeals and district courts. I am admitted in this Court *pro hac vice* in the above-captioned matter as counsel for Plaintiffs.

2. I submit this declaration to provide the Court true and correct copies of certain documents submitted in support of Plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment.

**Exhibit 28** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Coakley Pendergrass, *see* ECF No. 34-5, dated January 3, 2022.

**Exhibit 29** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Triana Arnold James, *see* ECF No. 34-6, dated December 16, 2021.

**Exhibit 30** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Elliott Hennington, *see* ECF No. 34-7, dated December 21, 2021.

**Exhibit 31** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Robert Richards, *see* ECF No. 34-8, dated December 16, 2021.

**Exhibit 32** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Jens Rueckert, *see* ECF No. 34-9, dated December 20, 2021.

**Exhibit 33** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Ojuan Glaze, *see* ECF No. 34-10, dated December 29, 2021.

**Exhibit 34** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Coakley Pendergrass, *see* ECF No. 159, dated December 15, 2022.

**Exhibit 35** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Triana Arnold James, *see* ECF No. 160, dated December 7, 2022.

**Exhibit 36** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Elliott Hennington, *see* ECF No. 164, dated December 13, 2022.

**Exhibit 37** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Robert Richards, *see* ECF No. 161, dated December 5, 2022.

**Exhibit 38** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Jens Rueckert, *see* ECF No. 162, dated February 7, 2023.

**Exhibit 39** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Ojuan Glaze, *see* ECF No. 163, dated December 14, 2022.

**Exhibit 40** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of William S. Cooper, *see* ECF No. 167, dated February 14, 2023.

**Exhibit 41** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Dr. John R. Alford, *see* ECF No. 165-2, dated February 23, 2023.

**Exhibit 42** is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Dr. Maxwell Palmer, *see* ECF No. 168, dated February 22, 2023.

3. Additionally, I submit this declaration to provide the Court an index of the exhibits filed in support of Plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment that also appear elsewhere on the docket.

<b>Exhibit</b>	<b>Attorney Declaration</b>	<b>ECF No.</b>
Expert Report of William S. Cooper, dated December 5, 2022	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 1	174-1, 174-2
	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 1	190-1, 190-2
Expert report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer, dated December 12, 2022	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 2	174-3
	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 2	190-3
Supplemental expert report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer, dated December 22, 2022	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 3	174-4
	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 3	190-4

Exhibit	Attorney Declaration	ECF No.
Expert report of Dr. Orville Vernon Burton, dated December 5, 2022	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 4	174-5
	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 4	190-5
Expert report of John B. Morgan, dated January 23, 2023	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 6	174-7
	Plaintiffs' Notice of Corrected Filing, Ex. 5	192-1
Expert report of Dr. John R. Alford, dated February 6, 2023	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 7	174-8
	Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 6	190-10
Declaration of Coakley Pendergrass, dated January 3, 2022	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 5	34-5
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 28	___-1
Declaration of Triana Arnold James, dated December 16, 2021	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 6	34-6
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 29	___-2

Exhibit	Attorney Declaration	ECF No.
Declaration of Elliott Hennington, dated December 21, 2021	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 7	34-7
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 30	____-3
Declaration of Robert Richards, dated December 16, 2021	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 8	34-8
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 31	____-4
Declaration of Jens Rueckert, dated December 20, 2021	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 9	34-9
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 32	____-5
Declaration of Ojuan Glaze, dated December 29, 2021	Declaration of Kevin J. Hamilton in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 10	34-10
	Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 33	____-6

Dated: May 3, 2023

Respectfully submitted,

By: **Jonathan P. Hawley**  
Jonathan P. Hawley\*  
**ELIAS LAW GROUP LLP**  
1700 Seventh Avenue,  
Suite 2100  
Seattle, Washington 98101  
Phone: (206) 656-0179  
Facsimile: (206) 656-0180  
Email: JHawley@elias.law

*Counsel for Plaintiffs*

\*Admitted *pro hac vice*

# EXHIBIT 28



IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF COAKLEY PENDERGRASS  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Coakley Pendergrass, declare as follows:

1. My name is Coakley Pendergrass. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 428 Cedar Trace SW, Marietta, GA 30008 in Cobb County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Eleventh Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: 1/3/2022

By: Coakley Pendergrass

Coakley Pendergrass

# EXHIBIT 29

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Triana Arnold James, declare as follows:

1. My name is Triana Arnold James. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 3007 Summer Breeze Dr., Villa Rica GA 30180 in Douglas County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Third Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: 12/16/2021

By:  \_\_\_\_\_

Triana Arnold James

# EXHIBIT 30

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF ELLIOTT HENNINGTON  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Elliott Hennington, declare as follows:

1. My name is Elliott Hennington. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 5169 Glendora Dr., Powder Springs, GA 30127 in Cobb County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Fourteenth Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: 12/21/2021

