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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; DEXTER WIMBISH; GARRETT REYNOLDS; JACQUELINE FAYE ARBUTHNOT; JACQUELYN BUSH; and MARY NELL CONNER,

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. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ

SECOND DECLARATION OF JONATHAN P. HAWLEY IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL 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 partial summary judgment.

Exhibit 24 is true and correct copy of the declaration of Annie Lois Grant, see ECF No. 20-5, dated January 13, 2022.

Exhibit 25 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Quentin T. Howell, see ECF No. 20-6, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 26 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Elroy Tolbert, see ECF No. 20-7, dated January 11, 2022.

Exhibit 27 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Triana Arnold James, see ECF No. 20-9, dated January 10, 2022.

Exhibit 28 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Eunice Sykes, see ECF No. 20-10, dated January 12, 2022.

Exhibit 29 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Elbert Solomon, see ECF No. 20-11, dated January 10, 2022.

Exhibit 30 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Dexter Wimbish, see ECF No. 20-12, dated January 11, 2022.

Exhibit 31 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Garrett Reynolds, dated April 22, 2023.

Exhibit 32 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot, dated April 24, 2023.

Exhibit 33 is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Jacquelyn Bush, dated April 28, 2023.

Exhibit 34 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Annie Lois Grant, see ECF No. 169, dated December 14, 2022.

Exhibit 35 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Quentin T. Howell, see ECF No. 170, dated December 14, 2022.

Exhibit 36 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Elroy Tolbert, see ECF No. 175, dated February 9, 2023.

Exhibit 37 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Triana Arnold James, see ECF No. 171, dated December 7, 2022.

Exhibit 38 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Eunice Sykes, see ECF No. 174, dated December 14, 2022.

Exhibit 39 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Elbert Solomon, see ECF No. 173, dated December 9, 2022.

Exhibit 40 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Dexter Wimbish, see ECF No. 176, dated December 6, 2022.

Exhibit 41 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Garrett Reynolds, see ECF No. 172, dated January 25, 2023.

Exhibit 42 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot, see ECF No. 166, dated January 24, 2023.

Exhibit 43 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Jacquelyn Bush, see ECF No. 167, dated January 24, 2023.

Exhibit 44 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Mary Nell Conner, see ECF No. 168, dated February 9, 2023.

Exhibit 45 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Blakeman B. Esselstyn, see ECF No. 179, dated February 16, 2023.

Exhibit 46 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Dr. John R. Alford, see ECF No. 181-1, dated February 23, 2023.

Exhibit 47 is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the deposition transcript of Dr. Maxwell Palmer, see ECF No. 183, 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 partial summary judgment that also appear elsewhere on the docket.

| Exhibit | Attorney Declaration | ECF No. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Expert Report of Blakeman <br> B. Esselstyn, dated December <br> 5, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for <br> Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 1 | $191-1$ |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Opposition to Defendants' Motion <br> for Summary Judgment, Ex. 1 | $206-1$ |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for <br> Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 2 | $191-2$ |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Opposition to Defendants' Motion <br> for Summary Judgment, Ex. 2 | $206-2$ |
| Supplemental expert report of <br> Dr. Maxwell Palmer, dated <br> December 22, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for <br> Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 3 | 191-3 |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Opposition to Defendants' Motion <br> for Summary Judgment, Ex. 3 | 206-3 |


| 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 Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 4 | 191-4 |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 4 | 206-4 |
| Rebuttal expert report of John B. Morgan, dated January 23, 2023 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 6 | $\begin{aligned} & 191-6, \\ & 191-7, \\ & 191-8, \\ & 191-9 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 5 | 206-5 |
| Expert report of Dr. John R. Alford, dated February 6, 2023 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 7 | 191-10 |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Opposition to Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Ex. 6 | 206-6 |
| Declaration of Annie Lois Grant, dated January 13, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 5 | 20-5 |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 24 | _-1 |


| Exhibit | Attorney Declaration | ECF No. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Declaration of Quentin T. Howell, dated January 12, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 6 | 20-6 |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 25 | __-2 |
| Declaration of Elroy Tolbert, dated January 11, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 7 | 20-7 |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 26 | __-3 |
| Declaration of Triana Arnold James, dated January 10, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 9 | 20-9 |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 27 | __-4 |
| Declaration of Eunice Sykes, dated January 12, 2022 | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 10 | 20-10 |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Partial Summary Judgment, Ex. 28 | __-5 |


| Exhibit | Attorney Declaration | ECF No. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Declaration of Elbert <br> Solomon, dated January 10, <br> 2022 <br> Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for <br> Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 11 | $20-11$ |  |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. <br> Declaration of Dexter <br> Wimbish, dated January 11, <br> Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' <br> Motion for Partial Summary <br> Judgment, Ex. 29 | --6 |
|  | Declaration of Jonathan P. Hawley <br> in Support of Plaintiffs' Motion for <br> Preliminary Injunction, Ex. 12 | $20-12$ |
|  | Second Declaration of Jonathan P. <br> Hawley in Support of Plaintiffs' | --7 |
|  | Motion for Partial Summary <br> Judgment, Ex. 30 | --7 |

Dated: May 3, 2023
Respectfully submitted,
By: Jonathan P. Hawley
Jonathan P. Hawley*
ELIAS LAW GROUP LLP
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Suite 2100
Seattle, Washington 98101
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# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION 

