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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
EL PASO DIVISION**

**LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN
AMERICAN CITIZENS, et al.,
Plaintiffs,**

3:21-CV-00259-DCG-JES-JVB

v.

1:38 p.m. to 6:02 p.m.

**GREG ABBOTT, IN HIS OFFICIAL
CAPACITY AS GOVERNOR OF THE
STATE OF TEXAS, et al.,
Defendants.**

OCTOBER 8, 2025

**INJUNCTION HEARING
BEFORE THE HONORABLE DAVID C. GUADERRAMA
THE HONORABLE JERRY E. SMITH
AND THE HONORABLE JEFFREY V. BROWN
AFTERNOON SESSION, DAY 7 OF 9 DAYS**

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4 Court Reporter:
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25 produced via computer-aided transcription.

Leticia D. Perez
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13:38 1

PROCEEDINGS

JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Ms. Adkins is on the witness stand.
Ms. Thorburn, your witness.

CHRISTINA ADKINS,

previously duly sworn by the Court, was examined and testified
as follows:

CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MS. THORBURN:

Q. Good afternoon, Ms. Adkins.

A. Good afternoon.

Q. Welcome back from lunch break. I think we had just been
talking about whether voters -- about candidates collecting
signatures instead of paying a filing fee. Do you remember
that?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. Why would a candidate collect signatures instead of
paying a filing fee?

A. For certain offices in Texas -- well, all of our -- all of
our offices have a filing fee requirement. Some of them are a
little heftier than others -- the size of that filing fee.
Many candidates will opt to do a petition in lieu of paying
that filing fee so that they're not having to pay that cost.

Some candidates also choose to do it as a way of
introducing themselves to voters.

Q. Where do those signatures have to come from?

14:21 1 A. The signatures must be collected from individuals that
2 reside within the territory for which that person is seeking
3 office.

4 Q. What would the effect be if the 2023 map is not used on
5 those who are already collecting signatures?

6 A. The 2023 maps?

7 Q. The C2333. I apologize.

8 A. Just wanted to clarify.

9 Q. Thank you.

10 A. So with respect to the 2025 maps -- so if candidates have
11 already begun the petition-gathering process and started
12 collecting signatures, relying on those lines for the different
13 congressional offices that were outlined in those maps, if they
14 were not able to -- if that changed -- let me phrase it like
15 that.

16 If the maps changed, then it's possible that those
17 individuals that were gathering petition signatures may have
18 signatures, then, that are no longer valid and can't be counted
19 towards the overall signature total that they're required to
20 gather.

21 Q. Would it be possible for those candidates' filing to be
22 invalidated?

23 A. If a candidate filed a petition and it contained signatures
24 of individuals that did not reside within the territory, those
25 signatures would not be counted towards the required totals

14:22 1 they -- they must obtain. And so it could impact the validity
2 of that petition and could -- could lead to a candidate
3 application -- application being rejected.

4 Q. Are you aware of whether candidates have begun collecting
5 signatures?

6 A. We've had a number of inquiries to our office on this
7 particular issue from a lot of candidates. And so I would say
8 that it is very likely that many candidates have already begun
9 the petition-gathering process at this point.

10 Q. So right before the lunch break, we had talked about how
11 C2333, and not using C2333, would affect the candidates. I
12 want to ask what the effect of an injunction would be on the
13 voters.

14 A. Well, I think for voters, particularly, as they're
15 interacting with candidates, that -- that campaigning process,
16 that process of gathering petition signatures, that's how folks
17 are introduced -- how voters are introduced to various
18 candidates.

19 So if candidates have been engaged in the campaign
20 process, engaged in the petition-gathering process and
21 interacting with a substantial number of voters, it could
22 create some voter confusion if there are some changes that
23 impact what these individuals would eventually be voting on.

24 Q. Now, I want to talk about the logistical consequences of
25 changing any of the deadlines.

14:24 1 Just broadly, does any change to election dates have
2 an impact on the process of conduction of the election?

3 A. Absolutely.

4 Q. How so?

5 A. Well, what we're speaking is -- with respect to the primary
6 election, for example, we have our candidate filing periods
7 that are set by statute. When that candidate filing period
8 ends, the political party chairs are then required to enter
9 information into our candidate filing system, which is run by
10 the Secretary of State's office.

11 That candidate filing system provides a public display
12 of all the candidates that have filed for that office. Many
13 party chairs will receive a lot of applications at the late --
14 at the last minute. So it takes several days to get all of
15 that information entered into our system.

16 There's also a requirement immediately following that
17 for a ballot drawing. Those ballot drawings are conducted on a
18 local level. Sometimes the State will -- will assist with
19 ballot drawings for local counties, but it is kind of a mad
20 dash to get to that ballot drawing.

21 And then, at that point, immediately after the ballot
22 drawing, counties will begin preparing their ballots. So
23 they'll begin the programming process. They'll be testing
24 their ballots. This all has to be done within about a
25 three-week period.

14:25 1 They have to do public logic and accuracy testing,
2 this is actually a change in the law that requires it to be
3 done much earlier in the process. And this is all because mail
4 ballots have to be sent out 45 days before election day. This
5 is a requirement under federal law. And for the primary
6 election, that 45-day deadline is January 17.

7 So from the time the candidate filing period closes,
8 candidate information is entered into our system, the ballot
9 drawing occurs, ballots have to be prepared, ballots and voting
10 system equipment has to be tested, and in some cases, ballots
11 printed in order to meet that 45-day deadline. It's already a
12 very, very tight calendar. There's not very much wiggle room
13 there.

14 Q. So what would be the impact of changing the deadline for
15 the opening of candidate filing?

16 A. Changing the opening of the candidate filing period,
17 delaying it -- if we're talking about a delay -- would impact
18 all of these dates and deadlines. It has a kind of a cascading
19 effect there, in the sense that we already have a very tight
20 window with our filing period, between the filing period and
21 date, and the time that mail ballots have to be sent out.

22 There's not very much time on the calendar that we
23 have to play with. And it could impact the ability for
24 counties to adequately prepare and test their ballots, and
25 could impact their ability to meet that 45-day deadline.

14:27 1 Q. Why is testing the ballots important?

2 A. For two reasons. One, it's required under State law that
 3 our election officials do require what we call logic and
 4 accuracy testing. This is done in a public forum, so people
 5 can come in and observe that process.

6 So there's a compliance issue with State law, and then
 7 on top of that, that was the process by which we ensure that
 8 our equipment and the programming related to that equipment is
 9 accurate and will adequately -- I'm sorry, accurately tabulate
 10 the election results. It's a very, very important piece of the
 11 process, because it ensures accuracy for your outcomes.

12 Q. And so I want to make sure I'm understanding you correctly.
 13 Is what you're saying that moving the opening of the candidate
 14 filing deadline, that would affect that timeline?

15 A. Well, if we're moving that opening and we're shifting
 16 everything, so if that candidate filing period is a 30-day
 17 period and it shifts everything, it does have an effect on all
 18 of those other dates.

19 Q. What's the impact of changing the primary date?

20 A. Changing the primary date could potentially be
 21 catastrophically bad. It could be very difficult because we
 22 also -- again, when we have a primary, we have our primary
 23 runoff. That is so many days after the primary itself, again,
 24 because of the requirements to meet military and overseas
 25 ballots, those deadlines.

14:28 1 Shifting that, there's not a lot of room there.
2 Though, it's happened before, it's -- it's very difficult to do
3 because it impacts the ability to plan and prepare for the
4 ballot for the general election. And that general election
5 being in November, we already have, again, a tight time frame
6 for preparing all of that information to get it ready for --
7 for the general election. And so any shifting there, again,
8 compresses those time frames.

9 It also has the impact -- or I would say, it also
10 potentially impacts candidates outside of the primary,
11 candidates that are using the convention process, what we refer
12 to as our minor parties. This impacts their dates and
13 deadlines and impacts those convention dates and deadlines.

14 And then our Independent and write-in candidates,
15 those deadlines could all be impacted as well, and it could
16 impact, for example, an Independent candidate's ability to
17 collect petition signatures, which is the only option those
18 Independent candidates have under the law to get on the ballot.

19 Q. Substantively, can changing the date of the primary affect
20 the outcome of election?

21 A. In my experience, I would say that's very possible, that it
22 could impact outcomes. From what I have observed in my role
23 over the years, going all the way back to 2012, there have been
24 times where -- changing time frames and giving candidates more
25 opportunities or longer time periods to campaign, sometimes

14:29 1 allows different issues to come up, allows different candidates
2 to get momentum. So it could impact outcomes in the sense that
3 candidates may not have been prepared for that, and it could
4 impact campaigning and their ability to educate the public on
5 their -- on their views.

6 Q. Could the deadline problems be solved by bifurcating the
7 primary?

8 A. Bifurcating the primary and -- and having federal elections
9 separate from state elections would be extremely challenging
10 for a couple of reasons. First and foremost, we are not used
11 to that structure in Texas. Though other states have that, we
12 have never conducted our elections that way in recent -- in
13 recent times, with any kind of bifurcated process.

14 So voters have an expectation that they're going to be
15 voting on their primary election on Super Tuesday for all of
16 our races, state and federal races. So there's an expectation
17 there associated with what voters believe to be our election
18 dates. So there's definitely an educational component to that
19 that would be very hard to overcome, I think, this late in the
20 game.

21 And then on top of that, that -- that would create a
22 substantial funding issue. We have a primary fund where the
23 State pays for and administers most of the -- or we pay for
24 most of the expenses associated with the primary election and
25 we administer these funds. These allocations are based on the

14:31 1 assumption that we're having a primary and a primary runoff,
 2 and if we were to bifurcate the system, we would now have four
 3 elections instead of two.

4 And so that was not budgeted for on the stateside.
 5 But I think an even bigger problem would be our local
 6 jurisdictions, our county election offices. They have
 7 significant costs associated with running primary elections
 8 that, by law, they have to cover. And nobody's budgeted for
 9 two additional elections on that scale.

10 Q. If any changes were to be made -- or an injunction entered,
 11 are changes -- does the timing of the change affect the
 12 magnitude of the impact on the process?

13 A. I would say yes to that. That the later we are in the
 14 process, the harder it is to adapt to changes, and the harder
 15 it is to effectively modify policy and procedures to, you know,
 16 adequately impact -- or adequately do that change. It's going
 17 to be harder on candidates, harder on voters, harder on
 18 election officials the closer we get to an election with any
 19 kind of changes in election policy.