By:  \_\_\_\_\_

Elliott Hennington



# EXHIBIT 31

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF ROBERT RICHARDS  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Robert Richards, declare as follows:

1. My name is Robert Richards. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 2759 Carrick Ct., Powder Springs, GA 30127 in Cobb County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Fourteenth Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: <sup>12/16/2021</sup> \_\_\_\_\_

By:  \_\_\_\_\_

Robert Richards

# EXHIBIT 32

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF JENS RUECKERT  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Jens Rueckert, declare as follows:

1. My name is Jens Rueckert. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.

3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 4207 Brodie Ct, Powder Springs, GA 30127 in Cobb County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Fourteenth Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: 12/20/2021

By:  \_\_\_\_\_

Jens Rueckert

# EXHIBIT 33

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State; REBECCA N. SULLIVAN, in her official capacity as the Acting Chair of the State Election Board; SARA TINDALL GHAZAL, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; MATTHEW MASHBURN, in his official capacity as a member of the State Election Board; and ANH LE, in her official capacity as a member of the State Election Board,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

**DECLARATION OF OJUAN GLAZE  
IN SUPPORT OF  
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Ojuan Glaze, declare as follows:

1. My name is Ojuan Glaze. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a Black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia.



3. I possess all the qualifications of a Georgia voter: I am a citizen, I am at least 18 years old, I am not serving a sentence for a felony conviction, I have not been found mentally incompetent by a judge, and I am a legal resident of Georgia.

4. I am specifically registered to vote at 8494 Glenview Street, Douglasville GA 30134 in Douglas County, Georgia, which is located in Georgia's Thirteenth Congressional District under the newly enacted congressional plan.

5. I have previously voted in prior congressional elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future congressional elections in Georgia.

DATED: 12/29/2021

By: Ojuan Glaze

Ojuan Glaze

# EXHIBIT 34

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al., )

)

Plaintiffs, )

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v. )

CIVIL ACTION FILE NO.

)

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al., )

1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

)

Defendants. )

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The DEPOSITION of:

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS

Being taken pursuant to stipulations herein:

Before Kathryn Taylor, CCR

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2022

Commencing at 3:00 p.m.

All parties, including the court reporter, appeared by  
videoconference.

Job No. 5623315

1 this document?

2 A. I do.

3 Q. All right. Okay. Scrolling down to  
4 Paragraph 11 where it mentioned you specifically, do  
5 you agree with the statements in this paragraph?

6 A. I did when I first read it. Let me just  
7 scroll through it again and make sure.

8 Q. Do you need me to zoom in?

9 A. Say that again.

10 Q. Do you need me to zoom in on the paragraph?

11 A. Oh, no, I'm fine.

12 Q. Okay.

13 A. I agree with that, yes.

14 Q. Okay. Let me go ahead and stop sharing my  
15 screen.

16 All right. Did you reach out to any  
17 legislators during the 2021 special session concerning  
18 redistricting issues raised in your complaint?

19 A. No.

20 Q. How about before or after the special  
21 session?

22 A. Did I reach out to any legislators? No, I  
23 did not.

24 Q. Okay. Did you testify in the Georgia  
25 Assembly on those issues or any issues pertaining to

# EXHIBIT 35

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al., )  
Plaintiffs, ) CIVIL ACTION FILE NO.  
v. ) 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ  
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his )  
official capacity as the )  
Georgia Secretary of State, )  
et al., )  
Defendants. )

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COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al., )  
Plaintiffs, )  
v. ) CIVIL ACTION FILE NO.  
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al., ) 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ  
Defendants. )

The DEPOSITION of:

TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES

Being taken pursuant to stipulations herein:

Before Kathryn Taylor, CCR

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 2022 | Commencing at 4:00 p.m.

All parties, including the court reporter, appeared by  
videoconference.

Job No. 5609351

## Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

Page 46

1 Second Amended Complaint in this action.

2 Does that come up on your screen? Oh, excuse  
3 me. Do you see on your screen where it says, Second  
4 Amended Complaint?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Okay. And have you seen this document  
7 before?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Do you recall when?

10 A. No.

11 Q. Have you read through this document before?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Okay.

14 A. I believe I have.

15 Q. Do you generally know the allegations  
16 contained in this document?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Okay. I'm going to direct your attention to  
19 Paragraph 15, which I'm moving towards. Do you see  
20 Paragraph 15 here?

21 A. Can you make it a little bigger?

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. I'm not as young as I used to be. Yes.