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. <br> $\qquad$

DECLARATION OF ANNIE LOIS GRANT IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Annie Lois Grant, declare as follows:

1. My name is Annie Lois Grant. 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 1191 Green Acres Drive, Union Point, GA 30669, which is located in Senate District 24 and House District 124 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED A annam 13, 2022

By:



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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. $\qquad$

## DECLARATION OF QUENTIN T. HOWELL IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Quentin T. Howell, declare as follows:

1. My name is Quentin T. Howell. 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 215 Stewart Drive NW, Milledgeville, GA 31061, which is located in Senate District 25 and House District 133 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{1 / 12 / 2022}$
Quantion 7. Hacell
By:
Quentin T. Howell


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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. $\qquad$
$\qquad$

1. My name is Elroy Tolbert. 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 301 Barrington Hall Dr, Apt. 209 Macon, GA 31220, which is located in Senate District 18 and House District 144 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{1 / 11 / 2022}$
By: $\frac{\text { Elroy Tolbent }}{\text { Elroy Tolbert }}$

## EXHIBIT 27

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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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.
Def.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. $\qquad$

## 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 Drive, Villa Rica, GA 30180, which is located in Senate District 30 and House District 64 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{1 / 10 / 2022}$
By:



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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. $\qquad$

## DECLARATION OF EUNICE SYKES IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Eunice Sykes, declare as follows:

1. My name is Eunice Sykes. 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 2320 McIntosh Drive, Locust Grove, GA 30248, which is located in Senate District 25 and House District 117 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{1 / 12 / 2022}$
By: $\frac{\text { Eunice Sykes }}{\text { Eunice Sykes }}$


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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. $\qquad$

## DECLARATION OF ELBERT SOLOMON IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Elbert Solomon, declare as follows:

1. My name is Elbert Solomon. 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 815 Eagle Drive, Griffin, GA 30223, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 117 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: $\xlongequal{1 / 10 / 2022}$

$$
\text { By: } \frac{\text { Elbert Solomon }}{\text { Elbert Solomon }}
$$



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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T. HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; and DEXTER WIMBISH;

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. $\qquad$

## DECLARATION OF DEXTER WIMBISH IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Dexter Wimbish, declare as follows:

1. My name is Dexter Wimbish. 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 420 Country Club Drive, Griffin, GA 30223, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 74 under the newly elected legislative maps.
5. I have previously voted in prior state legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future state legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{1 / 11 / 2022}$
By: $\frac{\text { Dexter Maynard Wimbish }}{\text { Dexter Wimbish }}$


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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT et al., Plaintiffs,
v.

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

Defendants.

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

## DECLARATION OF GARRETT REYNOLDS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Garrett Reynolds, declare as follows:

1. My name is Garrett Reynolds. 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 134 Keswick Manor Drive, Tyrone, Georgia 30290 in Fayette County, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 68 under Georgia's enacted legislative plans.
5. I have previously voted in prior legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{4 / 22 / 2023}$

BY: Garret Reynolds
Garrett Reynolds


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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT et al., Plaintiffs,
v.

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

Defendants.

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

## DECLARATION OF JACQUELINE FAYE ARBUTHNOT IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot, declare as follows:

1. My name is Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot. 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 1126 Crestworth Crossing, Powder Springs, Georgia 30127 in Paulding County, which is located in Senate District 31 and House District 64 under Georgia's enacted legislative plans.
5. I have previously voted in prior legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future legislative elections in Georgia.

DATED: ${ }^{4 / 24 / 2023}$
BY: $\frac{\text { JACQUELINE FAYE ARBUTINOT }}{\text { Jacqueline FAye Arbuthnot }}$
Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot


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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT et al., Plaintiffs, v.

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

Defendants.

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

## DECLARATION OF JACQUELYN BUSH IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT

Pursuant to 20 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Jacquelyn Bush, declare as follows:

1. My name is Jacquelyn Bush. 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 110 Bristol Court, Fayetteville, Georgia 30215 in Fayette County, which is located in Senate District 16 and House District 74 under Georgia's enacted legislative plans.
5. I have previously voted in prior legislative elections in Georgia and I intend to vote in future legislative elections in Georgia.
$\qquad$
DATED: ${ }^{4 / 28 / 2023}$
BY: $\frac{\text { Jacquelyn Bush }}{\text { Jacquelyn Bush }}$

EXHIBIT 34

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


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

A Yes. I see the Plaintiffs. I'm trying to scroll up. Wait a minute. Here we go.

Q Yeah. I think your attorney is going to have to scroll for you.

A Uh-huh.
Q Okay, all right. And have you reviewed this document before?

A I read this one. Yes.
Q Okay. And if I could direct you and your counsel to paragraph 11. And that's on page 4. It starts at the bottom of page 4 and then goes to the top of page 5. And that paragraph begins with "Plaintiff Annie Louis Grant is a black citizen of the United States and the state of Georgia." Let me know when you can see what I'm talking about.

A I do.
Q Okay. Thank you.
Can you review that paragraph 11 and --
A I have.
Q Okay, great. And is the information contained in that paragraph about you -- is all of that correct and accurate?