20 Q. And are counties already preparing to run the election
 21 under the 2025 map?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Ms. Adkins, in your opinion, when did the 2026 primary
 24 begin?

25 A. Oh. Well, I believe that as soon as we had the maps, as

14:32 1 soon as we knew what -- what the lines were gonna be, knowing
2 that redistricting was taking place, I would say that that's
3 when the process began for most of our counties that were
4 impacted, because that's when they began looking at those to
5 review for potential changes.

6 And then on top of that, our precinct chair filing
7 period started in September. And so the wheels are already in
8 motion for the primary election. Many counties are already
9 making plans, making preparations for that election.

10 I know we have an election or two before then, but as
11 far as the magnitude of what a primary is, and the amount of
12 work that takes to go into it and the amount of planning that
13 goes into that, that work has already begun.

14 Q. If this Court issues an injunction tomorrow, will it cause
15 some level of voter confusion?

16 A. I would say yes.

17 Q. Will some candidates have to reconsider what district
18 they're running in?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Will some candidates have to restart the process of
21 collecting signatures?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Will an injunction, even if it's issued tomorrow, impact
24 this election?

25 A. Yes.

14:33 1 Q. Sitting here today, can you know exactly what that impact
2 will be?

3 A. I would say that the impact depends on the individuals that
4 we're looking at. Those impacts might be more significant for
5 our candidates. They would -- you know, they might be more
6 significant for voters in certain parts of the State. It just
7 depends kind of geographically where they were, how they were
8 impacted, and where those county election officials are in the
9 process. Some of them are further along than others.

10 And so while I can say that there would be -- I
11 believe that there would definitely be impacts, the scale of
12 those impacts is hard to evaluate because it varies -- it's
13 going to vary depending on the group we're talking about, or
14 the part of the state we're talking about.

15 Q. Is this redistricting process and the timeline novel?

16 A. No, no. The timelines that we're operating on right now
17 are very similar to the timelines that we were operating in, in
18 2021. Redistricting then was delayed because of the census
19 delays as a result of COVID. And so we're actually very
20 closely aligned with those time frames were back then.

21 I would say the difference between 2021 and this
22 mid-decade redistricting is that this is a smaller scale of
23 redistricting. In 2021, we were having to make a lot more
24 changes because all of our maps were impacted, and I think even
25 locally there were impacts to county offices or even cities and

14:35 1 schools that do their own redistricting on that same time
2 frame.

3 So time-wise, we're very similar to where we were in
4 '21, but this is a smaller scale.

5 MS. THORBURN: I'll pass the witness.

6 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Ms. Perales?

7 MS. PERALES: May we switch to the ELMO, please?

8 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Yes, ma'am.

9 MS. PERALES: Nina Perales for LULAC Plaintiffs.

10 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

11 **BY MS. PERALES:**

12 Q. Ms. Adkins, it's a pleasure to see you again.

13 A. It's nice to see you, too.

14 Q. Give me one moment. Ms. Thorburn is a little bit taller
15 than I am.

16 Okay, I'm going to -- I had a plan for some questions,
17 but I'm gonna work backwards instead.

18 A. Okay.

19 Q. One of the last things you talked about with my friend, you
20 mentioned it actually several times, the deadline has opened
21 for precinct chairs to file?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. I think you said that at least twice, that the deadline
24 opened in September. That's correct?

25 A. That's correct.

14:36 1 Q. What is the deadline? When is the last time that they can
2 file?

3 A. The last date that they can file? The final date for
4 precinct chair applications aligns with the public filing
5 period, and that is in December, December 8th.

6 Q. December 8th?

7 A. Mm-hmm.

8 Q. So, in fact, although the period is open now, precinct
9 chairs have until December 8th to decide which precinct they
10 would like to sign up to run in. Is that right?

11 A. That's correct.

12 Q. All right. You mentioned -- I think I heard you say
13 counties are already getting ready to implement new district
14 boundaries. Is that what you said?

15 A. Yes, ma'am, that's correct.

16 Q. But the counties are using the same precinct boundaries
17 that they have now for the upcoming November 4th election.
18 Aren't they?

19 A. That's correct. That -- I mean, it's the same way it
20 worked in 2021. There are a number of activities that counties
21 will do to prepare for final implementation of their voter
22 registration precincts. They're looking at maps now. They're
23 doing the overlay of different districts. And they're already
24 making determinations on how to adjust their voter registration
25 precincts.

14:37 1 Q. But they're not adjusting their voter registration
2 precincts yet. Are they? Because they have an upcoming
3 November 4th election. Isn't that right?

4 A. That's correct. That information will be, I think,
5 formally entered into their systems immediately following that
6 November election.

7 Q. Well, following the November election, perhaps, is a more
8 accurate way to put it.

9 Let's look here at the Governor's April 7 proclamation
10 of a special election in Congressional District 18. Do you see
11 that?

12 A. I do.

13 Q. And then here is the proclamation, its -- what is the
14 biggest county in Texas?

15 A. That would be Harris County.

16 Q. And this special election for Congress is running in Harris
17 County. Isn't that right?

18 A. Yes, ma'am, that's correct.

19 Q. And that's going to be under the 2021 map. Isn't that
20 right?

21 A. Yes, ma'am, that's correct.

22 Q. Do you know how many candidates have filed to run for
23 Congressional District 18?

24 A. I think it's about 16 candidates.

25 Q. That's the number I have as well. You have some experience

14:38 1 with elections in your years at the Secretary of State's
2 office. What is your estimate on the likelihood that we're
3 going to have a runoff in that election?

4 A. I would think that there's a pretty high degree of
5 certainty that we will have a runoff in that election. Not --
6 it's not a guarantee. I've seen strange things happen before,
7 but with a candidate pool that large, it is very possible we're
8 going to have a runoff.

9 Q. I don't disagree with you there.

10 So what that means, technically, is that Harris County
11 is going to have to keep its voter precinct boundaries under
12 the current plan. Not just its district boundaries, but its
13 voter precinct boundaries, the same, according to the 2021 plan
14 until that process comes to a conclusion, including any runoff
15 election. Is that right?

16 A. That's correct. They would not be modifying those
17 districts formally in their system until after that election
18 has concluded.

19 Q. Okay. You mentioned with my friend, Ms. Thorburn, that the
20 effect of an injunction on the voters -- and I just wanted to
21 make clear with you, the lines that we have today are from the
22 map passed in 2021, correct?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. So what the voters know in terms of their district
25 boundaries comes from the 2021 map, correct?

14:40 1 A. Well, I think it would depend on the voter.

2 Q. Perhaps.

3 A. I think some voters -- you know, if they're looking at
4 older information or looking at past elections -- are probably
5 familiar with those previous lines. But individuals that might
6 be following this process along may be aware that new lines
7 have been adopted, particularly as they interact with
8 candidates.

9 Q. That's a good point. But in terms of the lines under which
10 they most recently voted, those are the lines from the 2021
11 map. Is that right?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. Okay. So would you agree with me, then, that the, quote,
14 unquote, Effect of an injunction on the voters would be to
15 maintain the same district boundaries and precinct boundaries
16 under which they last voted?

17 A. I would say the effect on the voter, as far as process and
18 procedure, you know, where they are -- what their voter
19 registration precinct actually is, that's -- well, let me
20 rephrase that.

21 I think there's different effects on voters.

22 Q. I am asking you specifically about this effect. Would you
23 agree with me that the effect of an injunction on the voters
24 would be to maintain the same precinct boundaries and district
25 boundaries for Congress under which they last voted?

14:41 1 A. I understand what you're asking now, yes. But I would also
 2 add that that could still be the same precinct under the new
 3 lines as well.

4 Q. Might be. And if candidates were really smart in
 5 collecting signatures, they would collect signatures in the
 6 overlap area between the two districts. Wouldn't they?

7 A. That's possible.

8 Q. Okay. I'm not a math person. I'm not gonna talk about
 9 Venn diagrams, but I think there's something in there about
 10 that.

11 The last thing I wanted to talk with you about was
 12 something you started your testimony with, which has to do with
 13 the Spanish-surname flags in the Secretary of State's voter
 14 file.

15 You mentioned -- and I just want to make it clear for
 16 the Court so they are not misled. There -- would you agree
 17 with me that in the Texas voter file, there is either a flag or
 18 not a flag next to someone's name under this column for
 19 Spanish-surname?

20 A. Well, I'm not sure what you mean by a flag, per se. But I
 21 think that there's a way to generate a report that identifies
 22 those surnames as identified, you know, under the previous
 23 census -- or rather using that name from the census.

24 But I don't know if I would call it a flag.

25 Q. And we don't have to call it a flag. We can just call it

14:43 1 an indication. So for every voter, there is either an
2 indication or not of Spanish-surname. Would you agree with me?

3 A. There -- I would say there is an indication in the
4 system -- yes. That there is an indication -- we can generate
5 a report to identify those names.

6 Q. Okay. And now I'll get to the part about the report. You
7 can use this information to generate a list of voters, correct?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. And you use that for your mailing list. Is that correct?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. Okay. But there is a difference, you would agree with me,
12 between using that information to create a mailing list and the
13 information itself, which is associated with each voter. There
14 is a difference there.

15 A. Absolutely.

16 Q. Okay. And the Texas Secretary of State provides this
17 information about the voters to the Texas Legislative Council
18 for its reports on redistricting plans. You would agree with
19 me?

20 A. I don't know if that's information we provide to Texas
21 Legislative Council. That Hispanic surname category, I don't
22 know if that's in the information we provide to them.

23 Q. Understood.

24 MS. PERALES: I pass the witness.

25 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

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14:44 1

JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Dunn?

2

CROSS-EXAMINATION

3

BY MR. DUNN:

4

Q. Hello, Director Adkins. How are you today?

5

A. Fine, thank you. How are you?

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Q. I'm Chad Dunn. I believe we might have met at the last

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hearing here, maybe on some other occasions, but I just want to

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start of with all sincerity, I know how difficult it is to find

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competent people to run elections nowadays, and I'm very

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thankful to you for you being one of those people that does

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that for our state.

12

I want to ask you about a few of the things that you

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talked about today, and just kind of drill down a little

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tighter too, if I may.