24 Q. Okay. And let me -- let me know if you need  
25 to read through it real quickly, but does this

Page 46

1 paragraph here accurately describe the facts as they  
2 pertain to you?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And I'll just scroll down real quick so you  
5 can kind of see the end of it and just make sure.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Okay. See here on the -- let's see, I'm  
8 going to see if I can highlight this for you. See  
9 where it says, "She is a resident of Douglas County."  
10 "She" referring to you, "is a resident of Douglas  
11 County and located in Senate District 30 and House  
12 District 64 under the enacted plans."

13 A. Yes, I see it.

14 Q. Okay. And you said you did vote in the most  
15 recent election?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Was your selection for Senate District 30  
18 successful in the most recent election?

19 A. There was no -- there was no challenger in  
20 District 30.

21 Q. Okay. Was it just an incumbent inside  
22 District 30 then?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Okay. And what -- do you recall what party  
25 the incumbent was?



# EXHIBIT 36

Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

Page 1

1 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
2 FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
3 ATLANTA DIVISION

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5 CASE NUMBER: 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

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7 COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al.,  
8 PLAINTIFFS,

9  
10 V.

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12 BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al.,  
13 DEFENDANTS.

14  
15 DEPOSITION TESTIMONY OF:  
16 ELLIOTT HENNINGTON  
17 December 13, 2022

18  
19 S T I P U L A T I O N S

20 IT IS STIPULATED AND AGREED by and  
21 between the parties through their respective  
22 counsel that the deposition of ELLIOTT  
23 HENNINGTON may be taken before Mallory B.

1 A. Oh, I'm sorry.

2 Q. No, no, that was my poor phrasing  
3 there.

4 A. Okay. Next page?

5 Yes, I'm done. Thank you.

6 Q. So we touched on this, but do you  
7 recognize the allegations contained in that  
8 paragraph?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. And is that information contained in  
11 the paragraph accurate as it relates to you?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Now, I know we had some questions  
14 about it earlier, but did you see in the  
15 paragraph the congressional district in which  
16 you reside?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. So are you familiar now that it is  
19 the 14th Congressional District?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. And you mentioned you voted in  
22 the 2022 general election, correct?

23 A. Yes.

# EXHIBIT 37

Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

\_\_\_\_\_

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Civil Action File

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al.,

No:

Defendants.

1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

\_\_\_\_\_

VIDEOCONFERENCE DEPOSITION OF

ROBERT RAY RICHARDS

DATE: Monday, December 5, 2022

TIME: 1:08 p.m.

LOCATION: Remote Proceeding

Powder Springs, GA [REDACTED]

REPORTED BY: Daniel Almekinder, Notary Public

JOB NO.: 5609279

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P R O C E E D I N G S

THE REPORTER: Good afternoon. My name is Daniel Almekinder; I am the reporter assigned by Veritext to take the record of this proceeding. We are now on the record at 1:08 p.m. Eastern.

This is the deposition of Richard -- excuse me -- Robert Richards taken in the matter of Coakley Pendergrass, et al. vs. Brad Raffensperger, et al. on December 5th -- December 5, 2022, at [REDACTED], Powder Springs, Georgia [REDACTED]

I am a notary authorized to take acknowledgments and administer oaths in Georgia. Parties agree that I will swear in the witness remotely.

Additionally, absent an objection on the record before the witness is sworn, all parties and the witness understand and agree that any certified transcript produced from the recording of this proceeding:

- is intended for all uses permitted under applicable procedural and evidentiary rules and laws in the same manner as a deposition recorded by stenographic means; and
- shall constitute written stipulation

1 discussed with your attorney.

2 So I just want to make sure that you know  
3 that I'm not referring to that. It's just simply --  
4 because I would understand that you spoke with your  
5 lawyer before the deposition. Would that be correct?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Did you speak with anyone else outside --

8 A I have not.

9 Q Okay. Have you made any notes or memos or  
10 documents -- or written documents or electronic  
11 documents that relate in any way to this case?

12 A No.

13 Q You mentioned earlier, Mr. Richards, that  
14 you live on [REDACTED] in Powder Springs; is that  
15 correct?

16 A Yes. It's hard to say. Yes.

17 Q Okay. I know. I almost said [REDACTED] but I  
18 can see that it's [REDACTED].

19 And how long have you lived at that address?

20 A 2016. June 2016.

21 Q And that address is in Powder Springs;  
22 correct?

23 A It is, yes.

24 Q And in Cobb County; correct?

25 A Yes.

# EXHIBIT 38



Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al. )

)

Plaintiffs, )

)

CIVIL ACTION

vs. )

FILE NO.

)

1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al., )

)

Defendants. )

---

DEPOSITION OF:

Jens Rueckert

Tuesday, February 7th, 2023

8:57 a.m.

via Zoom videoconference

\*\*\*\*\*

Amanda A. Bilbrey, CCR

1 you want to keep plowing ahead?

2 A I would like to press on.

3 Q Okay. Perfect. Now, I am going to share my  
4 screen again with what will be marked as Defendants'  
5 Exhibit 2. This is the amended complaint that  
6 plaintiffs have filed in this matter.