A It is. And if $I$ can say so, it's exactly what $I$ was saying, just in different words. My words were layman -- as a layman person.


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


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

A I don't remember looking at one. I mean, most of this stuff happened about a year ago. So I know I didn't read nothing like this about it. It's more than one complaint?

Q Well, yeah. I'll tell you, the lawsuit was filed in January. And the complaint was amended twice, the most recent one being this. I'm scrolling to the top. It's got a stamp that says October $28 t h$. Do you see that? $10 / 28 / 22$.

A Okay.
Q But you don't recall seeing it. Do you even recall somebody telling you it's been filed?

A I don't remember. I didn't read it, if that's what you're asking me.

Q I'll scroll down. There's a paragraph that specifically talks about you. I'll put that up on the screen. Paragraph 12. And this goes over just a couple lines to the next page, but $I$ want you to read this.

A Out loud?
Q No, no. Just to yourself, just to yourself. Tell me when you've gotten to the end, and I'll scroll down to the next page.

A Go ahead.
Q (Scrolling.)

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

A Okay.
Q All right. I just want to confirm with you, going back up to where paragraph 12 starts, it says in the second line you're a registered voter. We've established that already, right? You are a registered voter, correct?

A Am I a registered voter?
Q Yes, sir.
A Yes, sir.
Q And it says you intend to vote in future legislative elections; is that correct?

A Yes, sir, the Good Lord willing.
Q You're a resident of Baldwin County, right?
A Yes, sir.
Q And you're in Senate District 25 and House District 133 under the enacted plans, that is, those enacted in 2021, right?

A Yes, sir.
Q It goes on to say you were unable to elect candidates of your choice to the Georgia State Senate and Georgia House despite strong electoral support for those candidates from other black voters in your community. Is that true?

A Yeah. I would agree with that, brother.
Q Why are you unable to elect candidates of

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
your choice in this new district?
A Well, the district lines has broken up, and it dilutes the power of the African-American community. Then our community voice can't be heard.

THE WITNESS: I see his lips moving, but
I don't hear nothing.
BY MR. HOWELL:
Q Are you talking -- I didn't have a question.
A Oh, I thought your lips was moving. I thought you were saying something. I was just saying I couldn't hear you.

Q I think you -- you told me earlier you voted in the general election in November, right? November 2020.

A You mean the midterm election.
Q Well, when I say general, I mean as opposed to the primaries earlier in the year.

A I didn't miss one.
Q Do you remember who you voted for for the Georgia State Senate in the November 2022 election?

A In November?
Q Yes, sir.
A For State Senate it was Valerie Rogers.
Q Did she win?
A No, sir, she did not.


Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E

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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al.,

Plaintiffs,


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

Defendants.

DEPOSITION OF ELROY TOLBERT
Taken by Remote Conference
February 9, 2023
9:04 a.m.

Valerie N. Almand, RPR, CRR, CRC

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Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E
Q. Do you have any notes or memos or other documents that relate in any way to this case?
A. No, I don't.
Q. All right. Mr. Tolbert, can you state your current address for the record.
A.

Macon, Georgia
Q. How long have you lived in Macon?
A. Since 1988 .
Q. Have you always lived at that same address?
A. No I haven't.
Q. And for the record, what county do you live in?
A. Bibb, Macon-Bibb.
Q. You said that was
A. $\square$.
Q. Can you spell that?
A.
Q. I want to make sure I'm referring to the correct address when $I$ ask about it. Where did you live before the $\square ?$
A. That's also Macon.
Q. Is that the same county?
A. Yes.

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E
Q. Okay. And when did you move from to your current address?
A. 2017 .
Q. When did you move to the
A.
Q.
address?
A. 1999.
Q. All right. And how long have you lived in Macon-Bibb County?
A. Since '88.
Q. What about the state of Georgia?
A. All my life.
Q. What other counties have you resided in in Georgia?
A. Baldwin County.
Q. What time period was that?
A. That's where $I$ was born.
Q. Okay. Makes it pretty easy. Some plaintiffs have moved all around, so their residential history was quite lengthy.
A. Right.
Q. And just to be clear for the record, have you ever resided in any other state?
A. No, I haven't.
Q. And where are you testifying from today?
A. Macon.


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. )
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
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                    Page 1
    Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.

Second Amended Complaint in this action.
Does that come up on your screen? Oh, excuse
me. Do you see on your screen where it says, Second Amended Complaint?
A. Yes.
Q. Okay. And have you seen this document before?
A. Yes.
Q. Do you recall when?
A. No.
Q. Have you read through this document before?
A. Yes.
Q. Okay.
A. I believe I have.
Q. Do you generally know the allegations contained in this document?
A. Yes.
Q. Okay. I'm going to direct your attention to Paragraph 15, which I'm moving towards. Do you see Paragraph 15 here?
A. Can you make it a little bigger?
Q. Yes.
A. I'm not as young as I used to be. Yes.
Q. Okay. And let me -- let me know if you need to read through it real quickly, but does this

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Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
paragraph here accurately describe the facts as they pertain to you?
A. Yes.
Q. And I'll just scroll down real quick so you can kind of see the end of it and just make sure.
A. Yes.
Q. Okay. See here on the -- let's see, I'm going to see if $I$ can highlight this for you. See where it says, "She is a resident of Douglas County." "She" referring to you, "is a resident of Douglas County and located in Senate District 30 and House District 64 under the enacted plans."
A. Yes, I see it.
Q. Okay. And you said you did vote in the most recent election?
A. Yes.
Q. Was your selection for Senate District 30 successful in the most recent election?
A. There was no -- there was no challenger in District 30.
Q. Okay. Was it just an incumbent inside District 30 then?
A. Yes.
Q. Okay. And what -- do you recall what party the incumbent was?