15

You started off talking about the petition signatures

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that are necessary for candidates to obtain access to the

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ballot. You recall that generally?

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A. Yes.

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Q. And, of course, as you mentioned, candidates can pay a

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filing fee and, in lieu of filing fee, they can obtain these

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signatures. Is that how it works?

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A. That's correct.

23

Q. You would agree with me that the vast majority of

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candidates who run for Congress pay the filing fee?

25

A. I mean, I haven't looked at those numbers recently to see

14:45 1 what that breakdown is, so I think it's possible, but I
 2 couldn't give you an answer for sure on that.

3 Q. Okay. Well, let me back up for a minute.

4 When is it that you joined the Secretary of State's
 5 office?

6 A. In June of 2012.

7 Q. And you became the director of elections when?

8 A. In April of 2023.

9 Q. So it sounds to me -- and you can correct me if I got the
 10 timeline wrong, but in 2011, the federal court in San Antonio
 11 adjusted various deadlines pertaining to the election and there
 12 actually ended up being a different election for Congress.
 13 You're aware that that occurred?

14 A. Yes. I overlapped with -- between the primary and the
 15 runoff.

16 Q. Okay. Because I thought I wrote down that you said that
 17 we've never had a bifurcated election, so -- but, perhaps, I
 18 misheard you.

19 A. When I was referring to the bifurcated process, we were
 20 talking about bifurcating state and federal elections.

21 Q. I see.

22 A. I used it in a broader -- in a broader sense. We were
 23 talking about the bifurcation of state elections versus federal
 24 elections.

25 Q. All right. Well, you're aware that at least twice this

14:46 1 century in Texas, there have been separate elections for
 2 Congress from the other elections because of orders over the
 3 federal court. You're aware of that generally?

4 A. Of course, yes.

5 Q. And I assume you attend these various nationwide
 6 conferences with other administrators in your capacity?

7 A. I do.

8 Q. And you're aware that that's happened in other places.
 9 They find a way to administer the election so that the Court's
 10 order to enforce the constitution can take effect. You
 11 understand that?

12 A. I do.

13 Q. Now, with the -- you mentioned -- but going back now to
 14 these petition signatures, whatever number of people who run
 15 for Congress actually do that process, you're aware that the
 16 Court has entered orders in the past to accommodate that
 17 situation in the event the schedule has to change.

18 You know this to be the case?

19 A. I assume that's the case. I couldn't speak to that from
 20 any of my own personal experience. I wouldn't know.

21 Q. Well, something else that has changed, though, since even
 22 2011, is the Texas Supreme Court has issued an opinion called
 23 *Green Party of Texas*, and in it, they have said that a person's
 24 application to appear on the ballot can't be invalidated for
 25 any non-material reason to their capacity or eligibility as a

14:47 1 candidate. Are you aware of that ruling in general?

2 A. I am familiar that there is a ruling there. I'm not sure
3 what specific part of it you want me to speak to. I'd have to
4 look at the ruling to get into details.

5 Q. Well, no worries. And I don't mean to test you on the law.
6 Maybe I'll come -- the case speaks for how it does.

7 But let me -- let me suggest this. In the 26 years or
8 so years I've been an election lawyer in this state, I don't
9 think I've seen somebody's ballot application invalidated for
10 partisan signatures for at least about 15 years. Does that
11 sound right to you?

12 A. No. That does not sound right to me. In fact, our office,
13 we review candidate petitions for Independent candidates, and I
14 can tell you we specifically invalidated petitions because of
15 issues with signatures.

16 Q. I see. So your office has redone some reviews and
17 invalidated some applications?

18 A. Yes. We've rejected applications on the basis of invalid
19 petitions before.

20 Q. And many of those have been challenged and, ultimately,
21 courts have ruled that the applications have to be accepted?

22 A. No, I wouldn't agree with that.

23 Q. Now, also, you talk about sort of the difficulty in
24 adjusting election deadlines, but during the COVID election,
25 there was significant changes in how the State operated its

14:49 1 election. Would you agree?

2 A. I -- no, I wouldn't agree with that.

3 Q. There's special elections that get called all the time
4 because of the incapacity or death of a candidate. You're
5 aware of that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And the State manages to still administer those elections?

8 A. Because we have laws that tell us how to administer those
9 elections.

10 Q. Laws that, in your case, come from the Legislature, right?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. That can also be adjusted by a federal court. You would
13 agree?

14 A. Of course.

15 Q. I'd like to show you some evidence that's been admitted in
16 this case. It'll come up here on your screen in a moment.
17 This is Brooks Exhibit 335. We've seen part of this quite a
18 bit. It has relation to Governor Abbott talking about his
19 reasons for engaging in redistricting. But I want to show you
20 this piece here. It starts at 8:01:39 and goes to 9:01:29.

21 (Video played.)

22 MR. TAPPER: I mean, not entirely, though, because, I
23 mean, there are filing deadlines for candidates in September
24 and November, and then in March, of course, would be the
25 primaries in Texas so they really -- I mean, I'm not advocating

14:50 1 this, but they really only need to wait you out until the fall.

2 GOVERNOR ABBOT: Kevin -- sorry, Jake, that's not the
3 case, because I can call a special session at any time to have
4 these districts redrawn. And even if we get to and beyond the
5 filing deadline, we are still going to redraw these maps.

6 Before we've done this, what we can do again and that is have
7 two different elections, one for all the other candidates on
8 the ballot, one for Members of Congress.

9 And that's exactly what we will do this time. If they
10 think all they have to do is wait it out until November or
11 December, they're wrong. I'm going to do this for the next
12 two years, and they're going to have to basically take up --

13 (Video concluded.)

14 Q. (BY MR. DUNN) "Take up residence in Illinois," I think,
15 was how that finishes.

16 So if the Governor and the Legislature were to direct
17 you to run two separate elections, as the Governor suggests, it
18 was his plan there, you could -- your office could accomplish
19 that?

20 A. If the laws were modified in some way that required that --
21 excuse me -- then, yes, we're gonna do what we have to do to
22 comply with the law. You know, the Governor didn't discuss his
23 statements there with our office about the complexity of that,
24 but we're going to do whatever we have to do.

25 Q. Well, that -- and that sounds like that happens from time

14:51 1 to time, at least as a Texan, you know, the Governor or other
 2 officials in the state make a decision, and the other pieces
 3 have to turn to accommodate that decision. Is that fair enough
 4 to say?

5 A. I would agree. I would say election officials are very
 6 good at adapting and moving quickly when necessary.

7 Q. And similarly, if a federal court were to determine that
 8 the state drew the map in a way that violates the constitution
 9 because it intentionally discriminates against voters on the
 10 basis of race, and that required there to be a new or different
 11 set of election rules, you could accommodate that if you needed
 12 to. Isn't that true?

13 A. I would say that our office is always going to comply with
 14 the law that's provided to us. We're going to -- if a court
 15 issues an order to our office or to the State to do something
 16 in a particular way, we're always going to comply with the
 17 court order.

18 Q. The last thing I want to talk to you about, I want to show
 19 you this affidavit or declaration that you submitted in this
 20 case. Do you recall that?

21 A. I do.

22 Q. This is just for the record, it's located at
 23 Docket 1200-81. It was attached to the State's response to the
 24 Motion for Preliminary Injunction filed by the consolidated
 25 Plaintiffs.

14:52 1 Do you recognize this generally? I'm happy to go
2 through the pages if you need me to?

3 A. I recognize it.

4 Q. Okay. One of the things that I noted in here on
5 paragraph 15 is that you say, "Given these considerations, it
6 is my opinion that postponing the candidate filing period by
7 anything longer than one week, if at all, would cause
8 significant administrative upheaval."

9 Do you see that?

10 A. I do.

11 Q. Now, I had previously argued in the Preliminary Hearing
12 that scheduled this hearing that the filing period could adjust
13 about a week without having catastrophic effects on managing
14 the rest of the election.

15 It sounds like on that point, you and I agree?

16 A. I think the candidate filing period this cycle happens to
17 fall a little bit earlier than it normally does, and so it does
18 give us a few extra days there.

19 Q. Yeah.

20 A. It would still be difficult, but I agree with the statement
21 that I made in that declaration.

22 Q. And I guess that's the last point I'll make. When I
23 started to do this, the filing period started in mid-December
24 and went until mid or late January. Were you around when that
25 was the case?

14:53 1 A. No. But I believe there was a different primary date back
2 then.

3 Q. All right. Well, thank you again for your service, ma'am.

4 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Thank you, Mr. Dunn.

5 Mr. Quesada?

6 MR. QUESADA: Thank you, Your Honor.

7 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

8 **BY MR. QUESADA:**

9 Q. Ms. Adkins, did you prepare the estimate of what the
10 administrative cost would be of moving the primary by a week or
11 two weeks?

12 A. No.

13 Q. Did anyone ask you to do that?

14 A. No.

15 Q. When you talked earlier about the Spanish-surname Voter
16 Registration, do you know how data scientists use that?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Do you have any -- do you have any complaints -- your
19 comments were related to using it as a mailing list?

20 A. Correct.

21 Q. Okay. So you don't know whether it's being correlated to
22 ethnicity by the Census Bureau or by others who use that data?

23 A. I couldn't speak to how it's generated, but I can speak to
24 the fact that I get a lot of complaints about those mailers
25 going out.

14:54 1 Q. I appreciate that. It may not be a good predictor of
2 individual ethnicity, for instance, it does not identify you as
3 Hispanic, correct?

4 A. Correct.

5 Q. But do you know if it is or is not been validated for
6 predicting percentages of the electorate and percentages of
7 voters?

8 A. I couldn't speak to how it's been used there, no.

9 Q. Thank you.

10 MR. QUESADA: Your Honor, I don't have any other
11 questions. Thank you.

12 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Medina?

13 MR. MEDINA: Good afternoon, Your Honor.

14 Richard Medina for the Gonzales Plaintiffs. This will
15 be very brief.

16 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

17 **BY MR. MEDINA:**

18 Q. Ms. Adkins, we haven't met. My name is Richard Medina. I
19 represent the Gonzales Plaintiffs. I just have a couple of
20 questions for you.

21 You spoke with my friend, Ms. Perales, about the
22 upcoming special election in Houston, right?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. Okay. There are other elections happening throughout the
25 state, also on that same date. Is that right?

14:55 1 A. You're referring to the special elections scheduled in
2 November?