7 (Defendants' Exhibit No. 2 was marked for  
8 identification.)

9 BY MR. WEIGEL:

10 Q Can you see my screen, Mr. Rueckert?

11 A Yes, sir.

12 Q And do you see amended complaint at the top?

13 A Yes, I do.

14 Q Have you read this complaint, or a version  
15 of this complaint?

16 A Yes, I have.

17 Q And are you familiar with the allegations in  
18 this complaint?

19 A Yes, I am.

20 Q How about the allegations concerning you  
21 specifically in this complaint, are you familiar with  
22 those?

23 A Yes.

24 Q And now I'm going to scroll down to  
25 Paragraph 15 of the amended complaint, and this is

1 going to be on page 7. And I will try to get that all  
2 in the screen right there. Perfect.

3 Can you see Paragraph 15 in its entirety,  
4 Mr. Rueckert?

5 A Yes, sir, I can.

6 Q Okay. Now I'm just going to quickly ask you  
7 to read through that paragraph to yourself, and just  
8 let me know when you're finished.

9 A I'm finished.

10 Q And do you recognize the allegations  
11 contained in this paragraph?

12 A Yes. Those are allegations that you and I  
13 have been discussing.

14 Q Yeah. Absolutely. And just to confirm, is  
15 the information contained in this paragraph accurate  
16 as it relates to you?

17 A Yes, they are.

18 Q Perfect. And I will stop sharing now. We  
19 should be back in the normal view.

20 And we touched on this a little bit earlier,  
21 but -- and we've touched on it throughout, actually,  
22 but you reside in Congressional District 14; is that  
23 correct?

24 A That is correct.

25 Q And you mentioned that you voted in the 2022

# EXHIBIT 39

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al., )  
)  
Plaintiff, )  
)  
vs. ) CIVIL ACTION FILE  
) NO. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ  
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al., )  
)  
Defendants. )  
\_\_\_\_\_)

Deposition of Ojuan Glaze

December 14, 2022

10:08 a.m.

Remote via Zoom technology

Reported by: Carla J. Hopson, RPR, CCR-1816

1 Q I'm not asking any legal conclusion,  
2 just your general knowledge, Mr. Glaze?

3 A That's my understanding.

4 Could you give me one second real quick?  
5 Is that okay?

6 Q Sure. Why don't -- yeah, we can -- why  
7 don't -- do you want to take like a -- just a  
8 five-minute break.

9 A Yes.

10 (Recess.)

11 Q (By Ms. LaRoss) Mr. Glaze, are you ready  
12 to go?

13 A Ready.

14 Q Thank you. I had asked you about the  
15 amended complaint in this case. I would show it to  
16 you but my share screen is disabled, so I'm just  
17 going to read for you a couple of the sentences from  
18 the complaint and you can just tell me if they're  
19 accurate or not. I apologize that I'm not just  
20 showing it to you.

21 So Paragraph 16 of the amended complaint  
22 says -- it begins, it says, Plaintiff, Ojuan Glaze,  
23 is a black citizen of the United States and the  
24 state of Georgia. Mr. Glaze is a registered voter  
25 and intends to vote in future congregational

1 elections. He is a resident of Douglas County and  
2 located in the 13th congregational district under  
3 the inactive plan.

4 Are all of those statements true and  
5 correct today?

6 A That's correct.

7 Q Okay. And you intend to vote in future  
8 congressional elections?

9 A I do.

10 Q And what candidate did you vote for in  
11 the 13th Congressional District this past November?

12 A David Scott.

13 Q Had you voted for Mr. Scott previously?

14 A I have.

15 Q Did you reach out to any legislators  
16 during the 2021 special session of the General  
17 Assembly here in Georgia? And I'm asking  
18 specifically concerning redistricting.

19 A No.

20 Q Had you reached out to any legislators  
21 in the General Assembly concerning restricting  
22 issues before the 2021 special election? Sorry.  
23 Special session, excuse me, on the General Assembly.

24 A Not redistricting -- not redistricting,  
25 no.

# EXHIBIT 40



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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

	)	
COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, ET AL.,	)	CIVIL ACTION NO.
	)	1:21-CV-05339-SCJ
PLAINTIFFS,	)	
	)	
v.	)	
	)	
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, ET AL.,	)	
	)	
DEFENDANTS.	)	

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DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM S. COOPER  
(TAKEN by DEFENDANTS)  
ATTENDING VIA ZOOM IN BRISTOL, VIRGINIA  
FEBRUARY 14, 2023

REPORTED BY: Meredith R. Schramek  
Registered Professional Reporter  
Notary Public  
(Via Zoom in Mecklenburg County,  
North Carolina)

1 expert report submitted on December 5th; is that right?