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Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
A. Republican.
Q. Okay. And House District 64, was your selection for House District 64 successful in the 2022 general?
A. I don't think I voted -- I don't think I selected anyone in that -- in that district.
Q. Okay. And you said it was a Republican incumbent in Senate 30. Is it fair to say you didn't select anyone for that district?
A. There was nothing to select.
Q. Oh, okay. Okay. During the 2021 special session in the Georgia General Assembly, did you reach out to any legislator concerning the redistricting issues raised in the complaint here?
A. Yes.
Q. Who did you reach out to?
A. I believe I wrote an e-mail to the governor.
Q. E-mail to the governor? Did you reach out to any legislators in the General Assembly?
A. Yes.
Q. Which ones?
A. What was his name? I believe -- I think his last name is Jackson, and he represented 64 when $I$ was in the 67, so yeah.
Q. Okay. Did you testify in the Georgia General Page 48


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


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


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


Pendergrass, Coakley, et al. v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
A. Yes.
Q. And would you agree with its representations of your position in this matter?
A. Yes.
Q. Now, did you reach out to any legislators during the 2021 special session concerning the redistricting issues raised in your complaint?
A. No.
Q. How about before the special session?
A. I am a member of an organization that stays in touch with our legislators on the various issues in the State of Georgia.
Q. What organization would that be?
A. It's a sorority.
Q. Okay. What sorority is that?
A. Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority.
Q. Do you hold any leadership positions with them?
A. No.
Q. And what year did you become a member?
A. I've been a member all my life. For years.
Q. Is that something you joined in undergrad?
A. No. Grad.
Q. Oh, you were a grad. Sorry.


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

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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al., Plaintiffs, CIVIL ACTION FILE vs.

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

Defendants.

DEPOSITION OF ELBERT SOLOMON
TAKEN BY REMOTE VIDEOCONFERENCE

December 9, 2022
2:10 p.m.

REPORTED REMOTELY BY:
LAURA R. SINGLE, CCR-B-1343

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al. $\square$ Page 40

MS. LAROSS: Thank you. I very much appreciate your help with this.

MS. RUTAHINDURWA: No problem.
BY MS. LAROSS:
Q. Mr. Solomon, so paragraph 17 begins with Plaintiff Elbert Solomon is a black citizen of the United States and the State of Georgia. Do you see where I'm referring -- what I'm referring to?
A. Yes.
Q. If you could just take a moment and read through the entirety of paragraph 17. I think it goes on to the next page. If you could tell me if all of the information contained in that paragraph is accurate.

MS. RUTAHINDURWA: And just let me know when
to scroll down, Mr. Solomon.
THE WITNESS: You can scroll down.
That's the end of it, of 17. I finished reading it.

BY MS. LAROSS:
Q. Perfect. Thank you.

Is everything in that paragraph accurate still today?
A. It is accurate.
Q. I do think you mentioned that you voted in


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

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

ANNIE LOIS GRANT; QUENTIN T.
HOWELL; ELROY TOLBERT; THERON
BROWN; TRIANA ARNOLD JAMES; EUNICE
SYKES; ELBERT SOLOMON; DEXTER
WIMBISH; GARRETT REYNOLDS;
JACQUELINE FAYE ARBUTHNOT;
JACQUELINE BUSH; and
MARY NELL CONNER,
Plaintiffs,
CIVIL ACTION FILE
vs.
NO. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official
capacity as the Georgia Secretary
of State; WILLIAM S. DUFFY, 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; 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.

TAKEN BY REMOTE VIDEO-CONFERENCE DEPOSITION OF DEXTER WIMBISH December 6, 2022, 9:31 a.m.

Carolyn J. Smith, CCR, RPR, RMR, CCR-A-1361

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
before?
A Yes.
Q When was that?
A Early -- is this the -- this is the recent second amended that was filed in October. So it would have been sent out sometime in October of 2022. I don't know what day -- I don't know what day $I$ received it.

Q Uh-huh (affirmative), but you did receive it, um, at some point after October 28 --

A Right --
Q -- 2022?
A -- right.
Q Okay. Have you actual- -- have you read this particular version of the complaint, the Second Amended Complaint?

A I have not.
Q Okay. Do you know all the allegations contained in this document?

A Uh, I guess I know the overall, um, tenor of the document and the allegations that are brought, yeah.

Q Okay. I'm going to direct your attention to paragraph 18. Getting there. Uh, here on page 9 of the second amended complaint.