3 Q. November 4th, yes.

4 A. Yes, correct.

5 Q. I think there's a few statewide ballot measures on the
6 ballot?

7 A. I think there's a little more than a few.

8 Q. More than a few. Fair enough. Maybe some county or other
9 local races?

10 A. Absolutely.

11 Q. Okay. So suffice to say Texans will be voting all over the
12 state on November 4th?

13 A. That's correct.

14 Q. What precinct boundaries will county election officials use
15 in those elections on November 4?

16 A. They're using the existing boundaries that are in their
17 systems now, they --

18 Q. Sure.

19 A. -- unless they've made modifications since the previous
20 election, which some of them may have, in proper reviewing of
21 precinct lines for compliance, it would be what's currently in
22 our system.

23 Q. And that's because under the Texas Election Code, counties
24 are required to review their precinct lines in odd years,
25 right?

14:56 1

A. That's correct.

2

Q. And they're supposed to complete that review by May 1st?

3

A. That's correct.

4

Q. And as far as you're aware, counties have done that and complied with that deadline?

5

A. Yes. There's some other limited reasons under the election code by which they can make some additional adjustments after that time frame. I can think of a few counties that may have since made some adjustments in consulting with our office for compliance purposes. But, yes.

10

11

Q. And all of those adjustments would have been made to

12

conform to the existing congressional district boundaries in

13

Plan C2193. Is that right?

14

A. I would say that any changes that were made prior to today, were made to comply with other provisions in the election code, not with respect to congressional maps.

15

16

17

Q. Sure. But the -- those precincts then would conform to the boundaries of 2193?

18

19

A. I would agree with that, yes.

20

Q. Thank you.

21

MR. MEDINA: Nothing further.

22

JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Bledsoe?

23

MR. BLEDSOE: Thank you, Your Honor.

24

25

14:57 1

CROSS-EXAMINATION

2 **BY MR. BLEDSOE:**

3 Q. Good to see you again.

4 A. Yes, sir.

5 Q. Thank you for your hospitality when I went to visit with
6 you guys.

7 A. Yes, sir.

8 Q. I have a couple questions here. First of all, I'd like to
9 ask if it's true, is it not, that, in terms of the current map,
10 C2193, the system is all set to move forward in terms of the
11 precinct boundaries?

12 They don't need to be changed, correct?

13 A. You're talking about with the -- these 2025 maps, or are
14 you talking about the previous --

15 Q. 2021.

16 A. 2021. That's correct. Those changes were made to conform
17 to those maps after the end of 2021.

18 Q. Okay. And, in fact, when you change boundaries for
19 Congress, this impacts boundaries for other offices. Is that
20 correct?

21 A. If you change the maps, the boundaries for congressional
22 offices, it can affect the boundaries for voter registration
23 precincts.

24 Q. Okay. Well -- yes. But what I'm asking you is this.

25 Let's say -- I think state law requires that for any office,

14:58 1 like a constable's office, that the precinct can't overlap, and
 2 the cost will have part of the precinct in their election
 3 precinct, correct?

4 A. That's correct. The way -- what the law requires is that
 5 there can't be any more than one of certain offices. For
 6 example, congressional -- congressional district, no more than
 7 one state rep, no more than one state senator. And it
 8 encompasses some of the county-level offices as well.

9 Q. So even after the decisions you made to change the
 10 congressional boundaries, you've got to make sure those conform
 11 with all the other offices at the local level?

12 A. That's correct, sir. I think what I would want to clarify
 13 is that, I don't see changes to any other offices. What I see
 14 are changes to precinct lines. So they're not shifting
 15 congressional -- or commissioner precinct lines. They're
 16 shifting the voter registration precincts.

17 Q. Okay.

18 A. The block where a voter is assigned.

19 Q. But they would have to be changed so there would be
 20 consistency throughout, from constable to Congress?

21 A. Yes, sir. For those parts of the state that were impacted,
 22 yes. I think there's broad swathes of the state, though, that
 23 were not impacted and those folks don't have to make any
 24 changes.

25 Q. And that's already accomplished for 2193, correct?

15:00 1 A. Correct.

2 Q. The existing map.

3 A. The existing map, correct. Just want to make sure.

4 Q. For the new map --

5 A. Yes, sir.

6 Q. -- C2333, that still needs to be done, correct?

7 A. Yes, sir. My understanding is that most of the counties

8 have begun making those determinations, but they won't formally

9 finish -- finalize that process until after this November

10 election.

11 Q. And you said the operative term. You said "most," right?

12 So you don't really know what the condition is of all of them.

13 Do you?

14 A. No. But I would also say there are a lot of counties that

15 don't have to make any changes at all so -- of the counties

16 that are impacted.

17 Q. But, in fact, some of those counties that are impacted are

18 very concerned about the changes that they need to make. Is

19 that correct?

20 A. Yes, correct.

21 Q. Okay. Because under state law, under chapter 262 of the

22 election code, you're required to actually make -- make changes

23 to precincts by October 1st, if it's done in reference to

24 redistricting. Isn't that correct?

25 A. Pursuant to redistricting changes, yes. Those -- those

15:01 1 changes have to be ordered by October 1st.

2 Q. All right. And that was not changed in this statute. Was
3 it?

4 A. No. But I -- I don't believe that that provision would
5 apply because this redistricting is outside of the census
6 cycle. This redistricting that just occurred was not pursuant
7 to that post-census redistricting.

8 Q. So you're saying 262 only applies to redistricting pursuant
9 to the census, not to mid-decade redistricting?

10 A. That's correct. That's how we've interpreted that
11 provision before, because there have been other times where
12 redistricting changes have been made after the post-census
13 redistricting, and that October 1st deadline hasn't been
14 applied to it before.

15 Q. Okay. But now, it's true, is it not, that when you -- that
16 when you decide to make a change to these precinct boundaries,
17 that's gonna require some changes in the data that have to go
18 to the Secretary of State's office, correct?

19 A. Yes. Counties have to provide that information. Whatever
20 changes they make, they have to enter into the statewide system
21 so that voters can be assigned their registration properly.

22 Q. So that's gonna require some changes to voter registration.
23 Is that correct?

24 A. It could change the precinct that a person is assigned to.
25 It wouldn't change their underlying voter registration record.

15:02 1 So it wouldn't impact a voter by changing their date of
2 registration or anything to that effect, but it may change the
3 precinct number that they're in.

4 Q. Because a voter may need to know where they need to go
5 vote, so they need to have the registration that shows them
6 what precinct they're in, right?

7 A. Absolutely.

8 Q. And so that part still has to be done, correct?

9 A. Yes. That's the work that I'm talking about, as far as the
10 information that's entered into our system after November.
11 Those are the changes that would be entered into the statewide
12 system.

13 Q. Okay. But that does not have to be done with 2193. That's
14 already done, correct?

15 A. Yes, sir, that's correct.

16 Q. Okay. And so another thing that has to happen is that, in
17 terms of the precinct boundaries that are there, those -- that
18 data has got to be input into your system, correct?

19 A. That's the information that's inputted into the system that
20 makes that change. So that -- that is what they're putting
21 into our system.

22 Q. And it's true, is it not, that you're transitioning from a
23 system called Teams 1.0 to Teams 2.0. Is that correct?

24 A. It's not formally called 2.0, but it is the new -- it's the
25 newer -- newer version of the teams, yes, sir.

15:03 1 Q. And would you agree with me that it's been a matter of
 2 consternation within the election administrator world in the
 3 State of Texas?

4 A. What I would say to that is anytime you roll out a big tech
 5 project, there's always going to be a transition period. And
 6 change is hard. And people have to get used to the new
 7 interface. And I think with this transition, our system is
 8 much more granular in its reporting.

9 And so counties have had to make adjustments to their
 10 data to reflect that granularity. Data conversions always
 11 shine a bright spotlight on changes like that that need to be
 12 made. But we're through the bulk of that at this point.

13 Q. But isn't it true that even as we sit here right now in
 14 this courtroom, there's a backlog -- a backlog on the uploading
 15 of voter registrations because of that new system?

16 A. Depends on the county. We have many counties that don't
 17 have any backlogs.

18 Q. But some do?

19 A. Sure. And the reason for that, though, will depend on the
 20 county. We have a number of counties that were utilizing a
 21 vendor that went out of business, and had -- they had no
 22 ability to process registration applications for a period of
 23 time. So depending on the county, will depend on the reason
 24 for a backlog.

25 Q. And you're aware, are you not, that some counties, for

15:05 1 example, Travis County, has actually done a study of the new
 2 2.0 and decided that that 2.0 was much slower and that it was
 3 creating problems with the upload?

4 A. I don't know if I agree with that, sir. That hasn't been
 5 communicated to us to that -- in that manner, no.

6 Q. So -- with -- right now, if this Court were to allow 2193
 7 to go forward, none of those changes would have to be made,
 8 right? That would be -- that would require your system to
 9 upload?

10 A. If -- I'm sorry, sir. I'm not understanding the question.
 11 I apologize.

12 Q. Okay. Well, I think I've already asked that anyway --

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. -- so let me just go on to another one.

15 The -- we talked about precinct chairs?

16 A. Yes, sir.

17 Q. Okay. And a number of precinct chairs filed under the old
 18 boundaries. Is that correct?

19 A. I believe in some counties, yes. Some individuals have
 20 filed their precinct chair applications. What I don't know,
 21 sir, is whether those are under older boundaries or if counties
 22 have been providing updated information to those party
 23 officials about what the new boundary lines may be.

24 Q. But as a matter of fact, a number filed under the old
 25 boundaries, and they then would have their boundaries -- the

15:06 1 applications to run for an office just vitiated?

2 A. Well, we hope that's not the case. We have provided
 3 training to our election officials on this matter, and for any
 4 county that may have to make some changes to their precinct
 5 boundary lines, we've instructed those party chairs to confirm
 6 those changes and to notify candidates prior to that candidate
 7 filing deadline, so that if a candidate needs to make
 8 adjustments, if they use the wrong precinct number because
 9 their precinct number has changed, that they have the
 10 opportunity to do that.

11 This happened in 2021 as well.

12 Q. Okay. But you're not aware of the specifics, but you are
 13 aware that there are some precinct chairs who would be
 14 disadvantaged by the change --

15 A. I think --

16 Q. -- correct?

17 A. There have been precinct chairs that have filed. I can't
 18 speak to their -- whether they are under old -- with older
 19 information or if they've already received new information from
 20 their counties on precinct lines, so I can't speak to that,
 21 but, yes, there are precinct chairs that have filed.