2 A Yes.

3 Q When you were drawing both the illustrative  
4 plan for the preliminary injunction hearing and the  
5 illustrative plan in your 12/5 report, it would be fair  
6 to say your goal was to add a majority black  
7 congressional district above the number drawn by the  
8 General Assembly; is that right?

9 A No, that was not my goal. My goal was to  
10 determine whether it was possible while, at the same  
11 time, to include traditional redistricting principles.

12 Q Did you attempt to draw more than one  
13 additional congressional map? I mean -- I'm sorry.  
14 Let me start that over again.

15 Did you attempt to draw more than one  
16 additional majority black district as part of your  
17 analysis of Georgia's congressional plan?

18 MS. KHANNA: I'm going to object to the  
19 extent that this calls for discussion of any draft  
20 reports or draft maps which are protected under the  
21 federal rules.

22 So, Bill, I'll instruct you not to answer to  
23 the extent it would discuss any of the draft reports or  
24 draft maps, but you can answer otherwise if you can.

25 THE WITNESS: Okay. Well, I did not attempt

1 South Georgia; right?

2 A That is my recollection, that that litigation  
3 and that district was focused on that area.

4 Q And in this case, you didn't consider any  
5 other areas of the state for an additional majority  
6 black district besides Metro Atlanta as indicated in  
7 your report; right?

8 A Well, that's true. Remember, in the Dwight  
9 case, I was relying on 2010 census data. So even  
10 though I was aware that there had been significant  
11 black population growth based on census estimates in  
12 2018, I was still stuck using the 2010 data for Metro  
13 Atlanta.

14 Q And do you recall -- well, I guess do you  
15 recall reviewing the growth in black population in  
16 Metro Atlanta as part of the Dwight case? And I know  
17 that was a long time ago so that may not be something  
18 you remember.

19 MS. KHANNA: I'm also going to object to the  
20 extent that this calls for any draft analyses in that  
21 case.

22 I know we're going even farther back in your  
23 memory, but you can answer if you can. But be careful  
24 about disclosing anything about your draft reports or  
25 draft analyses.

## Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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1 A I think it's synonymous.

2 Q Synonymous? So it's the same thing?

3 A Yes.

4 Q And then I know we talked about communities  
5 of interest a little while ago.

6 Looking at illustrative District 6 in  
7 Figure 10 there on page 20, what are the communities of  
8 interest that you can identify located in illustrative  
9 District 6?

10 A Well, illustrative District 6 is largely  
11 suburban/exurban Atlanta. So it's part of the Atlanta  
12 core counties, the 11 core counties, which are also  
13 part of the Atlanta MSA. So there are economic and  
14 transportation commonalities there, lots of small  
15 cities. It can get sort of rural once you get out into  
16 western Douglas County, for example. I took a little  
17 spin around the district in -- on Saturday after our  
18 deposition on Friday of last week and visited parts of  
19 Douglas and extended all the way -- drove actually  
20 almost halfway to Villa Rica.

21 I guess you say it differently though, don't  
22 you? How do you say that?

23 Q We say "Villa Rica." That's where my Tysons  
24 are from actually, is in Villa Rica.

25 A Pardon?

1 into Columbus?

2 A Well, the 2021 plan goes as far north as the  
3 Douglas County line. And then when you get to Paulding  
4 County, it becomes part of District 14. So Paulding is  
5 exurban, part of Metro Atlanta. And so I have included  
6 Paulding County and a bit of Cobb County, which is a  
7 good fit because Paulding is clearly a growing county  
8 that is closely linked with the Metro Atlanta area, and  
9 it may not be as closely related to Columbus. But at  
10 some point, one does have to join areas that are not  
11 necessarily next-door neighbors just to find 765,000  
12 people.

13 I don't think it would in any way be an issue  
14 overall.

15 Q So am I hearing you correctly, then, that you  
16 can't identify a specific community beyond the  
17 connection between Paulding and Cobb Counties but that  
18 at some point, one person, one vote means you have to  
19 reach the right number of people? Is that right?

20 A Well, that is a factor, but I don't think  
21 that Columbus is so different that it is problematic to  
22 include that part of western Georgia with Metro  
23 Atlanta, western part, along Paulding and Carroll  
24 County lines there.

25 Q Do you think that's also true of the enacted

1 District 14, which combines West Cobb and Paulding with  
2 areas running north?

3 A It's less of a problem, I think. Because  
4 really, once you -- once you include South Cobb County  
5 into District 14, you're in effect adding in Cobb  
6 County -- you're placing Cobb County not only into a  
7 district that includes the suburbs of Chattanooga, but  
8 also into a district that is part of Appalachia. And  
9 so it's quite different.