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

| Page 49 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Uh, do you see that? |
| A | Yes. |
| Q | Okay. And is the information -- or let me |
| first ask you. |  |
|  | Uh, have you read through paragraph -- |
| paragraph 18 of the Second Amended Complaint that, |  |
| uh, I'm showing here? |  |
| A | I'm reading it now for -- |
| Q | Okay. |
| A | -- the first time. |
| Q | Yeah. Take your time. It goes to the |
| next page | too. So if you want me to flip down, let |
| me know. |  |
| A | Yeah, flip it down. Okay. |
| Q | Okay. So you've -- you've read the |
| paragraph 18 now? |  |
| A | Uh-huh (affirmative). |
| Q | And is the information contained in this |
| paragraph accurate as it relates to you? |  |
| A | Yes. |
| Q | Okay. Now, you -- according to |
| paragraph 18, you reside in Senate District 16; is |  |
| that correct? |  |
| A | Is that Marty Harbin's district? |
| Q | Um, I am not sure. Does that number -- |



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

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

ATLANTA<br>DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION NUMBER: $1: 22-C V-00122-S C J$ ANNIE LOIS GRANT; et al.,

Plaintiff (s),
vs.
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his

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official capacity as the Georgia
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Secretary of State, et al.,
Defendant (s).

DEPOSITION TESTIMONY OF:
GARRETT REYNOLDS
January 25, 2023
3 p.m. Eastern Time
VIA REMOTE VIDEO-CONFERENCE

COURT REPORTER: Angela Smith McGalliard, RPR, CRR, CCR


Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, Et Al.
that starts out: Plaintiff Garrett Reynolds?
A. I do.
Q. I'm just going to ask you to quickly read to yourself that paragraph and let me know when you've finished reading it.
A. Okay.
Q. Does it end at the word Georgia General Assembly?
A. Yes, it does.
Q. And, Mr. Reynolds, do you recognize the allegations contained in this paragraph?
A. I do.
Q. And was that information that you read true and accurate as it relates to you?
A. Yes.
Q. And we touched on this a little bit earlier, and it was in the paragraph that you just read, but you reside in state Senate District 16 ; is that correct?
A. Yes.
Q. And you mentioned that you voted


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


A No.

Q And have you discussed this deposition with anyone other than your lawyer?

A No.

Q Did you review anything to prepare for this
deposition?

A Yes.
Q And what did you review?
A The documents that you said I received from the attorney, only.

Q Without divulging any attorney-client privilege information, or the nature, or form of any communication you've had with your attorney, why did you look at those documents?

A To refresh my memory.
Q So looking at those documents helped to refresh your recollection as to the events that you will testify about today?

A Yes.
Q And do you have any documents or notes with you today?
A $\quad$ No.

Q Shifting gears again, Ms. Arbuthnot. Could you please state your full name for the record?

A Jacqueline Faye Arbuthnot.
Q And Ms. Arbuthnot, what is your current address?

A $\square$ Powder Springs, Georgia

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

Q Okay. What county is that in?

A Paulding.

Q And the city you said is Powder Springs; correct?

A Correct.

Q And how long have you lived at that address?

A About 18 years, plus.

Q And have you lived anywhere else in the past two years?

A No.

Q And you recall where you lived before moving to your current address?

A In Mississippi. You said the address? Pardon me.

Q No. And how long did you live in Mississippi for?

A $\quad 30-\mathrm{plus}$ years.

Q And is the address you provided earlier the only address that you have lived in since moving from Mississippi to Georgia?

A There's been others.

Q Okay. And do you recall what those were?

A I can't quite remember the numbers, but it was Bakers Mill, here in Georgia -- Atlanta. Let's see. I lived in Fairburn, and College Park, as a matter of fact, when $I$ first got here -- in Georgia.

Q And so how long have you lived in Paulding County?

A The 18 years at my home address.


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

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                                    Page 1
        IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
        FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
            ATLANTA DIVISION
    ANNIE LOIS GRANT, et al., )
        Plaintiffs, ) CIVIL ACTION FILE
                            ) NO. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ
V. )
                    )
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his )
official capacity as the )
Georgia Secretary of State, )
et al., )
    The deposition of JACQUELYN BUSH taken pursuant to the
stipulations contained herein; all formalities waived, excluding
the reading and signing of the deposition; before Heather D.
Williams, CCR; taken on January 24th, 2023, via Zoom
teleconference, commencing at 11:00 a.m.
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that relate any way to this case?

A No.

Q All right. Okay. For the record, will you please state your full name and your current address?

A Jacquelyn Bush. $\square$ Fayetteville, Georgia $\square$

Q Is that within the city limits of Fayetteville?
A No. Actually, it's outside of the city limits.
Q Okay. And which county is that in?
A Fayette.
Q And how long have you lived at that


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        address?
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A Since October of 1987.

Q All right. And did you have any other addresses before 1987?

A No.
Q Where did you reside before that address?

A In College Park.
Q And what time frame would that have been?

A That would have been probably two years prior to moving here -- so the two years prior.

Q And where did you live before College Park?
A Stone Mountain, Georgia.
Q What time period was that?



Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E
A. $\square$ in Stockbridge.
Q. Do you know why you moved?
A. I purchased a home.
Q. Okay. And what county was that address in?
A. That was in Henry county as well.
Q. Okay. How long were you at the
address?
A. Five years.
Q. Okay. And how long have you lived in Henry County overall?
A. Ten years.
Q. And where did you live before Henry County?
A. Clayton County, Georgia.
Q. Did you ever reside in any other state?
A. Prior to Georgia, yes.
Q. And what states was that?
A. Michigan, Farmington Hills, Michigan.
Q. Anywhere else?
A. Kansas City, Missouri.
Q. Was there anywhere else?
A. Chicago, Illinois.
Q. And what time period did you live in Farmington, Michigan?