22 Q. Okay. And in terms of election issues in the
 23 18th Congressional District, those voters are going to be
 24 required to vote under the 18th Congressional District
 25 boundaries that are current under 2193. Is that correct?

15:07 1

A. Correct.

2

Q. Okay. And then, when that election comes up again next year, many of those same voters won't be able to vote for the candidates running for CD18. Isn't that correct?

3

4

5

A. You mean in the primary, when the actual primary takes place?

6

7

Q. Yes.

8

9

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11

12

A. That is not an uncommon phenomenon that happens after any kind of redistricting. We had a situation in 2021, I think it was Representative Filemon Vela -- his seat. There was a vacancy, and we had to conduct that election under different lines.

13

14

15

So that -- that scenario happens with -- anytime there's a vacancy that occurs in an existing office, even when there's a redistricting change.

16

17

18

Q. So you mentioned one other instance. That seems -- still seems to be -- the word is "uncommon." You just cited one instance. Does it happen a lot of times?

19

20

21

22

23

24

A. I would say it probably has happened every time we've done redistricting, that a vacancy will occur sometime after the redistricting plan is adopted for the remainder of that individual's term. And so having to run an election on different lines is something that our counties have had to do before.

25

Q. Okay. But you can't cite any other specific ones?

15:09 1 A. The Representative Vela seat in 2022, I just remember that
2 off the top of my head, but I'm sure we can find other examples
3 if need be.

4 Q. Okay. Thank you.

5 A. Yes, sir.

6 MR. BLEDSOE: Thank you, Your Honor.

7 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Thank you, Mr. Bledsoe.

8 Ms. Thorburn?

9 MS. THORBURN: Very briefly, Your Honor.

10 **REDIRECT EXAMINATION**

11 **BY MS. THORBURN:**

12 Q. Ms. Adkins, would you say that this current redistricting
13 cycle has been highly publicized?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And would you say that candidates have been planning on
16 running under the 2025 map?

17 A. Yes. Based on the inquiries that have come into our
18 office, I do believe candidates have already initiated that
19 application process or campaign process based on new maps.

20 Q. You spoke with my friends on the other side about redrawing
21 some precinct lines. Do you remember that?

22 A. I do.

23 Q. Will all of the precinct lines have to be redrawn?

24 A. No.

25 Q. Why not?

15:10 1 A. There were large parts of Texas that were not impacted by
 2 this congressional redistricting, and so for those counties --
 3 I mean, we have entire counties that were impacted, so those
 4 counties don't have to make any changes and then, you know,
 5 depending on how the lines were modified in a given county, it
 6 may not impact other precincts within that county. It just
 7 varies depending on the county itself.

8 Q. And I believe you mentioned to my friends on the other
 9 side, something about entering the changes into a system. And
 10 I think you said the changes can't be entered until after the
 11 election in November. Is that right?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. Does that mean they can't start making the changes until
 14 after the election?

15 A. No. I mean, I think we've -- in the counties that I've
 16 spoken to about this, they began that process of making the
 17 determinations on those changes. I mean, they began that a
 18 month ago, you know, well, in advance of, I think, the November
 19 election, so that they could move swiftly after the November
 20 election to formalize those changes.

21 This is the same process they filed -- or followed in
 22 2021. This is the normal process and time frame with respect
 23 to entering changes into our system anytime redistricting takes
 24 place.

25 MS. THORBURN: I pass the witness.

15:11 1

JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Ms. Perales?

2

RE-CROSS-EXAMINATION

3

BY MS. PERALES:

4

Q. I'm trying to sort through words like "making the changes," which the counties are not gonna do until after this election cycle has wrapped up, and words like "considering" or "making the determination." So I'll ask my question this way.

5

When a county implements new district and precinct boundaries, that is done in a computer. Is that correct?

6

7

A. It depends on the county. When they're making the determinations on what those new precinct lines would be, that depends on how the county chooses to do it. Some counties will utilize certain applications or will utilize systems to help them make those determinations. Some counties will sit in layered maps on top of each other to make the determination as to where those precincts will be.

8

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14

Q. Understood. And when you say "systems," you mean GIS or geographic information systems. Is that right?

15

16

A. It could be. It could be. I think there's a number of ways to do this. Some of the traditional voter registration systems don't use GIS, and they're looking at street numbers, so it -- it varies.

17

18

Q. Understood. And it would, typically, vary by the size of the county. Is that right?

19

20

A. I would agree with that.

15:13 1 Q. Okay. I'm so looking forward to using this phrase. We
2 used it in the SB1 case. "Let's talk about the big boys."

3 A. Okay.

4 Q. Those are -- that is the colloquial term used for our
5 bigger counties. Is that right?

6 A. Yes, sure.

7 Q. And the big boys would include Dallas and Tarrant, correct?

8 A. Among others, Dallas, Tarrant, Harris. Depends on how we
9 define these extra-large counties.

10 Q. Travis, Bexar, El Paso?

11 A. Potentially, yes. Uh-huh.

12 Q. And some of our big suburban counties, Williamson,
13 Montgomery as well. Is that right?

14 A. They could be in that category.

15 Q. Would it be fair to say that for most of the big boys, they
16 are using computers to enter the new precinct boundaries and
17 district boundaries so that they can get their voters into the
18 right precincts?

19 A. I think there -- it's possible. I mean, when I spoke to
20 Harris County last week about this, they did indicate that they
21 were using GIS and that they'd already -- they'd already made
22 most of those determinations.

23 Q. But they can't put people -- they cannot use their computer
24 to put people into new precincts or districts until not only
25 after the November 4 election, but after any potential runoff.

15:14 1 Is that correct?

2 A. I don't know that I agree with that, because, in thinking
 3 about this race -- the Representative Vela race that we did in
 4 2022, we worked with those counties to find a way to enter that
 5 into kind of -- I think we were using a test environment in our
 6 system so that they could implement changes to move forward
 7 with redistricting requirements. But they were able to still
 8 process and run that election on old lines.

9 So I think, depending on the system, there is a way to
 10 have those precincts implemented in a way you can utilize that
 11 information effectively. It just depends on the circumstances
 12 of that county and the need for it. And --

13 Q. So what you're describing in that situation was that the
 14 county was able to toggle between the two sets of lines. Is
 15 that right?

16 A. I wouldn't call it a toggle, but we were able to work with
 17 them because they utilized our system, those counties. We were
 18 able to provide a way for them to generate the list based off
 19 of their older lines when they were doing that special
 20 election. So there's -- there are ways to maintain both sets
 21 of information.

22 Q. Understood. And have you had a conversation specifically
 23 with Harris about its ability to have, in its computer system,
 24 the current lines, which it needs for November 4, and any
 25 potential runoff, and then being able to essentially have

15:15 1 another set of lines waiting in the wings?

2 A. The only thing that I've discussed with them is that
3 they -- they were giving me an update on the work that they've
4 done, just to keep me in the loop there, but I don't know what
5 their system is behind the scenes, how they're choosing to do
6 that.

7 Q. Thank you.

8 MS. PERALES: I pass the witness.

9 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Dunn?

10 MR. DUNN: No, sir.

11 MR. QUESADA: No questions, Your Honor.

12 MR. BLEDSOE: No questions, Your Honor.

13 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Medina?

14 MR. MEDINA: Nothing further.

15 MS. THORBURN: Nothing further, Your Honor.

16 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: May this witness be permanently
17 excused?

18 MR. DUNN: Yes.

19 MS. PERALES: Yes, Your Honor.

20 MS. THORBURN: Yes, Your Honor.

21 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Ms. Adkins, thank you so much for
22 coming in. You're excused and free to go, ma'am.

23 (Witness excused.).

24 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Who's your next witness?

25 MR. BRYANT: Your Honor, State Defendants call

15:16 1 Senator Adam Hinojosa.

2 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Good afternoon, Senator. If you'd
3 raise your right hand and receive the oath.

4 (Witness sworn.)

5 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Thank you, sir. Have a seat there,
6 please.

7 Whenever you're ready.

8 **SENATOR ADAM HINOJOSA,**

9 duly sworn by the Court, was examined and testified as follows:

10 **DIRECT EXAMINATION**

11 **BY MR. BRYANT:**

12 Q. Senator, could you state your name for the record?

13 A. Legal name Adam Hinojosa, widely known as Adam Hinojosa.

14 Q. And for the record, are you Hispanic or Mexican American?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Are you currently a member of the Texas State Senate
17 representing Texas Senate District 27?

18 A. Yes, sir.

19 MR. BRYANT: Let's look at a map that's marked as
20 State Defendants' Exhibit 1566.

21 Q. (BY MR. BRYANT) Senator, can you see that map on the
22 screen in front of you?

23 A. Yes, sir.

24 Q. Is that a map of Texas State Senate District 27, that you
25 represent?

15:18 1

A. It is.

2

Q. Okay. Could you describe, generally, for the Court, where that District 27 is located and what are the major or larger cities in the district?

3

4

5

A. Sure. It starts in the northernmost part of the district in Bee County. Largest city is Beeville. Incorporates that entire county, all those San Patricio County, Portland, Ingleside, those cities there. Parts of Nueces County through Port Aransas, along with the North Padre Island, down to the southern part of Nueces County and Corpus Christi.

10

11

All of Kleberg County, which is Kingsville, Kennedy County, Willacy County. You've got Raymondville in there. All of Cameron County, you've got Harlingen-Brownsville. And the eastern third portion of Hidalgo County includes cities like Weslaco, Alamo, and San Juan. And San Juan is the -- is the border there in Hidalgo County where my Senate District 27 stops.

12

13

14

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18

Q. Thank you.

19

A. Yes, sir.

20

Q. You and your family live in Corpus?

21

A. We do.

22

Q. And where were you born?

23

A. I was born in Brownsville, Texas.

24

Q. Does your family have roots in South Texas?

25

A. We do. My father and mother were both from the Rio Grande

15:19 1 Valley area, grew up in Brownsville, and high school
 2 sweethearts, and had five of us. I'm the youngest of five and
 3 have extensive family both from my mom's side and my dad's side
 4 that still reside in the Rio Grande Valley.