10 I think the distinction there is probably  
11 greater than would be the distinction between Cobb  
12 County and the Columbus area. Although Cobb County  
13 does have a high mountain; right? Kennesaw Mountain is  
14 a thousand feet or something like that. I'm only being  
15 halfway facetious. It's not quite as mountainous as  
16 some parts of existing District 14.

17 Q So just so I understand, existing District 14  
18 takes in part of western Cobb County in the south part  
19 of the county. Illustrative District 3 takes in part  
20 of western Cobb County not quite as far south. Both  
21 unite that western part of Cobb County with more rural  
22 areas and other metropolitan areas.

23 What is the distinction between those two  
24 decisions of how to split Cobb County that you see?

25 A Well, I sort of tried to make that

1 Hancock and other counties, Taliaferro in eastern  
2 Georgia being part of a new majority black state senate  
3 district that you created in one of the other cases;  
4 right?

5 A We have discussed that in the other case.

6 Q So can you tell me what the community of  
7 interest is between majority black Hancock County and  
8 the Appalachian Mountains and Rabun and Towns County on  
9 the North Carolina border?

10 A Well, again, the connection is not very  
11 strong, but one has to balance out the populations so  
12 that you have 14 districts that are roughly 765,000  
13 people. So, again, there would be other ways to draw  
14 it.

15 Q So, Mr. Cooper, when you talked about, in  
16 paragraph 48, the illustrative plan adhering to  
17 traditional principles and you listed the various  
18 principles, it sounds like what you're saying is  
19 population equality is really the most important  
20 principle even more so than being able to explain where  
21 there's communities of interest between different parts  
22 of districts.

23 Do I have that right?

24 A Well, actually I think you do. It's a  
25 nonstarter. If it doesn't meet population equality or

## Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

Page 69

1 something very close to plus or minus one, then it's a  
2 nonstarter. Right?

3 Q And so then after population equality, what  
4 other traditional redistricting principles explain the  
5 configuration of District 10 on the illustrative plan?

6 A I was following county boundaries. I think  
7 there's a split of Wilkes County. And I believe  
8 Lumpkin County, but there are no other county splits I  
9 believe, unless -- maybe Hall County is split.

10 But I was attempting to draw a plan that was  
11 reasonably compact, reasonably shaped that -- I had the  
12 information about the incumbents, I think, at maybe the  
13 latter stage of drawing the plan. So I was probably  
14 attempting to avoid placing a couple of incumbents who  
15 live very close to one another in the Jackson County  
16 area, I think. I was attempting to put them, maybe, in  
17 different districts even though I understand they don't  
18 have to be, I believe. I'm not looking at the  
19 incumbents right now and haven't done so since  
20 December.

21 Q So, Mr. Cooper, in paragraph 48, I didn't see  
22 where you listed incumbents as a traditional principle  
23 as part of the illustrative plan, and thought that we  
24 had talked about earlier that incumbency wasn't as  
25 important.



## Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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1           Did you use incumbency data in the drawing of  
2           the illustrative plan?

3           A       I was sort of aware of where I thought the  
4           incumbents lived. It's always in the background. So  
5           that was in the background.

6           Q       So beyond incumbency and keeping counties  
7           whole minus Hall, Lumpkin, and Wilkes Counties, and  
8           population equality, are there any other traditional  
9           redistricting principles that went into the districting  
10          of District 10?

11          A       Well, I had to make the plan reasonably  
12          compact. I tried to follow county boundaries. The  
13          district's contiguous. It looks as compact as the  
14          districts that have been drawn in the enacted plan.  
15          But it could be drawn differently.

16          Q       But you'd agree that there's not a community  
17          of interest between majority black Hancock County and  
18          Rabun County in extreme northwest Georgia, wouldn't  
19          you?

20          A       They are different. They are different. And  
21          so I am open to other suggestions for how one might  
22          draw District 10.

23          Q       And I understand they're different. My  
24          question was: You'd agree there's not a community of  
25          interest between Hancock and Rabun counties; right?

## Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

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1           A       Well, not entirely. Because most counties  
2       are quite poor. And in Rabun County, you'd be talking  
3       about poor whites. And in Hancock County, a fairly  
4       significant black population that is not experiencing  
5       prosperity. So there are connections there. There are  
6       connections in that regard.

7           Q       So you believe a community of interest in  
8       illustrative District 10 would be poor white voters in  
9       the Rabun and similar socioeconomic status black voters  
10      in Hancock County?

11          A       Could be. Could be. On certain  
12      socioeconomic issues.

13          Q       Was that the community of interest you  
14      considered when you drew illustrative District 10?

15          A       When I was drawing District 10, I was mainly  
16      trying to avoid splitting counties and meet one person,  
17      one vote requirements. And I was aware that there are  
18      different areas in the sense that Rabun County is  
19      Appalachian and that parts of the southern end of  
20      District 10 are in the historic black belt.