#  <br> Blakeman Esselstyn <br> February 16, 2023 

Grant, Annie Lois, et al.v. Raffensperger, Brad, E

generally shifted District 25 to the north and west into areas including those that had been occupied by Senate District 17.

And so it's kind of swapping areas that had been in Senate District 25 in the enacted map into illustrative District 17 , and in doing so making Senate District 25 significantly more compact.

So that was a kind of a long answer to the question of why. And always -- I'm getting into the broken record here, but doing this while considering other traditional redistricting criteria.

Q And in talking about considering other traditional redistricting criteria, looking at Senate 17 on the illustrative plan, it looks to me like it has four split counties in it: Greene, Baldwin, Newton and Walton Counties.

How did you take into account the traditional principle of avoiding county splits in the creation of Senate District 17?

A I considered it in balance with the other principles, and weighing the other considerations and factors that $I$ was trying to adhere to, I ended up with that number of county
splits in that district.
I'm just going to see if Figure 3 -- it
looks like previous incarnation of District 17 might have had three splits. It's a little hard to say from Figure 3. I'm going to zoom in.

Q My count was that Senate 17 on the enacted had three county splits and Senate 25 on the enacted had two county splits.

A Okay. So that might have been part of my consideration as well just its predecessor ha three county splits.

Q And so adding a county split you felt was still complying with the traditional principle of avoiding jurisdiction splits?

A Taken in conjunction with all the other considerations, yes.

Q On Figure 4 -- this is going to be a little bit harder to see. Because I don't think it's another map that really shows it. But District 20 on the illustrative plan begins, I believe, in Jenkins County just south of Senate District 23 and runs all the day past Macon. And I believe that's into Dooley County.

Can you explain what community of
interest explains the configuration of Senate

District 20 on the illustrative plan?
A Let me take a moment. To answer your question, $I$ don't think it's possible to say that there is a community of interest that explains the configuration of District 20, not one -- one community of interest.

Q Then can you walk me through then what -- what does explain the boundaries of senate District 20 as you've drawn in on the illustrative plan?

A So, again, $I$ can refer back to Figure 3 showing the enacted plan, and you can sort of see how District 20 looks in the enacted plan. I think it's also instructive to look at 26 in the enacted plan and then compare that in Figure 3 with Figure 4 and see how much smaller District 26 becomes.

So 26 goes from spanning pieces of, what? Seven counties, $I$ think, to being just in two counties. So that -- and $I$ know you can't see in Figure 4, but I'm pretty sure that Senate District 26 is just in Macon-Bibb and Houston Counties.

So in making District 26 , the configuration that it has, and removing the splits from Bibb County, which as $I$ recall was split three
ways, there's kind of a void that needs to be filled and expanding the area of District 20 in that direction, $I$ guess to the north, was -- that's part of why it was done the way it was as well as changes to District 23.

I'm just looking back and forth. But, yeah. So it was kind of a way of trying to harmonize the shape of District 20 as it was adjacent to Senate District 26 and Senate District 23.

Q Do you recall, did you draw Senate Districts 23 and 26 first and then fill in around them with 17 and 20?

A That's an interesting question, Mr.
Tyson. You don't really draw the districts one at a time. Well, you can. But the way that I typically work in the software is to take census geography and assign it -- change its assignment from being in one to being in another.

So if I'm changing the southern edge of Senate District 23, I'm going to either assign -and depending on whether I'm removing areas or adding areas, the adjacent district is going to get those -- the areas that were removed, for example.

So in essence when I'm drawing Senate
Page 140

A Good question. I would -- I guess in this -- I did use the word community. Maybe population would have been a better choice of words because some folks would -- would characterize racial groups as a community of interest. And so I think some people would say that that is -- that they, as you described, could be considered one community.

Often as I'm drawing a map I guess I can think of them both as a community with a shared interest or a shared characteristic I should say. But also they are -- they have their distinctive elements as well.

Q In the configuration of districts 23, the counties that you split kind of starting in the north, then going around are Wilkes, Greene, Baldwin, Richmond and McDuffie Counties, right?

> A Yes.

Q And are you aware that for each of those county splits you included the highest concentration of black voters in the county Senate District 23 and the more white population portion of the county outside of District 23?

A I am not aware that that's the case.
Q Okay. Let me mark --
$\square$ Page 141

A And, yeah, if you can just be able to refer back to that wording as we -- as we go to another exhibit because, again, $I$ just wanted to make sure $I$ understand the just kind of mathematical relationship you're describing.

Q Certainly. We're going to look at a chart.

A Okay.
Q I just introduced Exhibit Number 9, which is Mr. Morgan's report in this case.

A Yep.
Q And I'd like for us to go to Page number 17. Let me know when you're there.

A 17, yes.
Q And I believe you said you reviewed Mr. Morgan's report as part of your preparation for this deposition.

A Yes.
Q So on page 17 there's a chart for -that has each of the five-county split with a portion in District 23 and outside of District 23. Do you see that?