5 Q. Does your family still own some acreage in Cameron County,
 6 down in the Brownsville area?

7 A. Yes, sir. My grandfather was a farmer in Santa Rosa near
 8 Harlingen. Before my grandfather passed away, he sold most of
 9 his farming operation. What remains is the several acres
 10 that's designated family cemetery. Generations of my family is
 11 buried there, including my grandfather, my father. I'll be
 12 there one day.

13 Q. Does your family have some law enforcement background?

14 A. We do. Law enforcement and military. My grandfather,
 15 again, served in the United States Army during World War II.
 16 When he got home, he served as a deputy sheriff for many years
 17 there in Cameron County. So, yes, we do.

18 My mom's cousin was a federal marshal, U.S. Marshal,
 19 and I have some cousins who are law enforcement as well.

20 Q. How did you get your introduction to politics and elections
 21 when you were a boy growing up?

22 A. Well, my dad worked as a private investigator, so shortly
 23 after I was born, we moved to the Houston area and, for a
 24 couple of years in Austin, and ended up in Corpus Christi by
 25 the age of ten.

15:21 1 My father was intrigued by the political process as a
2 private investigator, you know, namely, judges. He started out
3 with interest in how judges are, you know, elected. So worked
4 on -- used to write letters to anybody running for political
5 office, you know, whether it was school board or City Council.
6 Any elected position that impacted our area, he would write a
7 letter to the candidates and offer for them to meet our family.

8 He just said, "Basically, we're a family of seven, the
9 Hinojosa family. We're not politically attached to any groups
10 or anything like that. We're just a family who want to know
11 your concerns, your reason for running for office." And then,
12 you know, to our surprise, many of the candidates decided to
13 meet with us.

14 So that turned into us meeting as a family, deciding
15 who we thought was better based off the questions we had, you
16 know, for the candidates, and how they answered, and kind of
17 getting to vet them and get to know them a little bit. We'd
18 make decisions as a family. And then we'd go to work and
19 volunteer to help them. Block walking, phone banking, putting
20 up political signs, all those kinds of things.

21 So eventually, that led to people seeking my father to
22 be their campaign manager. Later, my dad became a political
23 consultant. My brother and I worked in -- you know, with his
24 consulting business for many years, and ourselves became active
25 as campaign managers and that kind of thing.

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15:22 1 Q. Did your father always consider himself a Democrat?

2 A. He did. Until the day he died, in 2020, he always declared
3 himself a Democrat. He voted solely in the Democratic
4 primaries.

5 Q. But did he always vote for the candidate he thought was
6 best, regardless of party?

7 A. He did. As a matter of fact, one of his -- my father had a
8 lot of integrity, was a man of faith. And he -- you know,
9 despite, sometimes, our need as a family to take on a job and
10 earn money, he would never accept a job from anybody he did not
11 believe in, in their values or any of that.

12 And so it was maybe the last 15 years or so of his
13 political career activity -- he mostly represented Republicans.
14 But he always said that he was a Democrat and voted in Democrat
15 primaries.

16 Q. Now, when you came of age, did you consider yourself a
17 Democrat?

18 A. When I was -- first became aged to vote, I followed along
19 the lines of my father and, you know, our family history had
20 always been, we voted in Democrat primaries. And so I did.
21 When I first started voting, I voted in Democrat primaries for
22 a little while.

23 Q. And did there come a time when you decided to become or
24 consider yourself a Republican?

25 A. There was, in particular, a race in 2002, my father took on

15:24 1 a gentleman who was running for district judge, who ended up
 2 becoming the first Republican, or among the first
 3 Republicans -- I've got to double-check that history, but in
 4 the longest time -- to have gotten elected county-wide in
 5 Nueces County as a Republican.

6 And it was my dad's client. And so, you know,
 7 being -- working in that campaign, we were working a lot more
 8 through -- with Republican -- the Republican Party locally, got
 9 to know a lot of the folks. Eventually, after that win, there
 10 were more Republican candidates seeking my dad's help.

11 So just getting to know the political process, and at
 12 the end, then you start to understand more about the platforms.
 13 It was around that time where, you know, several of our family
 14 members, including myself, switched and started voting more in
 15 the Republican primaries.

16 Q. And when did you first run for public office?

17 A. In 2022.

18 Q. And, at that time, what office did you decide to run for?

19 A. State Senate.

20 Q. What State Senate District did you run to represent in
 21 2022?

22 A. It was the newly drawn Senate District 27, which I now
 23 hold.

24 Q. Did you run as a Democrat or Republican?

25 A. Republican.

15:25 1 Q. Now, let's look at the district profile for State Senate
 2 District 27 that's available through a link on your official
 3 State Senate website. That's Defendants' Exhibit 1568, I
 4 believe.

5 Okay. And could we look -- or could you look at the
 6 portion of that document that shows the overall Hispanic
 7 percentage of the population in State Senate District 27? I
 8 think when we first talked about this, you were surprised it
 9 was that high.

10 But what is it according to the information provided
 11 on your website?

12 A. 83.6 percent.

13 Q. And according to that Defendants' Exhibit 1568, what
 14 percent of the people in the State Senate District 27 speak a
 15 language other than English at home?

16 A. 65.1 percent.

17 Q. Let's look at the individual counties briefly within State
 18 Senate District 27. There's another link on your State Senate
 19 website that's entitled, "District Population Analysis with
 20 County Subtotals." That's marked as State
 21 Defendants' Exhibit 1567.

22 MR. BRYANT: Could we look first, briefly, at Bee
 23 County?

24 Q (BY MR. BRYANT) And so is a hundred percent of Bee County
 25 in your district?

15:27 1 A. Yes, sir.

2 Q. And is population, according to you -- Exhibit 1567, what
3 is that?

4 A. The Hispanic population, according to this, is
5 62.5 percent.

6 Q. Okay. What's the population of the --

7 A. I'm sorry, 31,047.

8 Q. Okay. Thank you. And now Cameron County, which is what
9 you describe as where Brownsville is. Is 100 percent of
10 Cameron County in your district?

11 A. Yes, sir.

12 Q. And what is the population of Cameron County that's in your
13 district?

14 A. 421,017.

15 Q. And what percent Hispanic is Cameron County?

16 A. 89.5 percent.

17 Q. All right. Let's look at Hidalgo County. You described
18 that you only represent, roughly, the eastern third of Hidalgo
19 County. What is the percentage that you represent?

20 A. 32 percent of Hidalgo County.

21 Q. And how much population in Hidalgo County do you represent?

22 A. 282,938.

23 Q. And the Hispanic percentage in that area is what?

24 A. 93.8 Percent Hispanic.

25 Q. Okay. Now, are Cameron and Hidalgo the most populous

15:28 1 counties in State Senate District 27?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And out of 900-something thousand in State Senate
4 District 27, do Cameron and Hidalgo account for about 700,000
5 of those?

6 A. I don't have that figure in front, but I'll trust you --

7 Q. Okay.

8 A. -- on the numbers.

9 Q. Fine.

10 A. Because it would be -- it seem -- seems accurate.

11 Q. Okay. Now, you ran in 2022 as a Republican. At least
12 since Reconstruction, had any Republican ever been elected in
13 that district or any state Senate District with, generally, the
14 same geography?

15 A. Not to my knowledge.

16 Q. With that history, why did you believe you had a chance to
17 get elected to the State Senate as a Republican in District 27
18 in 2022?

19 A. Well, you know, I know our people. And I know their
20 values, and I -- you know, just living in the area, I know what
21 their -- they want and what they were asking for. And so with
22 the newly drawn map, it made it more competitive for a
23 Republican. It was still a deficit for a Republican to win,
24 according to historic data.

25 But we believed that we could overcome that with a lot

15:29 1 of hard work and messaging.

2 Q. Who was your main opponent in that District 27 race in
3 2022?

4 A. Lady by the name of Morgan LaMantia.

5 Q. And was Ms. LaMantia a Democrat?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And was Ms. LaMantia Hispanic, African American, or Anglo?

8 A. Anglo.

9 Q. So in 2022, you were a Hispanic candidate running against
10 an Anglo candidate in a district with a Hispanic population of
11 over 80 percent?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. Were you endorsed in 2022 by the retiring state senator for
14 that district, Mr. A. Lucio?

15 A. In 2022, no.

16 Q. At that point, had Senator Lucio represented that district
17 for over 30 years?

18 A. As a state senator, I want to say it was more like 22 or
19 something, but he did for a long time.

20 Q. Okay.

21 A. Yes, sir.

22 Q. And was Senator Lucio a Democrat or a Republican?

23 A. A Democrat.

24 Q. And did Senator Lucio represent -- I'm sorry, endorse your
25 opponent in 2022?

15:31 1

A. He did.

2

Q. Do you believe that Senator Lucio's endorsement of

3

Ms. LaMantia cost you a significant number of votes in 2022?

4

A. I think it had a real impact. We barely lost that election

5

in 2022. And so, obviously, his influence as being a loved

6

senator from that area, I'm sure, made an impact.

7

Q. To the best of your recollection, what was the final

8

results of your race for the State Senate in District 27 in

9

2022?

10

A. I don't remember the exact numbers, but I want to say I

11

lost by somewhere around 659 votes.

12

Q. And was that out of over 175,000 cast?

13

A. That's correct.

14

Q. After --

15

A. Less than a third of a percent, I think, something like

16

that.

17

Q. After trying so hard and coming up a little short, did you

18

give up on electoral politics?

19

A. I did not.

20

Q. Did you, at some point, decide to run again for the same

21

district in 2024?

22

A. I did.

23

Q. In that 2024 race, were you also running against the now

24

incumbent, Ms. LaMantia -- Senator LaMantia?

25

A. Yes, sir.

15:32 1 Q. And did members of the Mexican American Legislative Caucus
2 endorse you or substantially help your campaign to get elected
3 in 2022 or 2024?

4 A. No, sir.

5 Q. Did you and your family and your supporters work very hard
6 again to try to get you elected in District 27 in 2024?

7 A. Extremely.

8 Q. And what was the final result of that election about
9 11 months ago?

10 A. I won by over 2,000 votes.

11 Q. Now, as you campaigned in 2024, did you see any significant
12 shift in the willingness of Hispanic voters in District 27 to
13 consider voting for Republicans, as compared to your previous
14 race?