21          Q       And you'd agree that Athens and Clark County  
22      is included in District 10 on the illustrative plan;  
23      right?

24          A       That's right. There's a university there.

25          Q       And --

1 District 13 in Clayton County begins near the Atlanta  
2 airport as you've drawn it?

3 A Yes.

4 Q And you'd agree that Butts and Jasper  
5 Counties on the eastern side of District 13 as drawn  
6 are rural counties; right?

7 A They are rural, but still part of Metro  
8 Atlanta. In other words, the Census Bureau has  
9 determined that there's a 29-county area where there  
10 are commuting and transportation ties that are  
11 significant enough to put those counties into Metro  
12 Atlanta.

13 Q But you agree that District 13 as drawn  
14 connects urban areas in Clayton County with rural areas  
15 in Fayette, Spalding, Butts, and Jasper Counties;  
16 right?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Are you aware that the only majority black  
19 portions of any county in District 13 as drawn is the  
20 portions in Clayton and Newton Counties?

21 A Well, there's obviously black population and  
22 significant black population in some of the other  
23 counties. Henry County is almost majority black. It's  
24 50/50. And the black population is growing. Fayette  
25 County has a significant black population that is

## Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

Page 86

1 have 765,000 people. So it's not just in Georgia, it's  
2 in any state you're going to sometimes have to include  
3 urban and rural voters in a congressional plan no  
4 matter whether you like doing so or not.

5 Q And you'd agree illustrative District 10  
6 mixes Appalachian North Georgia with parts of the black  
7 belt in Eastern Georgia; right?

8 A It does. It does.

9 Q And you reference Douglas, Fulton, and  
10 Fayette Counties being core Metro Atlanta counties in  
11 the Atlanta Regional Commission in paragraph 68.

12 Do you see that?

13 A Yeah.

14 Q And is Coweta County also a core Metro  
15 Atlanta county under the Atlanta Regional Commission?

16 A I'm not sure. There are 11 counties and I'm  
17 not sure Coweta is part of it.

18 Q Are you aware that Coweta County touches  
19 Douglas, Fulton, and Fayette Counties?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And you put Coweta County in a district with  
22 Columbus, Georgia, on the illustrative plan; right?

23 A I did, yes. Is that bad?

24 Q I guess what I'm trying to understand is  
25 you're criticizing the enacted plan for mixing

# EXHIBIT 41

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

\_\_\_\_\_)  
 COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al., )  
 )  
 Plaintiffs, )  
 vs. )  
 ) Civil Action No.  
 BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his ) 2:21-CV-05449-SCJ  
 official capacity as the )  
 Georgia Secretary of State, )  
 et al., )  
 )  
 Defendants. )

\_\_\_\_\_)  
 ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al., )  
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 Plaintiffs, )  
 vs. ) Civil Action No.  
 ) 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ  
 BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his )  
 official capacity as the )  
 Georgia Secretary of State, )  
 et al., )  
 )  
 Defendants. )

Videotaped deposition of DR. JOHN ALFORD, taken remotely in the above-captioned cause, before Rachel F. Gard, CSR, RPR, CRR, commencing at the hour of 11:00 a.m. Eastern on Thursday, February 23, 2023.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 DIGITAL EVIDENCE GROUP  
 1730 M Street, NW, Suite 812  
 Washington, D.C. 20036  
 (202) 232-0646

1 government except making sure everybody is  
2 carrying a pistol.

3 But certainly for any court, as it was for  
4 the court that Brennan was working with, you can't  
5 approach an issue like the legitimacy of an  
6 application of the Voting Rights Act, if you're  
7 going to blind yourself to evidence presented by  
8 the plaintiffs as convincing, solid evidence that  
9 their expert backs that shows that the racial cue  
10 in the election makes no difference at all to the  
11 behavior, voting behavior of blacks or whites.

12 Q So we've been going for about 90 minutes  
13 now. It might be -- we might be approaching a  
14 good time to take a break. But before we do, I  
15 just want to have a couple follow-up questions to  
16 what we've been talking about.

17 The first one is: Just when -- and we'll  
18 get into this more a little later on. But you  
19 just suggested that the analysis that you're  
20 purporting to undertake doesn't have a causation  
21 element. But when you say that these results  
22 demonstrate that the polarization is on account as

1 party affiliation, how can that be construed as  
2 anything but a causal conclusion? Isn't that by  
3 necessity what "on account of" means? You're  
4 looking for a factor that explains the reasons for  
5 something, not merely observing what the data --  
6 not merely, not merely seeing what the data on its  
7 face demonstrates, I guess that's my question.

8 A That's a good question. I think so the  
9 issue that you're going to get at is sort of, is  
10 this -- when we look at the data, we can clearly  
11 see that these groups vote difference in a party  
12 sense, blacks are voting for the Democrat  
13 overwhelmingly, whites are voting for the  
14 Republican overwhelmingly. So that appears to  
15 demonstrate the party of the candidate appears to  
16 be having an effect, right.