A Yes.
Q And in each case the portion of the county in District Senate 23 has a higher AP Black

VAP percentage in the portion outside of Senate District 23 on the illustrative plan, right?

A Yes.
Q And were you aware that -- I think you said you weren't -- that every county split you made in Senate District 23 had this type of racial differentiation on the population?

A Okay. I misunderstood your question. I thought you were talking about the -- you said something about the highest concentration, and I thought you were saying that $I$ had somehow selected the highest concentration possible in isolating one section of a county from the other section.

You used that superlative term highest, and I thought you were saying that I had taken -like if $I$ was taking precincts, that there's no other combination of precincts that I could have taken that would have been higher than what I took.

So that's what I understood. And that's why I wanted to maybe refer back to the way you had asked the question.

So, yes, I have looked at this chart. There is something that $I$ don't agree with in terms of Mr. Morgan's characterization here. In the preceding paragraph he says that $I$ took the lion's
share or the construction takes the lion's share -I'm paraphrasing a little bit -- of the black population of each of those counties into the district.

But in Greene County the black
population outside District 23 is actually more numerous, and in the case of the AP Black voting age population, the fourth column of numbers, it's -well, both, really. Both of the black population columns of numbers show that there's significantly more black people outside District 23 than inside.

Q And just to be clear, you're looking at the raw number of individuals, not the percentage of those individuals as compared to the remaining population, is that right?

A Right. My under -- yes.
Q Have you evaluated whether Senate District 23 would still be majority black if you removed any of these county splits?

MR. HAWLEY: Objection to the extent that, Mr. Esselstyn, your answer implicates draft maps or draft reports. But otherwise, you can answer.

A I don't recall doing so.
Q Okay. I'll put this one away and go
is that right?
A So -- after I'd drawn the first
illustrative plan. So the area in Bibb County did not change from the $P I$ plan to the December ' 22 plan. Baldwin County did change a little bit. So my review of the comments and such was in late 2022.

Q Thank you. We've been going about an hour and half and I'm going to move to District 25. Do you want to take a break at this point, Mr. Esselstyn?

A Sure. Sounds good. MR. TYSON: We can go off the record. (Recess.)

Q (By Mr. Tyson) All right, Mr. Esselstyn. I want to turn next to Senate District 25 , which is on Figure 6, Page 13 of your report. Do you see that?

A Yes.
Q And looking at Senate District 25 as drawn on the illustrative plan, it includes portions of Clayton County and portions of Henry County, right?

A That's correct.
Q So in terms of the decision to connect this part of Clayton with Henry County, can you tell

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me what factors went into putting those two counties together in District 25?

A I'm trying to recall. Again, this is one that I did not -- I altered part of Fayette County for the December 2022 plan but did not change the orientation or the alignment of District 25.

Let me look back at what it looked like under the enacted plan.

Yeah, I don't recall specific reasons other than the kind of trial and error, as I mentioned, that a lot of this is kind of iterative in. I would have maybe looked at different possibilities, and this one seemed to be the best combination.

Q Okay. And creating District 25 where you have -- I know we talked earlier about District 10 that runs down that eastern side of Henry County to Butts County.

A Yes.
Q Do you see that? Are you aware of the racial makeup of the components of Districts 10 , the different counties that you included in District 10?

A I'm sorry. Could you ask the -- repeat the question? And I aware --

Q Sure.

A I believe so.
Q So can you tell me about anything the geography encompassed on this Senate District 28 has in common besides the racial makeup of the people in it?

A So again, when I'm looking at communities of interest and the communities of interest principle, $I$ 'm not trying to make sure that every piece of a district has some unifying factor. So I will say I remember, for example, that the shape of the part that goes down into Coweta is trying to keep most of -- it's either Newton or Newman.

Q Newnan, yes.
A Newnan. Thank you.
-- keep most of that in one district.
So that was an example. That's kind of the -- in thinking about communities of interest trying not to, you know, cut that community in half. So that was a consideration.

But as far as trying to ensure that every -- every corner has something in common with every other corner, that was not part of my calculous.

Q And you'd agree that Newnan was whole on
the enacted Senate plan in 28 as well, right, because Coweta was whole as a county?

A I think that's right. Just let me quickly check Figure 3.

Yes. But $I$ think that Douglas County was divided. I may be getting this confused with the House plan. But $I$ believe that Douglas County was divided in the enacted plan but is made whole in the illustrative plan.

Q Which one? Douglas County?
A I think so.
Q Okay. And in the illustrative plan, District 35 you know makes Douglas whole but it also connects portions of Fulton County with parts of south Paulding County, right?

A Right.
Q Do you know the racial makeup of that part of south Paulding County?

A No. I mean do $I$ know? I don't know it off the top of my head. There are -- probably one of the exhibits we could look at would give me a clue but -- or a better informed answer.

Q Okay. Were you aware of any connections between Paulding County and Fulton County when you configured illustrative District 35 this way?

A Yeah.
Q And in the House plan here Douglas County is divided to allow District 64 to connect these pieces of Fulton and south Paulding, right?

A Yeah. I mean, if we were to look back at how it was -- it's hard to see in Figure 12. But I might say that there is a portion of Douglas County included in the district which serves as a connection between Fulton and Paulding Counties, the portions in Fulton and Paulding Counties.