15 A. Yes, I did. We've seen that increase cycle over cycle for
16 a while now.

17 Q. Let's pull up what's been marked as State Defendants'
18 Exhibit 1569. Can you identify this as an article that
19 appeared right after the election in 2024, from KRIS 6 News in
20 Corpus Christi?

21 A. Yes, sir.

22 Q. And were you interviewed or did a reporter speak to you, in
23 connection with this article?

24 A. Yes, sir.

25 Q. Let's focus on the last part of the article, the part that

15:34 1 quotes you. It says that, "In addition to widespread support
2 among Latinos, the Coastal Bend saw a significant political
3 shift with Republican Adam Hinojosa's victory in the state
4 Senate District 27 race, where he defeated Morgan LaMantia."

5 And then it quotes you. Could you read the quote that
6 was attributed to you, then I'll ask whether you, in fact, said
7 that?

8 A. Yes, sir. It says, "There's a high number of Hispanic
9 Catholic, Christian voters, and being pro-life was certainly on
10 the ballot in favor of our campaign. It transcends all of
11 South Texas. There's a lot of pro-life voters."

12 Q. Now, the -- let's look at the next paragraph -- did you say
13 that, first of all?

14 A. Yes, sir.

15 Q. Okay. And let's look at the next paragraph of the article.
16 It says, "The Hispanic vote in Texas has traditionally leaned
17 Democratic, but State Senator-elect, Adam Hinojosa, believes
18 the number of conservative Hispanic voters will continue to
19 grow in coming years, but he looks forward to serving all of
20 District 27."

21 Did you say that?

22 A. I did.

23 Q. And do you still believe today that the historical
24 preference of South Texas Hispanic voters to vote Democrat will
25 continue to erode or disappear in the future?

15:35 1 A. I believe so.

2 Q. Now, let's look briefly at a county-by-county map of the
3 2024 presidential election results in Texas. That's State
4 Defendants' Exhibit 1569.

5 Okay. Senator Hinojosa, do you have that map in front
6 of you?

7 A. Yes, sir.

8 Q. And I believe the counties that voted for
9 Vice President Harris are in blue, and the counties that voted
10 for Donald Trump are in red. Let's look at the counties in
11 State District 27. What counties in State District 27 voted
12 for Republican Donald Trump?

13 A. All of them.

14 Q. And outside District 27, but nearby, were there other
15 counties in the Rio Grande Valley that voted Republican in the
16 2024 presidential election?

17 A. Looks like --

18 Q. Could you name some of them?

19 A. Yeah. You've got all of Hidalgo, Starr -- not sure what
20 the other county is past that but looks like all the southern
21 border counties all voted for President Trump.

22 Q. And do you know whether President Trump carried
23 Webb County, where Laredo is?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Okay. And as you look up the border, is it fair to say

15:37 1 that all the border counties, at least up to the Big Bend,
2 voted for the Republican in the 2024 presidential election?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Now, were you sworn in as a Texas State senator in
5 January 2025?

6 A. Yes, sir.

7 Q. What committees do you serve on in the Texas State Senate?

8 A. The Vice Chairman of administration. I serve on Education
9 K-16, State Affairs, Border Security, and Water, Ag., and Rural
10 Affairs Committees.

11 Q. In 2025, did you serve on the Senate Redistricting
12 Committee?

13 A. I did not. Oh, I need to add one in the special session.
14 I got appointed to the Select Committee on Disaster
15 Preparedness and Flooding.

16 Q. And did that involve you spending some time in the summer
17 of 2025, in the Kerrville area?

18 A. That's correct, yes, sir.

19 Q. Now, did you participate as a member of the Texas State
20 Senate in the two-called special sessions in the summer of
21 2025?

22 A. I did.

23 Q. Did you participate in the floor debate in the Texas Senate
24 in the second-called session in August of 2025, regarding the
25 2025 Congressional Redistricting Plan known as House Bill, or

15:38 1

HB4?

2 A. Yes, on the floor debate. Yes, sir.

3 Q. Now, as a legislator, you're entitled to a legislative
4 privilege in connection with your testimony today. Do you wish
5 to claim that privilege?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Okay. I just want to ask you, then, as a result of what
8 you heard on the floor of the Senate in the public proceedings.
9 Was it your understanding that the 2025 Congressional Map that
10 was embodied in HB4 was primarily drawn on partisan
11 considerations?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And was it your understanding also, based on those same
14 sources, that race and ethnicity was not a part of the drawing
15 of that map?

16 A. That's correct.

17 Q. On August 22, 2025, did you speak on the floor of the
18 Senate regarding HB4?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Was that on the final day of the debate in the Texas Senate
21 on HB4 before the Senate held its final vote?

22 A. Yes, sir.

23 Q. And did you express to your Senate colleagues at that time
24 the reasons why you intended to vote for HB4?

25 A. I did.

15:40 1 Q. Let's play a video of what you said on the floor of the
2 Texas Senate on August 22nd, just before the vote. And then
3 I'll ask you some -- a few questions. That's State
4 Exhibit 1325, pages 63, line 7 to 66, line 18.

5 (Video played.)

6 MR. PATRICK: Senator Hinojosa from Nueces.

7 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Mr. President. Members,
8 I rise in support of House Bill 4. Members, these maps, which
9 actually increase the number of majority-minority voting
10 districts, have one goal: To make sure the people of Texas
11 have their values represented in Washington. Yet, every time
12 minorities shift politically, we hear the same, tired excuse.
13 Racist this, racist that.

14 It's all we've heard all day long. And quite frankly,
15 I'm done listening to it. It's time to put an end to the
16 outdated belief that you can predict political outcomes based
17 on the color of someone's skin. That idea is wrong morally and
18 factually, and I stand here as living proof.

19 You see, in 2022, my district, Senate District 27,
20 seated in the Rio Grande Valley, was drawn to favor the other
21 party by at least 4 percent points, but I didn't lose by
22 4 percent points. I lost by less than one third of 1 percent.
23 But where was the wailing and the gnashing of the teeth, like
24 we hear today, that an Anglo woman won this majority-minority
25 district? No, it was quiet.

15:42 1 Where was the outrage and the cries of racism? Or am
2 I not minority enough simply because I'm a Republican? No.
3 There was never any outrage after the results of my first
4 campaign, and guess what? There shouldn't have been. My
5 majority-minority district decided to elect an Anglo for the
6 first time in over 60 years based off the promises she made in
7 her campaign.

8 She won, fair and square, but then she came here to
9 Austin and voted for her own values that did not match our
10 South Texas values, and I had the opportunity to expose that
11 during our rematch. Only in 2024, during that presidential
12 cycle, I was up against even greater odds. The data indicated
13 that I should have lost by at least 6 percent points against an
14 incumbent without limited resources, but yet -- instead, I won
15 and became the first Republican to hold Senate District 27
16 since Reconstruction.

17 I didn't win by ignoring voters. I won by listening
18 to them, by asking them what they believe, what they value, and
19 what kind of Texas they want for their families. And their
20 response was absolutely clear. You see, people in South Texas
21 and across the state want strong families, safe communities,
22 low taxes, secure borders, and the right to live their lives
23 without Government overreach.

24 We do not support men in women's sports. We do not
25 support abortion on demand. We do not support tax hikes. We

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15:44 1 do not support open borders. These are not just talking
2 points. These are the words and values of the people that I
3 represent in South Texas. And therein lies the truth, members.

4 The other party lost us Hispanic voters. They lost us
5 when they shut down our churches during COVID. They lost us
6 when they dismissed faith, family, and the sanctity of life.
7 They lost us when they stopped listening to the very people
8 that they claim to represent. And they keep losing us more and
9 more and more, especially in South Texas.

10 This is not a racial shift. This is a value shift.
11 And no amount of shouting racism is going to change that. The
12 people of South Texas have spoken, and Washington, DC now needs
13 to start listening. We've all seen the political shift in
14 South Texas over the past several years. It came to a head
15 this last election. I won my seat. President Trump won
16 counties all along the southern border that had not voted
17 Republican in generations, if ever.

18 President Trump won with 55 percent of the Latino
19 vote, and doubled his support among Black voters from where it
20 was in 2020. So let's stop pretending that this is all about
21 race. It is about values. It is about representation -- real
22 representation. The fact that we are redrawing the maps is to
23 ensure that, as these shifts have happened and continue to
24 happen, that the people are able to have representation that
25 reflects their values, not their last name, not their skin

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1 color.

2 These maps give Texans a voice. A voice that reflects
3 their values, not outdated assumptions about race or party.
4 That is why I support them, because our job is to ensure that
5 the people of Texas, their voices, their families, and their
6 priorities, are represented at our nation's Capital.

7 So if you're worried about losing minority votes in
8 this next election, stop blaming maps and start looking in the
9 mirror. Stop judging people by the color of their skin and
10 start focusing on the content of their character. And with
11 that, members, I proudly stand and look forward to casting my
12 vote in favor of House Bill 4.

13 Thank you, Mr. President. And thank you, members.

14 (Video concluded.)

15 Q. (BY MR. BRYANT) Senator, did you thereafter, in fact, vote
16 for HB4?

17 A. I did.

18 Q. Was that vote in the Texas Senate a hundred percent on
19 party lines?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. Do you still believe today that HB4 was really about
22 enacting congressional districts that better reflect the values
23 of Texas voters, and not about race or ethnicity?

24 A. I do.

25 Q. And, in your judgment, was HB4 also about creating more

15:47 1 congressional districts in Texas where voters have a realistic
2 chance, or choice, if they choose to do so, to send Republicans
3 to go represent them in Washington?

4 A. That's correct, yes.

5 Q. Senator, in this case, Plaintiffs accuse you and other
6 Republican senators who voted for HB4 of intentionally
7 discriminating against Texas Hispanic voters on the basis of
8 their race or ethnicity.

9 As a Hispanic senator representing a district that's
10 over 80 percent Hispanic, was it your intention in voting for
11 HB4 to discriminate against Hispanic Texans on the basis of
12 their race or ethnicity?

13 A. Not at all.

14 Q. And in voting for HB4, did you intend to discriminate
15 against Black Texans or Asians -- Asian Texans or any other
16 group of Texans on the basis of their race or ethnicity?

17 A. Not at all.

18 MR. BRYANT: Pass the witness.

19 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Ms. Perales?