17 That's compatible with a whole lot of  
18 arguments about partisan causation, okay. It is  
19 not evidence of causation. It's evidence that it  
20 might be fruitful and certainly suggests that  
21 there may be some connection. It's an awfully  
22 strong pattern, durable across -- up and down the



1 ballot and across the country, it's an awfully  
2 durable element if it doesn't have some causal  
3 connection. But in and of itself, right, it just  
4 ultimately is a correlation. It is not a causal  
5 inquiry.

6 So it is definitely evidence of a clear  
7 partisan voting pattern, right. There's a clear  
8 connection between the party label and the  
9 candidate and the behavior of the voters. But  
10 whether that connection is causal or not is a  
11 different kind of inquiry. EI is never going to  
12 answer a causation question. It can barely answer  
13 a correlated question, unless the evidence is  
14 really as clear as it is here, right.

15 So the question -- the answer is that is  
16 the evidence here is clearly compatible with any  
17 number of arguments in which partisanship might be  
18 causal. That's not the case, right. So, for  
19 example, what we saw here was that the party of  
20 the candidate didn't make any difference to this  
21 pattern at all. So all I'm asking to be  
22 recognized here is if a pattern shows no

1 established causation or not. All you've  
2 established there is that you don't want to  
3 discuss causation.

4 Q But as you just noted -- we'll get into  
5 this as well. Causation with the data we have in  
6 front of us is difficult to ascertain, correct?

7 A So we're moving into the area that's more  
8 about kind of philosophy of science than it is  
9 about redistricting, okay. So causation is a big  
10 topic in political science now. Causation is a  
11 big topic in the sciences in general. To the  
12 degree we see ourselves as a science, we're a  
13 lot -- we're now very actively involved in trying  
14 to transform ourselves from an associational  
15 discipline into a causal discipline, which means  
16 we do a lot of experimental work. We have a lot  
17 of quasiexperimental work. We have really  
18 fancy -- we now have two separate individuals in  
19 our department that just teach causal methodology.  
20 I can promise you, it looks nothing like this at  
21 all.

22 Establishing causation is a very difficult

1 scientific issue, and it's really kind of  
2 fundamental. It's being thrown around here in the  
3 common sense term of causation. It's not the  
4 scientific sense of causation. So I don't think  
5 anything -- when people say, well, isn't "on  
6 account of race" the same thing as establishing  
7 causation? In a colloquial sense, maybe. Even in  
8 a legal sense, probably. In a scientific sense,  
9 no.

10 Q Okay.

11 A In a scientific sense, I've never seen any  
12 work done in terms of the evidence that the Court  
13 is looking for or relies on that's come anywhere  
14 within a hundred miles of a causal analysis.

15 Q So then you would agree that the data we  
16 have, certainly the data we have in front of us in  
17 this case, is insufficient to draw conclusions as  
18 to causation, certainly in a scientific sense,  
19 correct?

20 A But the only thing we can draw from this  
21 is the evidence we have is very strong evidence  
22 that voters respond differently according to the

# EXHIBIT 42

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION

ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

CIVIL ACTION FILE  
NO. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his  
official capacity as the  
Georgia Secretary of  
State, et al.,

Defendants.

COAKLEY PENDERGRASS, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

CIVIL ACTION FILE  
NO. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, et al.,  
Defendants.

VIDEOTAPED ZOOM DEPOSITION OF  
MAXWELL PALMER, Ph.D.

February 22, 2023  
9:28 A.M.

Lee Ann Barnes, CCR-1852B, RPR, CRR, CRC

1           A.     I'm not if he was using the same data that  
2 was available to him. He might just be using the  
3 results of my report and not looking at the data  
4 itself.

5           COURT REPORTER: Excuse me. Could you  
6 repeat the objection, please? It was spoken  
7 over.

8           MR. JACOUTOT: It was just object to form.

9           COURT REPORTER: Thank you.

10          BY MR. HAWLEY:

11           Q.     With that data and with the methodology  
12 that you applied to reach your results, Dr. Palmer,  
13 is it possible for Dr. Alford to make a subjective  
14 determination as to causation, which is to say, why  
15 voters voted the way they did?

16           MR. JACOUTOT: Object to form.

17           THE WITNESS: I -- I don't believe so.

18           MR. HAWLEY: Okay. That's all I have.

19           MR. JACOUTOT: Okay. And I don't have any  
20 follow-up, so I think we can call it a day.

21           VIDEOGRAPHER: All right. The time on the  
22 monitor is 11:51 a.m. We're going off the  
23 record.

24           (Deposition concluded at 11:51 a.m.)

25           (Pursuant to Rule 30(e) of the Federal