And this is an example of -- the smaller population size of these districts means that $I$ don't think $I$ could have kept Douglas County whole because, as $I$ recall, its population is around 145,000 people and these districts are 60,000, so --

Q And aside from being in the Atlanta metro area, as you identified, for connecting parts of Fulton and Paulding in the Senate plan, is there anything else you can identify -- a community that's kept whole in Senate District -- I mean, House District 64?

A Not that $I$ can recall. There -- not that $I$ can recall.

Q So let's move over to south Metro, Paragraph 50. And here we have two districts.

First District 74 that connects portions of Clayton with portions of Fayette, is that right?

A Yes.
Q Do you know if the portion of Fayette in that district is majority black?

A I don't.
Q Would it surprise you if it was 16.01 AP black VAP in Fayette County in District 74?

A That's lower than $I$ would expect. But I -- I don't know that it wouldn't surprise me.

Q Do you consider the south part of
Fayette County to be a rural area?
A I don't have an opinion on that.
Q Okay. And so can you identify any communities that are kept whole in House District $74 ?$

A None that $I$ can recall there. I think -- is this the one where we talked about Irondale? I -- I believe there were -- in the area in Clayton County, I believe it was a census-designated place, maybe not an incorporated one, but $I$ have a, again, somewhat hazy recollection that there is a community that this was drawn to keep mostly intact.

Q Okay. Do you recall if that census-designated place was in Clayton or Fayette

Q And you don't know because you didn't look at political data if Districts 117 and 74 currently have Republican incumbents?

A I did not.
Q Is there any community you can identify in District 117 that is being kept whole in its configuration on the illustrative plan?

A Not with the information $I$ have in front of me or based on memory, but there may be some. I just -- I don't have -- as I said, not based on what I have in my mind or in front of me.

Q Who would you need to have to determine that?

A Maps of things like incorporated areas or census-designated places, other campus-type things, whether they are educational institutions or military facilities, that sort of thing, other parks, those -- those kinds of communities of interest that have clearly defined boundaries as opposed to the kind that --

Well, that would be a layer, if they were also a layer of kind of community -- defined communities, that would be another thing I could look at and specify.

Perhaps minority groups, if -- sometimes
deviation number in your written report, just in the exhibits, right?

A That's right.
Q Is the way that you determined that the illustrative plan complied with the traditional principle of population equality for the House the same as the methods you used for making that determination for the Senate illustrative plan?

A I think generally, yes.
Q In paragraph 57 you talk about compactness. And we, again, have the average scores for four of the five metrics and then a cut edge score. Would you expect average compaction scores to be the same if 155 of the 180 districts on a plan are the same?

A No. I mean, it could be. But --
Q Okay.
A -- that's saying that --
Q Okay. So you didn't break out the compactness scores for the 25 districts that you changed. You only reported here in Table 6 the average for all 180 districts for four of those five measures, and then over on Table 7 the scores for just the new majority black districts, right?

A That's right. In the text of the
report. But the -- the attachments include compactness scores for all the districts in both enacted and illustrative as well as other summary and metrics.

Q And was your method of determining that the plan complied with the traditional principle of compactness generally the same process for the House illustrative plan as for the Senate Illustrative plan?

A Yes.
Q And for Figure 17, like the Senate, these charts -- the only districts on these four charts that are from the illustrative plan are the colored lines. And the gray lines are districts on the enacted plan, right?

A That's right.
I'm sorry. If you -- if you wouldn't mind repeating that question again. I just tuned out for a moment.

Q Sure. In Figure 17, the --
A Yes.
Q -- in all four charts the only districts from the illustrative plan on those charts are the colored lines. The gray lines refer or are districts on the enacted plan, right?

$\square$ Page 221

Q When you -- when you had that shading function toggled and you could see it, did you use the information that that shading provided -- did that information predominate in any given line drawing decision you made when you were preparing you illustrative maps?

A No, it did not.
Q I'd like to talk briefly now about some of the comparative characteristics, particularly kind of the more general discussion that you had with Mr. Tyson earlier in the deposition. And again, just so it's clear in the record, is it fair to say that some of the traditional redistricting principles that you drew in accordance with and analyzed in your report can be understood in isolation for a single map?

A I'm sorry. Could you repeat the question?

Q Certainly. Are there certain redistricting criteria that can be analyzed -- the compliance with which can be analyzed simply by looking at a single piece of information from a given map?

A Oh, yes. Yeah, for like contiguity. And, again, it's helpful to use the Maptitude


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

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.

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| :---: | :---: |
| 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 |



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| :---: | :---: |
| 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 |


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| :---: | :---: |
| 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 |


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| :---: | :---: |
| 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 |
|  | is the evidence we have is very strong evidence |
| 22 | that voters respond differently according to the |



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

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

MR. JACOUTOT: It was just object to form. COURT REPORTER: Thank you.

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

MR. JACOUTOT: Object to form.
THE WITNESS: I -- I don't believe so.
MR. HAWLEY: Okay. That's all I have.
MR. JACOUTOT: Okay. And I don't have any follow-up, so $I$ think we can call it a day.

VIDEOGRAPHER: All right. The time on the monitor is 11:51 a.m. We're going off the record.
(Deposition concluded at 11:51 a.m.)
(Pursuant to Rule $30(e)$ of the Federal