20 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

21 **BY MS. PERALES:**

22 Q. Good afternoon, Senator Hinojosa.

23 A. How are you?

24 Q. I'm well, thank you. My name is Nina Perales. I represent
25 the LULAC Plaintiffs in this case.

15:49 1 I have a lot of scribbles here, so I'm going to try to
2 be organized. Well, my first question -- my -- I'll restrain
3 myself from asking more biographical questions, but my question
4 for you, since my husband is from Brownsville and graduated
5 from Pace High School, go Vikings. I wanted to know if you
6 graduated from high school in Brownsville or maybe in Corpus?

7 A. In Corpus, but I have to just say that since you mentioned
8 Pace, my first cousin is the head baseball coach for Hanna High
9 School, so, go.

10 Q. Go, whatever Hanna is, right? We don't care. We love the
11 Vikingos in Pace High School. Okay. Now, we'll get to the
12 non-biographical questions.

13 Your floor speech there, would you agree with me that
14 it is about Rio Grande Valley voters voting their values, that
15 seemed to be a theme that you're emphasizing?

16 A. I think Rio Grande Valley and all throughout South Texas.

17 Q. I agree. And so if we're just looking at some of the
18 counties that you talked about with Mr. Bryant, Cameron County,
19 you mentioned, voted a majority for President Trump in 2024.
20 That's correct. Isn't it?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And they also were voting their values when they voted
23 majority for Colin Allred for Senate. Is that correct?

24 A. I would assume so.

25 Q. They're also voting their values, while they voted for the

15:50 1 Democratic congressional candidate, Vicente Gonzalez, in
2 Cameron County, a majority, right?

3 A. I would assume so.

4 Q. So what we've got is what we call some ticket splitting
5 going on there, right?

6 A. Sure.

7 Q. Let's look at Hidalgo County. Majority President Trump in
8 2024. Yes? You pointed that out?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. Also majority Colin Allred. Yes?

11 A. I don't have those numbers, but again, my Senate District
12 doesn't include all of Hidalgo, so I don't know if you're
13 making a distinction, but...

14 Q. You just have from San Juan --

15 A. Correct.

16 Q. -- to the east, correct?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. But I'm talking about Hidalgo County in a whole, because I
19 believe that's what Mr. Bryant was talking about.

20 Hidalgo County Latino voters were also voting their
21 values when they voted for the Democratic congressional
22 candidates that share Hidalgo County. Would you agree with me?

23 A. In part. You know, I mean, there's a debate to be had
24 there in terms of -- you know, in the Rio Grande Valley, you
25 don't have candidates on the Republican side who are as able to

15:51 1 raise enough money. So sometimes their message isn't heard.

2 So I don't know if it's so much values, you know, as
 3 far as that goes, or it's just that the messaging with the
 4 amount of money that Democrats spend in those races is what's
 5 powering those races or those outcomes.

6 Q. So you're saying you think when they vote down ballot for
 7 Democrats, they're not voting their values, but if they vote
 8 president Republican, then they are voting their values? Is
 9 that what you're saying?

10 A. No. I'm saying that, you know, it's possible to do both,
 11 but in down ballot races, I know specifically, in the Rio
 12 Grande Valley, Republicans have a hard time raising more money
 13 to get their message out. So potentially, their message isn't
 14 heard as loudly as their opponents.

15 Q. But you would -- for example, if there's a contested race
 16 for sheriff in Cameron County, we're going to see two
 17 candidates on the ballot, yes? One is red and one is blue.
 18 Yes?

19 A. Sure.

20 Q. Okay. And I think I've finished -- I wanted to cover
 21 Willacy, too, because I feel like Willacy is always left out,
 22 but we don't have to. But you would agree with me, because you
 23 saw on the map that Willacy was majority for Trump, right?

24 A. That's correct.

25 Q. And also they went majority Democrat down ballot through

15:53 1 the U.S. Senate and through the congressional race. You'll
2 agree?

3 A. Yes. And I'll also point out too that, especially in the
4 Rio Grande Valley, because Democrats have, you know, won most
5 of the time, there are conservative candidates who run as
6 Democrats, right? So that could be true.

7 Q. Now, did you feel that you got your message out in your
8 race in which you were successful in 2024?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. But you did not carry Cameron County. Did you?

11 A. No.

12 Q. As to --

13 A. I will point out, though, I was outspent vastly. My
14 opponent out spent me almost seven to one, so even though, I
15 was able to get a message out, it was -- there was also, you
16 know, a bunch of slander ads and, you know, bigger messaging
17 and all kinds of things that my opponent had than I did. So,
18 you know, that could be a discrepancy as well. So all kinds of
19 things if we get into political science, right, that -- that
20 are factors.

21 Q. Let's talk a little bit about geography. You've been doing
22 such a beautiful job of talking about your district and talking
23 about South Texas.

24 Would you agree with me that the farthest northern
25 county in your district is Bee County?

15:54 1 A. Correct.

2 Q. And Bee County is still in South Texas. You would agree
3 with me?

4 A. Sure.

5 Q. Okay. You are not here today -- or you haven't testified
6 today, about voter preferences in Harris County, correct?

7 A. That's correct.

8 Q. Or the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex, correct?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. Or Central Texas. Is that correct? Like north of
11 San Antonio?

12 A. Correct.

13 Q. Okay. I noticed in your floor statement, just to come
14 around to that at the end, that one of the very first things
15 you said was that the plan that you were voting for increased
16 the number of majority-minority districts.

17 Did I hear that right?

18 A. That's correct.

19 Q. And I'm not going to invade your legislative privilege by
20 asking you, like, where or how or anything like that. I just
21 wanted to ask, did you mean that as a positive thing,
22 majority-minority district?

23 A. I mean, I didn't mean it one way or the other. Just simply
24 from the floor debate, there was a lot of discussion regarding
25 that. And so it seemed widely known that that was what was

15:55 1 occurring. So that being said, I wasn't talking about it
 2 positively or negatively, except for the fact that it seemed to
 3 me that, from the argument, that there were some House
 4 suppressing majority-minority districts when, in fact, the maps
 5 were increasing the number of them, according to the debate.

6 Q. So you meant that as a positive statement?

7 A. Just as a rebuttal to the fact of what was being argued on
 8 the floor by the other side.

9 Q. I mean, it's the first thing you mentioned. It couldn't
 10 have been a random fact. You had a reason for mentioning it,
 11 correct?

12 A. To rebuttal, the argument of the other side saying that --
 13 insinuating somehow that they were suppressing
 14 majority-minority districts.

15 Q. And so you were citing to the number of majority-minority
 16 districts as a sign that votes were not being suppressed?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. Thank you.

19 MS. PERALES: Pass the witness.

20 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Mr. Dunn?

21 **CROSS-EXAMINATION**

22 **BY MR. DUNN:**

23 Q. Hello, Senator. My name is Chad Dunn. I represent the
 24 Brooks Plaintiffs in this case. And I don't believe we've ever
 25 had a chance to meet. So it's nice to meet you here today.

15:57 1 A. Pleasure, sir.

2 Q. Thank you for your service to our state.

3 I wanted to ask you just a little bit about the
4 Senate. I actually staffed with members of the Senate back in
5 the '90s, met my wife, she worked for Bob Bullock, at the time
6 on the Senate side. And the way it worked then is when there
7 was a newly elected senator, you were sort of expected for a
8 year or two to kind of watch things, and lay low, and kind of
9 hold your position.

10 Is that still kind of a tradition in the Senate?

11 A. I don't believe so. I didn't feel that way.

12 Q. All right. So I was -- before the Court admitted into the
13 record is the complete set of legislative debates on the House
14 and the Senate side as it pertains to this map. You know, this
15 new redistricting map. Do you understand that?

16 A. I'm sorry. Say it again.

17 Q. Do you understand the Court has the record of the
18 legislative proceedings that you participated in?

19 A. Sure.

20 Q. Okay. And you've shown today that the speech that you gave
21 on August 22nd, and that was when the Senate was about to pass
22 the measure, you know, sort of for the final time, send it to
23 the Governor. Fair to say?

24 A. Yes, sir.

25 Q. This record reflects that at no point prior to that had you

15:58 1 engaged in the legislative process on the map. Isn't that
2 true?

3 A. Right, drawing maps or anything like that, no.

4 Q. There was no public comments from you in committee, either
5 on the dais or as a participant, as a witness, or in any of the
6 Senate floor proceedings on this map until that speech that we
7 saw here in Court today. Is that fair to say?

8 A. Fair to say.

9 Q. Do you know who drew this map?

10 A. I don't really, no.

11 Q. Have you ever been to an ALEC conference?

12 A. Yes, sir.

13 Q. And at an ALEC conference, did you meet with any map
14 drawers?

15 A. I met with a gentleman that was introduced to me by
16 Senator King in passing, named Adam Kincaid. And at the time,
17 you know, didn't -- you know, he was not presented to me as
18 anybody who was drawing maps or anything like that, that he had
19 experience in that. But it was a real brief, hi and bye.

20 Q. Well, and for the moment, without getting into the detail
21 of it, did you have a substantive conversation with Mr. Kincaid
22 about any part of the Texas map?

23 A. No.

24 Q. Did you have a conversation or a discussion exchange with
25 Mr. King -- or Mr. Kincaid, about how many districts can be

15:59 1 adjusted on the map?

2 MR. BRYANT: Your Honor, we're getting into
3 legislative privilege area, and I'd object to it.

4 JUDGE GUADERRAMA: Yeah. I'll sustain the objection.

5 Q. (BY MR. DUNN) Are you standing on your legislative
6 privilege with respect to your conversations with Mr. Kincaid?

7 A. Anytime I have a legislative privilege, yes.

8 Q. And was it just that one conversation?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. And it sounds like, at least based on the public record,
11 you weren't involved in the drawing of the lines that are made
12 up of this new congressional map. Is that fair to say?

13 A. That's correct, sir.

14 Q. Now, can you tell us about the changes that Chairman Hunter
15 made in the Corpus Christi area to facilitate his son running
16 for Congress?

17 A. I know nothing about that.

18 Q. That's the first you've heard of this?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Now, I'd like to transition and talk about your district
21 for a moment. You showed, with your lawyer, a number of slides
22 from your website, and I noted that you pointed out -- I think
23 the figure was 83 percent Hispanic, your district.

24 Did I catch that right?

25 A. I'm not sure which number you're referencing but...